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their ignorance or misunderstanding of the science of Śrī Vidyā and not to any fault in the science itself.

As the great Kaula Śrī Śankarānanda beautifully put it:—

या विद्या शिवकेशवादिजननी या वै जगन्मोहिनी ।

या ब्रह्मादिपिपीलिकान्तजगदानन्दैकसंदायिनी ॥

या पञ्चप्रणवद्विरेफनळिनी या चित्कळामालिनी ।

सा पायात् वरदेवता भगवती श्रीराजराजेश्वरी ॥

II. Sri Vidyā

Śrī Vidyā means Śuddhavidyā and comprises the theoretical and practical sides of Yōga by which the Jīvātma is enabled to merge itself in Paramātma. Śrī Vidyā concerns itself with Saguṇa Brahma and leaves Nirguṇa Brahma severely alone. For the upāsana of Nirguṇa Brahma is almost impossible for mortals. Bhagavān Śrī Kriṣṇa in his immortal Gīta endorses this opinion as follows:—

क्लेशोऽधिकतरस्तेषामव्यक्तासक्तचेतसां ।

अव्यक्ता हि गतिर्दुःखं देहवद्भिरवाप्यते ॥

Śiva as Para-Brahma is Śiva-Śakti. In her static aspect, she is Chidrūpīnī and in her kinetic aspect, she is Māyā-Śakti, acting through her three-fold powers—Kriyā, Icchā and Jñāna. As Śaktitrayarūpāḍhyā she is responsible for Sriṣṭi, Sthiti and Praḷaya.

There is only one form both for Brahmāṇḍa and Pinḍāṇḍa. The Mahattattva of Macrocosm or Māyā is identified with Mind in the Microcosm. As Māyā, the incomprehensible power, creates the Universe, so does Mind by its incomprehensible power create both the moral and phenomenal world. Māyā is illusory; so is Mind. Māyā possesses the qualities of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas; Mind also possesses the same qualities and has three corresponding powers—Buddhi, Chitta and Ahankāra. Both Māyā and Mind possess the power of Vikshēpa and the union of Jīvātma with Paramātma, is attained by transcending Māyā in the Universe or Mind in the

well explained in Patañjali's famous Yōga Sūtra, viz., Yōgaśchittavritti nirōdhah.

III. Process of Evolution according to Kamakala Vidya

From Sakala Śiva (Śiva-tattva)—Sat-Chit-Ānanda—issued Śakti (Śakti-tattva); from the latter came Nāda (Sadakya-tattva) and from Nāda evolved Bindu (Īśvara-tattva) which, to distinguish it from the Bindu that follows, is called the Parābindu (Supreme Bindu). This Parābindu (whose substance is Supreme Śakti) divides itself into three and appears under a three-fold aspect. There are thus three Bindus—Kārya in contradistinction to Kāraṇa, Parābindu. Nāda is their Śiva-Śakti, that is, their mutual interaction or Yōga. The tribindu is parā, sūkshma, sthūla. Nāda is the union of these two in creation. It is by this division of Śiva and Śakti that there arises sṛiṣṭi-kalpana. The causal Bindu is from the Śakti aspect as undifferentiated Śakti with all powers. From the Prakriti aspect, it is triguṇamayī mūlaprakritī. From the Dēvatā aspect, it is Śānta.

The three Bindus separately indicate the operation of the three powers of Kriyā, Icchā and Jnāna and the three guṇas (Tamas, Rajas and Sattva). They indicate the manifestation of the three Dēvis (Vāma, Jyēṣṭha and Raudrī) and of the three Dēvatas (Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra). Raudrī issued from Bindu, Jyēṣṭha from Nāda and Vāma from Bija and from the causal Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahma which are in the nature of Icchā and Kriyā or the Sun, the Moon and the Fire

here are Fire and Moon and it is known as Soma. Soma is not different from Paramaśiva (the root of all Mantra). Sōma is Śiva Bindu (the white). Agni is Śakti Bindu and is red (Śōṇi). The union of these two, Fire and Moon. On the material plane, the white (Sita) Bindu assumes the nature of the white and the red Bindu that of Śōṇita. Mahā-śakti before manifestation of Prakriti. All these constituting Kāmakalā—are Śāktis, though in one

Śakti may predominate and in another Śiva. There is no Śiva without Śakti and no Śakti without Śiva, *vide* Tantrāloka :—

न शिवः शक्तिरहितः । न शक्तिः शिववर्जिता ॥

In the one Śiva-Śakti, there is union—the thrill of which is Nāda whence Mahābindu is born and becomes three-fold.

The triad of Kāmakaḷā is the same as the Rig-Vēdic triad of Agni as the trinity of Devās, *viz.*, Sun, Wind and Fire or Sun, Indra and Fire, since both Vāyu and Indra represent the Vidyut aspect of Agni or as the trinity of Dēvīs as Ilā, Sarasvatī and Mahī or Indrāṇī, Vāruṇī and Agnāyī. The division of the sacrificial fire into three and Agni being besought to bring the gods and seat himself in the three receptacles of fire is another instance to the point. Even the seven flames or tongues of Agni are identified as sapta śaktis *viz.*, Kālī, Karālī, Manōjavā, Sulōhitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphulinginī and Viśvaruchi.

IV. The Origin and Action of Bindus

The origin and action of these Bindus is as follows:—

Śiva in the form of Prakāśa enters into Śakti in the form of Vimarśa or Sphūrti and assumes the form of a Bindu or drop. Śakti similarly enters into Śiva whereupon the Bindu develops and there arises out of it the female-element called Nāda. These two—Bindu and Nāda—being united become one compound Bindu and that substance representing the affinity between the male and the female energies is called Kāma. The two drops, white representing the male element and the red representing the female element, together form the Kalā. These three again—the compound Bindu and the white and red drops—form one substance called Kāmakaḷā.

V. Creation of Substances and Words expressing Them

Thus there are four powers : (1) the original Bindu representing the material of which the world is made ; (2) Nāda or sound upon which depends the naming of the substances arising from the development of the Bindu. Between (1) and (2) there is intense love but no creation *per se* results therefrom, as they only contain the materials of things and

speech. Therefore, (3) a productive energy is associated with them by the white male drop which, however, by itself cannot produce. And (4) by the red female drop, which is fecundated by the male drop, that is when all these four principles unite into one substance (Kāmakalā) the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them proceeds.

VI. Philosophical Aspect of Kamakala

The first is the transcendent stage of the mingling of "अहम्" and "इदम्" in which these elements of experience are, as such, not perceived. The second is the intermediate stage of pure form of experience between the first and the last in which both the "Aham" and "Idam" are experienced as part of self. The third is the state of manifestation proper, where there is a complete cleavage between the "Aham" and the "Idam" in which an outer object is presented to the consciousness of the knower. This last stage is itself two-fold. In the one, Purusha experiences a homogeneous universe though different from himself as Prakriti. In the other, Prakriti is split up into its vikritis which are mind and matter and the multitudinous beings composing the Universe.

In this view, Śakti as Prakriti first evolves mind (Buddhi, Ahaṅkāra and Chitta) and then Bhūta of five-fold tattvas (ether, air, fire, water and earth) from the supersensible generals (tanmātras) of sense-particulars (indriyās). When Śakti has entered the last and grossest tattva (earth) there is nothing further to do and she rests in her last emanation of the earth principle.

VII. The Importance of Sabda in Sri Vidya Upasana

Kāmakalā is also described as Śabda-Brahman and the whole Universe is said to proceed in the form of Śabda or sound. In the Brāhmaṇas Vāc (Logos) was God. In Rig-Vēda, Vāc was invoked as an active female divine power showing grace to mortals.* The first Bhāva of Śabda, in its form of thought, is Parā; when thought is perceived, it is called Paśyantī; the

* For an interpretation of the famous mantra on Śabda-Brahman, viz., "Chatvāri śringāḥ, trayōsya pādāḥ", etc., see Patañjali's and Kayyata's commentary on Mahābhāṣya.

uttering sound becomes Madhyamā and when uttered, it is called Vaikhari. Desire to think and speak is Icchā Śakti; while an effort towards it is Kriyā Śakti and thinking and knowing is Jnāna Śakti.

Śiva is symbolically identified with the letter “अ” and Śakti with “ह”—the first and last letters of the Sanskrit Alphabet. This ह is called Ardha Kalā or half part and hence the female element ह is called Hārdhakalā—the half part in the shape of the letter ह. This ह, the half part together with अ (which stands for Śiva) is a symbolic representation of Kāmakalā, the mūla of mantra or vidyā. अ and ह containing between them all letters and through them all the words, i.e., the whole speech, Śakti is called Parā, the first of the four stages of speech as all words which express things proceed from her. She is, therefore, called अहं or Ego, all souls being but her forms.

Kāmakalā is graphically described as a triangle. Supreme tattva is formed by three Bindus (expressed by lines) called Chandra, Sūrya and Vahni Bindus or Prakāśa, Vimarśa and Miśra Bindus. This triangular Kāmakalā is known as हंसः, the embodiment of Purusha and Prakriti. Purusha Bindu is represented by ह at the apex of the triangle and the other two Prakriti Bindus by स and : (visarga). Śabda-Brahman, with its three-fold aspect and energies, is thus represented as a yōnīpīṭha (inverted triangle) manifesting Icchā, Kriyā and Jnāna Śaktis. The lines of the triangle emanating from the three Bindus are formed by 48 letters—the 16 vowels beginning with अ forming one line, the 16 consonants beginning with क comprising another line and 16 more consonants beginning with थ constituting the third line. Hence the triangle is called अकथ triangle. Bindu is Parāśakti and its manifestations are Bindu, Nāḍa and Bīja—Sun, Moon and Fire. हं is Purusha, सः is Prakriti, हंसः is union of male and female, i.e., the Universe.

The fifty letters of the alphabet are said to be in the six chakras of the body and these letters multiplied by twenty are

said to be in Sahasrāra. Śabda springs from the Mūlādhāra and passing through the stages of Parā, Paśyantī and Madhyamā emerges from the mouth in Vaikharī form. Cosmic Śakti (Mahākūṇḍalinī) is samaṣṭi in relation to which Kūṇḍalinī in particular bodies is vyaṣṭi. Kūṇḍalinīyōga is effected by Shatchakrabhēda, i.e., piercing through the six chakras. These six chakras and the Sahasrāra are the esoteric presentment of the sapta-lōkas of the exoteric Universe. For Dēvī in Brahmāṇḍa has her counterpart in Pinḍāṇḍa as Kūṇḍalinī. So it is said :—

परा वाङ्मूलचक्रस्था पश्यन्ती नाभिसंस्थिता ।

हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कण्ठदेशिगा ॥

VIII. Mantra or Mystic Syllables

From the foregoing, it will be seen that śabda plays an important part in Śrī Vidyā and particular letters of the alphabet being connected with particular energies in Brahmāṇḍa and Pinḍāṇḍa have an equally important significance. Mantras have, therefore, been composed to promote or inhibit different kinds of energy. In fact, Prāna which manifests itself in the animal body as breath through inspiration and expiration is said to be performing the Ajapa mantra of हंसः, expiration uttering “ हं ” and inspiration “ सः ”. The former हं represents Śiva or male principle and the latter सः Śakti or female principle, the puruṣa principle of prāṇa throwing out, and the prakṛiti principle drawing in.

IX. Sri Vidya Upasana

The upāsana of Śrī Vidyā is, therefore, to effectively control the Māya or Mind, as the potentiality of both is the same. For, man is constantly acting upon man both by silent and spoken word; and he so acts and creates equally directly and powerfully on the rest of nature. The use of mantra is only a conscious utilization of this secret power of the word. In ourselves, it creates subjective states, attuning our psychical being and revealing knowledge and faculties latent in us. The word has its seed sounds (bījas) carrying in them principles of things and a rhythm which builds the

world-law of arrangement and harmony. Of the methods adopted for the purpose, the following deserve mention :—

(a) *Triṇpurāsundarī Pūjā*.—Kāmakalā is personified and worshipped as Triṇpurāsundarī as described by Munindra Durvāsa, the great Śrī Vidyā Āchārya :—

आद्यैरग्निरवीन्दुर्विबनिलयैरंबत्रिलिङ्गात्मभिः ।

मिश्रा रक्तसितप्रभैरनुषमैर्युष्मत्प्रदंस्तैस्त्रिभिः ॥

स्वात्मोत्पादितकाललोकनिगमावस्थामरादत्रयैः ।

उद्भूतं त्रिपुरेतिनामकलयेद्यस्ते स धन्यो बुधः ॥

(b) *Sandhyā-Vandana*.—The three Bindus of Kāmakalā representing the three powers of Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā are personified as three Dēvīs, Vāmā, Jyēṣṭhā and Raudrī or Gāyatrī, Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī and are worshipped as the three Sandhyas—morning, afternoon and evening—which signify the three stages of creation, maintenance and destruction. Dēvī is fittingly called Kāla-traya-svarūpāḍhyā and Trisandhyā. It is therefore said :—

यदह्नात् कुरुते पापं तदह्नात् प्रतिमुच्यते ।

यद्रात्र्यात् कुरुते पापं तद्रात्र्यात् प्रतिमुच्यते ।

सर्ववर्णे महादेवि सन्ध्याविधे सरस्वति ॥

The Vēdas say that Agni becomes Mitra when rising in the morning ; becomes Savitr when he traverses the air ; becomes Indra when he illumines the sky at midday and becomes Varuṇa in the evening. Agni is, therefore, to be honoured three times a day. Śrī Śankarāchārya says :—

अहस्सूते सव्यं तव नयनमर्कात्मकतया ।

त्रियामांवा मन्ते सृजति रजनीनायकतया ॥

तृतीये दृष्टिर्या दरदलितहेमाम्बुजरुचिः ।

समाधत्ते सन्ध्यां दिवसनिशयोरन्तरर्चरी ॥

(c) *Gāyatrī Japa*.—It is called Gāyatrī as it saves him who sings it. It has three Pādās corresponding to the three Bindus or Śāktis. It has a fourth pāda answering to Mahābindu but it is used only by adepts. There is no difference between Mantra and Vidyā except that while the former term is used in reference to male deities, the latter term

is employed with reference to female deities. Gāyatrī is invited thus :—

आयातु वरदा देवी अक्षरं ब्रह्मसम्मितं ।

गायत्रीं छन्दसां माता इदं ब्रह्म जुषस्व नः ॥

In the Brāhmaṇās, Gāyatrī is said to be the mystical name of Agni which carries off the celestial Soma, *i.e.*, which secures immortality. Sage Durvāsa describes Gāyatrī thus :—

गायत्री सशिरस्तुरीयसहिता सज्यामयात्यागमैः ।

आख्याता त्रिपुरे त्वमेव महतां शर्मप्रदां कर्मणां ॥

तत्तद्दर्शनमुख्यशक्तिरपि च त्वं ब्रह्मा कर्मेश्वरः ।

कर्तार्हः पुरुषो हरिश्च सविता बुद्धिशिवस्त्वं गुरुः ॥

(d) *Upāsana of Pañchadaśī or Shōḍaśī Mantra.*—Mantra is so called because it saves by being meditated upon. Pañchadaśī has three khandas or divisions corresponding to the Sun, Moon and Fire Bindus. Shōḍaśī, likewise, contains three kūtas but also has a fourth corresponding to the Mahābindu. Therefore, Dēvī called Mantriṇī is personified as formed of the three kūtas. Lalitāsahasranāma gives such a presentation :—

श्रीमद्वाग्भवकूटैकस्वरूपमुखपङ्कजा ।

कण्ठादधःकटिपर्यन्तमध्यमकूटस्वरूपिणी ।

शक्तिकूटैकतापन्नकाद्य अधोभागधारिणी ॥

(e) *Srī Chakra Pūja.*—Śrī Chakra, which is a Yantra (graphic representation) of both Brahmāṇḍa and Pinḍāṇḍa made up of the three Bindus, is described as the combination of nine triangles. Each triangle is a symbol of Prakriti the three sides representing the three Bindus of Sun, Moon and Fire or the three Śaktis of Jñāna, Icchā and Kriyā. Munīndra Durvāsa describes the Śrī Chakra as follows :—

श्रीचक्रं श्रुतिमूलकोश इति ते संसारचक्रात्मकं ।

विख्यातं तदधिष्ठाताक्षरशिवज्योतिर्मयं सर्वतः ॥

एतन्मन्त्रमयात्मिकाभिररुणां श्रीसुन्दरीभिवृतं ।

मध्ये बैन्दवसिंहपीठललिते त्वं ब्रह्मविद्या शिवे ॥

(f) *Kuṇḍalinī Yōga.*—Jagadambā has been called Dēha-stha-shaṭchakradēvī or Kuṇḍalinī. The rousing of the Kuṇḍalinī

and making it pierce the six chakras in the body is a Laya Yōga or a method of involution whereby one gets control of Chittavrittis. The identification of Kuṇḍalinī with Kāmakaḷā and how by her upāsana one gets immortality is beautifully portrayed by Śrī Śankarāchārya in his Soundarya Laharī as follows :—

तटिल्लेखातन्वीं तपनशशिवैश्वानरमयां ।
 निषण्णां षण्णामप्युपरिकमलानां तव कलां ॥
 महापद्माटव्यां मृदितमलमायेन मनसा ।
 महान्तः पश्यन्तः दधति परमाह्लाद लहरी ॥

X. Conclusion

The guṇāśrita upāsana of Jagajjananī whose tāṇḍava (dance) is Prapañchasriṣṭyunmukha (creative of world) is, therefore, far easier than the guṇavarjita upāsana of Śiva whose tāṇḍava is Prapañchasambhāraka (destructive of world). The upāsana-kramās of Śrī Vidyā will form the subject-matter of the succeeding articles. The following prayer in Śrīmat Tripurasundarī Vēdapādastava of Śrī Śankarāchārya may be appropriately recited as a fitting close to this essay :—

यत्रैव यत्रैव मनो मदीयं तत्रैव तत्रैव तव स्वरूपम् ।
 यत्रैव यत्रैव शिरो मदीयम् तत्रैव तत्रैव पादद्वयं ते ॥

CHIKKADEVARĀJA WAḌEYAR OF MYSORE AND HIS SUCCESSORS (1673-1761)

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

THE political history of Mysore during the period 1673-1761 is known to readers from Wilks' *History* and other works. Yet, for a proper appreciation of the history of this period, it is necessary to treat the subject afresh with special reference to the original data available.

I. The Background of Chikkadevarāja's Reign

It has been shown¹ that Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704), son of Doḍḍa Devarāja Waḍeyar by Amritāmbā, was the *nephew* and *successor* of *Devarāja Waḍeyar* (younger brother of Doḍḍa Devarāja), the actual ruler of Mysore after Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar I. It has also been pointed out that there was some difficulty connected with Chikkadevarāja's accession to the throne consequent on the intricate succession question which arose during the last year of Kanṭhīrava's reign. Chikkadevarāja not only over-awed opposition but also established himself as the foremost independent prince in the Karnāṭaka country [cf. his inscriptions²]. This position was the outcome of two causes: firstly, the extinction of the imperial sway of the Āraviḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara; secondly, the gradual loosening of the hold of the Muhammadans on South India in general and Mysore in particular, owing to the rise of the Marāṭhas on the one hand and the pressure of the Moghuls on the other. Although much of the ground for the political advancement of Mysore had been prepared by Devarāja Waḍeyar, it is certain that Chikkadevarāja took full advantage of the favourable atmosphere in the country at the time of his accession, not only to deal effectively with the turbulent

¹ *Vide Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore* (1659-73), in the *Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Vol. III (i).

² *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40; 1911-12, pp. 56-7; *E.C.*, XII, Kg. 7 etc.

elements in all directions but also to plan earnestly and work out systematically the reorganization and adoption of measures of administration which has made him famous in history. Judged from this standpoint, the inauguration of Chikkadevarāja's rule is very significant.

II. Chikkadevarāja and his Contemporaries

• Chikkadevarāja was a contemporary of the Marāṭhas, the Deccani Muhammadans, the Moghul Emperor (Aurangzebe), the Nāyaks of Madura and numerous chieftains or Pallegars of the Karnāṭaka country. Of his relations with these powers, we have some accounts in literary, epigraphical and other records. In his conquests he was considerably helped by his Commanders-in-Chief, Komārayya and Doḍḍayya who, according to a manuscript,¹ 'were sincere supporters and establishers of the Royal House'.

A copperplate inscription² dated November 22, 1674, has the following: "When the heroic Chikkadevarāja went

¹ *Mysūru Rājara Charitre*, by Venkaṭaramaṇayya.

² *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7; for the text, see *Ep. Car.*, Mysore Dt., Suppl. Vol.

In view of the importance of this inscription historically, it is noticed here in some detail:—

(i) *Date, Language, Author, etc.* : The inscription, in 9 plates, is dated Ānanda-Mārgasira ba. 3, corresponding to November 22, 1674. It is mainly Sanskrit, only the concluding portion being Kannaḍa. The characters are Nāgari and Kanarese. Rāmāyaṇam Tirumalārya was the author of this inscription which records the grant to Brahmins of 16 villages divided into 80 Vrittis in the Mādalanāḍu in the Karnāṭaka country. The information relating to the contemporary event is incidentally given while describing the king's qualities, achievements, titles, etc. The record is impressed with the figure of a Boar (Varāha mudrā), the crest of the Mysore Waḍeyar dynasty; and is authenticated by the King's signature. The genuineness of the document is beyond doubt.

(ii) *Relevant passages* :

(a) Plate No. 3 (A) : (Sanskrit)

.....Marāṭha varshman dādoji jaitaji mukham nihanti saharischika-
deva-mūrtih | Sambustāmbhaga vikramah kutuṣāho S sou hatāṣo haṭāḍikkēri-
basavopi dhikkṛtimagādēkoji rekōjani | dādoji bhidi jaitaji jaṣ.vatossarvāṅga
nāsāchhidi | Śrī Vira Chikadevarājajṇṇato yuddhāya baddhādare ||

forth for war, Šambu lost his valour, Kutub Shah was disappointed, Ikkeri Basava was put to scorn, Ēkōji was left alone, the Marāṭha warriors with Dādoji and Jaitāji were slain, and Jaśavant sustained loss of nose and limbs. Chikka-devarāja had the following among other titles: 'Emperor of Karnāṭaka', 'Champion over the enemies, the prominent and mighty Marāṭha leaders such as Jaitāji, Dādoji, Haraji, Šambuji, Šahaji, Ēkōji and Śivāji', 'Unparalleled hero'."

(b) The important titles, including the names of the Marāṭha leaders, occur in a passage, in plate 9 (A), not hitherto noticed :

.....Karnāṭaka cakravarti....jayitāji dādōji haraji šambuji sāhaji
ēkōji śivāji pramukha prabala mahārāshṭra bhūpāla jāla ripu vijaya kalila
durdānta sāmanta makuṭa māṇi....apratimavīra naraṇṇa chikkadevarāja
vadaḍeyaravaru....

(iii) Note: Mysore, under Chikkadevarāja, began her aggressions against Ikkeri in 1674, and it is possible while doing so came into contact for the first time with a portion of the Marāṭha and Golkoṇḍa forces on the territorial borders of their ally—Ikkeri. It may be doubted whether all the persons mentioned in these passages were present on the occasion, but it would be clear that Chikkadevarāja had a knowledge of them all as early as 1674. *Sambu*: The reference here is to Sāmbāji, son of Śivāji. The prominence given to Sāmbāji in passage (a) would indicate that he led a portion of the Marāṭha forces in *Canara* in 1674, Śivāji being otherwise engaged in the Deccan (during July-October 1674). *Kutub Shah*: The ruler of Golkoṇḍa. The mention of this name would suggest that already in 1674 he was allied with Śivāji. According to Wilks (I. p. 80) Śivāji exacted a contribution of three lakhs of pagodās from Golkoṇḍa concluding an alliance between him and Bijāpūr and Golkoṇḍa against the Moghuls in 1672. Golkoṇḍa was an ally of Ikkeri also, a buffer State in those days. A new alliance between Śivāji and Golkoṇḍa and Bijāpūr for the conquest of the Karnāṭaka was formed in 1677. It was probably when the old alliance still continued that in 1674 the Marāṭhas, Golkoṇḍa and Ikkeri came into contact with the Mysore army on the borders of Ikkeri. *Ikkeri Basava*: The circumstance of Ikkeri or Bednur forming the starting point of Śivāji's contemplated new kingdom (Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, p. 253) would indicate that its ruler Basappa Nāyaka (Basava), countenanced such an idea, being the hereditary enemy of Mysore. According to *Kṛṣṇa Nripa Vijayam*, there was friendship between Ikkeri and the house of Śivāji. By Chikkadevarāja's opposition it was natural that Basappa 'was put to scorn'. *Ēkōji* (Venkoji): Half-brother of Śivāji. The allies seem to have been prevented from joining Ēkōji who retired to Bangalore. Hence the expression 'was left alone'. In 1675 Ēkōji took Tanjore from Aḷagiri (vide *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 167). *Dādōji, Jaitāji* (also called *Dādōji Kākada* and *Jaitājighṛ* in literary works), *Jaśavant* (Yaśvant Rao), Marāṭha generals; cutting off noses was a feature of warfare in the Mysore army, though, here, it is somewhat exaggerated. We have

This information is neither corroborated nor contradicted elsewhere. Details as to the date when, and the place where, the Mysore army fought against the Marāṭhas, Muhammadans and the Nāyaka of Ikkeri in 1674 are not to be found in this inscription. However, we know¹ that in 1674 the Mysore army under Daḷavoy Komārayya was in Ikkeri. We can thus infer that as early as 1674 Chikkadevarāja had a knowledge of the Marāṭha leaders of the time including Śivāji and that the Mysore army on the borders of Ikkeri opposed a portion of the forces of the Marāṭhas, Golkonḍa and Ikkeri (probably during the monsoon season—July to October) causing some loss of life among the enemies. The event seems to have been very important from the point of view of Mysore since Chikkadevarāja was the foremost ruler in the Kanarese country. Though in his title Chikkadevarāja claims victory over Śivāji, it is clear that he did not actually come into contact with him since the latter was at that time in the Deccan, engaged as he was against Bahadur Khan, the Moghul General.² Yet as a possible rival to Śivāji in respect of his design³ 'to win a new kingdom which would stretch right across South India from Bednore to Tanjore,' Chikkadevarāja assumed the titles, *Karnāṭaka chakravarti* and *Apratimavīra*, and began his aggressions in all directions shortly after 1674.

many such instances in Mysore history. *Śāhaji*: The reference here is to Shāhji II, son of Ēkōji, and not to Shāhji, the father of Śivāji and Ēkōji, who died in January 1664. *Haraji*: Śivāji's lieutenant; afterwards became Governor of Ginji. *Śivāji*: In the monsoon season of 1674 Śivāji was engaged against Bahadur Khan, the Moghul General, in the Deccan. One of the conditions of the alliance of 1677 between Śivāji and Bijāpur and Golkonḍa, namely, that Śivāji 'was to have a free hand against the Hindu chiefs of the South' (Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, p. 254), would go to show that he had some knowledge of the South, the Marāṭhas having come into contact with the Mysoreans in 1674. It is, however, clear that Śivāji himself did not take part in the event of 1674 in the South (*i.e.*, near Ikkeri).

¹ *Keḷadi Nriṇa Vijayam*, p. 133.

² J. Sarkar: *Aurangzeb*, 4, 209.

³ Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, 253: the design is said to have been conceived by Śivāji shortly after his coronation (6th June 1674).

It is accepted that Śivāji was in the Karnāṭak during 1677 when he not only took his ancestral possessions¹ there, but also conquered the eastern, central and northern plateau in Mysore.² We are told that by November 1677 the whole of the Karnāṭak was 'peeled to the bones' by Śivāji's system of organized plunder and exaction, and the turbulent Pallegars were repressed.³ In August 1677 shortly after his famous interview with his brother, Venkoji (Ēkōji), at Tanjore and the acquisition of Ginji in the Upper Carnatic, we learn 'It is believed, he robbed Seringapatam and carried away great riches from there'.⁴ The available evidence on the Marāṭha side does not specifically mention Śivāji's advance to Seringapatam in August 1677, nor do the Jesuit letters. On the other hand, though there is a paucity of more reliable sources of evidence on the Mysore side, we have the following in Kanarese contemporary literary sources⁵: 'The rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi and Bhāganagar (Hyderabad) had

¹ Ārṇi, Bangalore, Hoskote, Balapur and Śira (Kincaid and Parasnis : *Marāṭhas*, I, 258 ; J. Sarkar : *Śivāji*, 394).

² Śivāji, after these conquests, marched from Śira to Kopal, then to Gadag and Laksmēśvar, then Bankapur and from there retraced his steps northwards arriving at Belgaum in March 1678 (Sarkar : *Aur.*, IV, 218 ; 231-32 ; *Śivāji*, 394).

³ Sarkar : *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Orme : *Historical Fragments*, p. 233 (Quoted in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 175). Letter dated 24-8-1677 (Bombay Factory Records).

⁵ Chikkadevarāja Binnapa ; *Gitā Gōpāla* ; commentary on the Mahābhārata ; Colophons.

(Old Kannada) : *Bhayadindāgara ḍiḷḷi bhāganagara prāntaṅgaḷōḷṇāḍugar jayaḷaya yendidiriṭṭa kappadodavim pemperi banda, Kannada nādam pokka Śivājiya sorkam muridikki apratimavi ābhikṣeyam tāḷdidam.*

Note.—Śivāji's depredatory activities in Agra, Delhi, Bijāpur, Golconda and Bhāganagar went on for a decade (1667—1677). He was at Bhāganagar in February 1677, after which he entered the Karnāṭak (Sarkar, IV, 216). The passage speaks of Chikkadevarāja as though meeting Śivāji immediately after he entered the Karnāṭak, which is impossible in the light of known facts ; Śivāji first entered the Madras plains, proceeded as far as Tanjore, acquired provinces north of the Coleroon, and by November 1677 had conquered the eastern, central and northern Mysore plateau, finally reaching Belgaum in March 1678. He could have approached Seringapatam only in August 1677 shortly after his acquisition of Tanjore and Ginji.

with fear brought tribute, and placed it before Śivāji saying 'Victory, Lord'. Swollen with pomp, the famous Śivāji entered the Kannada country. Chikkadevarāja humbled his pride and gained the title of *Apratimavīra*.' The *Apratimavīracharitam*, a work on *alamkāra* (rhetoric) attributed to Chikkadevarāja, is a poetical expression of the same version. The title *Apratimavīra* occurs in almost all the records¹ of Chikkadevarāja's reign; and the version is found repeated in an epigraphical record of as late² as 1722. Of these the selection from the Bombay Factory Records quoted above refers only to a belief or hearsay statement unconfirmed by other sources. As regards the literary version on the Mysore side, it is not clear when and in what place Chikkadevarāja and Śivāji met each other and how the title (*Apratimavīra*) was acquired. We know, however, that the title *Apratimavīra* was not acquired or gained, but only assumed by Chikkadevarāja in 1674. Chikkadevarāja's direct contact with Śivāji in 1677 was, therefore, possibly clothed in literary flourishes by the court bards of the time.

An examination of all the available sources thus far would lead us to the following view. It is probable that Śivāji in August 1677 on his way from Ginji proceeded as far as Seringapatam with a view to plunder or exact tribute from the Rāja, since he had already a knowledge³ of the latter's state and resources during his march to Tanjore. It is to be doubted whether Chikkadevarāja, already a powerful ruler, readily submitted⁴ at all to Śivāji who must have found in him a very formidable opponent. It is possible that Śivāji, equally a powerful protagonist with a record of

¹ SR. 94, NJ. 41, MI. 16, TM. 45.

Ag. 2 dated 8th May 1677 is a *nirūpa*: refers to *Apratimallā*, as a title of Chikkadevarāja indicating that he was an unequalled or unparalleled champion.

² SR. 64: Tonḍanur copperplate of Krishṇarāja I of Mysore.

³ Sarkar: *Śivāji*, p. 389.

⁴ The statement that Śivāji in 1677 advanced to Seringapatam and exacted tribute from the Rāja (Sātyanatha Iyer: *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 177), is not borne out by the available sources.

uninterrupted success in South India, might have been ultimately bought off by the Rāja who,¹ while remaining unsubdued, obliged him to turn towards other places in the Karnāṭak. The irruption of Śivāji could only have been a passing incident in the history of Mysore, for during 1677-80 Chikkadevarāja became more and more prominent, since Śivāji, the two Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan and the Moghul lieutenants found in one another 'opponents too powerful to admit of their attending in the manner required to the gradual and skilful encroachments of the Rāja'.²

Chikkadevarāja viewed with alarm the predatory activities of the Marāṭhas under the successors of Śivāji and dealt tactfully with them in the consolidation of his position in Mysore. In 1680 Sāmbāji, son of Śivāji, shortly after the latter's death, advanced on the Karnāṭaka country on his way to the South to claim his father's inheritance in Ginji and Tanjore. Chikkadevarāja at first arrested³ his progress on Mysore. But Sāmbāji marched on the South at a time when the Mysore army under the celebrated general Komārayya was engaged in the siege of Trichinopoly. In 1682, a combination of Venkoji (Ēkōji), Sāmbāji and Chokkanātha of Madura was formed against Komārayya. When the latter was negotiating with Chokkanātha to drive out Venkoji and Sāmbāji and revive Nāyaka rule in Ginji and Tanjore, the Mysore General's letters to the Rāja for additional help were intercepted, and Komārayya was defeated and captured by Haraji (called also Arasumalai)⁴, the Governor of Ginji and the Commander-in-Chief of Sāmbāji, along with 2,000 horse.⁵

¹ The omission of Southern Karnāṭak (the country of the Rāja of Mysore) among the conquests of Śivāji (Sarkar : *Aur.*, 4, 218, 231-32) is significant indicating probably that that part was not subdued, the Rāja having proved a formidable rival to Śivāji.

² Wilks : I, 91.

³ *Chikkadevaraja Binnapa*, etc. :

Śivāji suta Sāmbāji yelgeya nurbukorbūmam tellanegaida nadbhuta parākramadim.

⁴ History of the *Nāyaks of Madura*, by Satyanatha Iyer, pp. 181-83.

⁵ Sarkar : *Aur.*, V, p. 53 : The event is dated March 1683 in this work, but we have a Jesuit letter of 1682 referring to it (Bertrand : Letter No. 7, Appendix : *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 288).

The ruler of Trichinopoly was forced to submit to the Ginji government, and Sāmbāji established himself there. It was a complete success over the Mysore armies who were driven from 'the provinces and citadels' they had taken from the Nāyaka of Madura. Between 1682-86 Sāmbāji, assisted by the Nāyaks of Ikkeri, Canara and the Shah of Golkonḍa, is said to have 'mercilessly conducted war against Mysore,' desolating the country and forcing the Rāja to apply for help to the Moghul, and exact money from the provinces to provide money for the expenses of war. This, we are told, brought about a revolt of the subjects against the Rāja in 1686.¹ It was, however, put down with an iron hand, and law and order restored in the land.² In 1686 Chikkadevarāja retrieved the honour of Mysore by paying off³ Sāmbāji and obtaining the release of the General, thus bringing to an end 'the atrocious wars between Mysore and Sāmbāji'. Not only this. The diplomacy of Chikkadevarāja succeeded in detaching Sāmbāji from Golkonḍa and Bijapur and enabling Aurangzebe to capture them⁴ (1686-87). Chikkadevarāja also subdued the Morasa, Tigula, Koḍaga and the Maleyāla chieftains who had proceeded against him relying on the Marāṭha alliance.⁵

¹ Bertrand : Letter No. 7 (*ibid.*).

² *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 194.

³ *Vide* No. 17 f. n.

Mattamā sambhojige kappavittum kūṭamam kaḷuṇi.

Note :—This passage is significant. The object in paying off Sāmbāji was evidently to ransom Komārayya, the Mysore General. In the light of what we know from other sources, *Kappam* in this passage cannot be literally taken as tribute.

Kūṭa refers to the large crowd of the Marāṭhas, assembled to receive the ransom, preparatory to the release of the General.

⁴ *Ḍiḷḷiyāḷva mahāpādushāhanenisuva avaranga sāhanam barisi | Avanim-divara (Golkonḍe Bijāpuradavara) deṣa koṣagaḷam kaiseregondū ||*

Note :—In averting an attack of the Marāṭhas on Mysore, Chikkadevarāja held up Sāmbāji in the South, enabling Aurangzebe to crush Bijapur and Golkonḍa, equally enemies of Mysore. It was subsequently easy for Aurangzebe to deal with Sāmbāji.

⁵ *Mattamā marāṭarāṭṭamam nambī mumbaidu eḍa baladoṇisum pūnarda morasa tigula koḍaga maleyāḷa nāḍa manneyaram bannam baḍisi.*

This passage is interesting, throwing as it does light on the heterogeneous elements of the Marāṭha army in the seventeenth century.

An interesting feature of Chikkadevarāja's connection with the Deccani Muhammadans was the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore in the North. His defeat of Raṇadullā Khan¹ in 1675, accompanied by the acquisition of Ketasaṃudra, Kandikere, Handalakere, Gūlūr, Tumkur and Honnavalli in the modern Tumkur district, was an important event in this connection pointing to the dwindling of Muhammadan power in the Karnāṭaka-Bijapur-Bālaghāt. A record² of Raṇadullā Khan dated 1676 indicates that the administration of the Muhammadan possessions in this region was in the hands of Hindu and Muhammadan officials. In the same year Chikkadevarāja acquired Bommasaṃudra from Hussein Khan,³ another General. The wars between the Mughals and Bijāpur and Golkonda during 1674-75 naturally diverted the attention of the latter from their Karnāṭaka possessions, of which Chikkadevarāja was the first to take the fullest possible advantage in the consolidation of his position.

To turn to Chikkadevarāja's relations with the Karnāṭak Paḷlegars, we know that already in 1674 he put 'Ikkeri Basava to scorn'. In 1675 he smote the Keḷadi kings,⁴ with the Yavanas, took Sakleśpur and Arakalgud, defeated in battle Mushtika (Narasappa Waḍeyar) who was aided by the *Morasas* and *Kirātas*, seized Jaḍakanadurga and changed its

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26. We know nothing of Raṇadullā Khan from other available sources, especially after his first invasion of Seringapatam in 1638-39. It is possible that he was allowed to live in his fief in the Tumkur district, till late in the seventeenth century.

² *Ibid.*, 1922, pp. 122-23.

³ *Palace History* : Extracts.

⁴ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26. It has been assumed that Chikkadevarāja was a contemporary of Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkeri (1646-1661) (*vide Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 172). Śivappa was, however, a contemporary of Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore (1659-73). Chikkadevarāja's reign coincided with that of Channammāji of Ikkeri (1672-1698) who ruled assisted by her adopted son, Basappa Nāyaka, eldest son of Śivappa Nāyaka II (*vide Keḷadi Nriṇa Vijayam*). Hence the reference to *Keḷadi Kings*. Mysore was the bone of contention between Ikkeri (or Keḷadi) and Madura, and the aggressive wars between these powers were waged with varying degrees of success in the seventeenth century. The Mysore armies were termed *Māyāvigaḷ* (enchanters or deluders) by the Nāyaks of Ikkeri.

name to Chikkadevarāyadurga. He also took Doḍḍadeva-gaganagiri from Chikkappa Gauḍa, another Paḷlegar, in the same year. In 1679 Chikkadevarāja penetrated the interior of the modern Tumkur district taking Maddagiri, Miḍigeśi, Bijjavara and Channarāyadurga, having conquered Tim-mappa Gauḍa and Rāmappa Gauḍa.¹ In 1686 he was again victorious over the army of the Keḷadi kings capturing the elephānt, Gangādhara, and took the impregnable and celebrated fortresses of Hassan and Sakkarepaṭṇa.² In 1690 he took Bāṇāvar, Kadur, Chickmagalūr and Belūr from Vēnkaṭādri Nāyaka.³ His activities in the Karnāṭaka continued down to 1694 resulting in the extension of territorial jurisdiction in the modern Tumkur, Hassan and Kadur districts.

In the country to the east and south of his kingdom Chikkadevarāja's activities began as early as 1673⁴ continuing off and on down to 1698; but his aggressions in these directions began definitely after 1674. In the inscription of that year we are told that he was 'a bitter foe to the Pāṇḍyas, Choḷas and Keraḷas' also. In 1675⁵ he defeated Chokkanātha, the Nāyaka of Madura (1659-82), seizing Tripura (Trichinopoly), Muttānjaṭṭi and Anantagiri. We are also told that he was 'victorious over the lord of Madura in the Erode country, slew *Dāmarlaiyapendra*, his general, put to flight Anantoji, captured the elephant, Kulāśekhara, and took by assault Sāmbaḷḷi, Omalūru and Dhārāpuram.'⁶ In a later inscription⁷ we note that Chikkadevarāja 'emulated the sports of Krishṇa in conquering the lord of Madura'. Erode was taken

¹ SR. 151.

² SR. 14: This *coup d'état* followed probably after Chikkadevarāja got rid of the attacks of Sāmbāji, with whom Ikkeri had been allied.

³ Veṇugopālavaraṇasada: *Chikkadevarāja Vamsāvaḷi. Palace History: Extracts.*

⁴ *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 171; Chikkadevarāja, as Yuvarāja, also took part in his uncle Devarāja Waḍeyar's campaigns in the South (1662-1669) [*vide: Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore in the Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (1).]

⁵ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 96.

⁶ SR., 14.

⁷ SR., 64 of 1722.

from Makkāji Redḍi and the chief was pardoned; and Torenāḍu in the South was occupied.¹ The Jesuit letter of 1676 speaks of Mysore fortifying the citadels taken from the Nāyaks of Madura.² In 1677 Anḍūr was taken from Ghaṭṭi Mudaliar.³ In 1682 Trichinopoly was lost by Mysore, being taken by Sāmbāji. Mysore retained a portion of the Madura kingdom in the South, and during 1682-86⁴ the power of the Rāja there is said to have been on the wane, on account of the depredations of Sāmbāji.⁵ The extent of Chikkadevarāja's kingdom in 1686 is clear from the establishment by him of inns (satras) to the east from Sakkarēpatna, to the west from Saleyapuram (Salem), to the south from Chikkanāyakanapura (Chikkanāyakanahalli), and to the north from Dhārāpuram, at every yōjana (about nine English miles) on every road.⁶ Mysore soon recovered from the crisis. In 1689-90 Chikkadevarāja renewed his activities. Āvaniperur, Coimbatore, Mannārguḍi and Kunturdurga were acquired. By 1694 Salem, Satyamangalam, Nāmakal and a large part of Bārāmahal were recovered from Chinnappa Nāyaka. Between 1694-96 Salem and Coimbatore were again invaded and the local chiefs subdued. In 1697 Daḷavoy Komārayya was sent a second time by Chikkadevarāja to lay siege to Trichinopoly. The Daḷavoy is said to have vowed not to return to Mysore without capturing that city, but an attack of the Marāṭhas (under Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat) on Mysore in that year occasioned the recall of a portion of his army, and he returned to Mysore in 1698, having probably effected nothing.⁷

In 1687 Chikkadevarāja acquired Bangalore by purchase (for three lakhs of rupees), as is well known. In the same year while negotiations for the transfer of Bangalore were

¹ *Hastigiri Māhātmya* : Introduction.

² *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 162.

³ *Palace History* : Extracts.

⁴ Corresponding with the reign of Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka III (1682-89).

⁵ Bertrand : Letter No. 7 (p. 288, *ibid.*).σ

⁶ SR. 14.

⁷ *Palace History* : Extracts, *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 207.

proceeding, Haraji, the Governor of Ginji, and Kāsim Khan, the Moghul General, the two competitors, simultaneously proceeded against the place, but Haraji's detachment soon retired without any opposition and Bangalore was invaded (in June) by the Moghuls. Kāsim Khān remained as the Governor of the uplands with Sira as his headquarters. Bangalore was handed over to Chikkadevarāja on payment of the stipulated sum. It remained, however, as the base of operations for the Moghuls in South India.¹ The Moghul arms proceeded as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly in 1691 levying tribute from those places. The kingdom of Mysore, though not conquered by them on grounds of policy, became coterminous with the Moghul Empire. In October and November 1695 the Karnāṭaka was raided by the Marāṭhas under Śāntaji Ghorpade, and the Moghul Deccan was infested by Marāṭha Captains.² The Moghul arms under Kāsim Khan sustained some reverses. There was no peace in the South until Śāntaji's death in June 1697 when the Moghuls were left undisputed masters of the Deccan. About this time when the Mysore army under Daḷavoy Komārayya was engaged in the renewed siege of Trichinopoly, two Marāṭha Generals by name Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat, provoked by the aggressions of Chikkadevarāja, passed towards the western country in support of Ginji and Drāviḍa, and attacked Seringapatam with Marāṭha auxiliaries. They were skilfully and successfully repulsed by a portion of the Mysore army under Daḷvay Dodḍayya (son of Komārayya), and the Marāṭha Generals killed, their heads being paraded in Seringapatam.³ The Marāṭha menace to Mysore during the reign of Chikkadevarāja was at last over.

It was two years later that an important event took place in Mysore—the embassy of Chikkadevarāja to the court of Aurangzebe. We have at present no details on the Marāṭha side, and our main sources of information are the manuscripts

¹ Wilks, I, 91-92.

² Sarkar : *Aur.*, V, 110, 126-27.

³ *Palace History* : Extracts ; Wilks, I, 95-96.

relied upon by Col. Wilks and the *Palace History*. The details narrated in these sources indicate the rise of the Rāja of Mysore in the estimation of the Emperor on account of his services to the cause of the Moghul Empire, particularly in making the path clearer to the Emperor by arresting the progress of the Marāṭhas. While it is possible that Chikkadevarāja's ulterior aim was to secure or win the goodwill of the Emperor, it is certain that the Rāja's main object 'in repulsing the Marāṭhas was to keep his own kingdom free from their encroachments, as we have already seen. The object with which the embassy (under Karṇik Lingannaṃayya, the Vakil of Chikkadevarāja) was sent was, according to *Palace History*, 'to strike terror to the mischievous Paḷḷēgars (who, out of jealousy of the Rāja's position, were plotting against him) by cultivating friendship with the Emperor.' Such a policy was justified from a local point of view. A general knowledge of the conditions of the time would, however, show that Chikkadevarāja appears to have had other considerations also. He had watched keenly the trend of Moghul affairs from the fall of Bijapur and Golkonḍa (1686-87) down to the death of his 'friend and protector,' Kāsim Khan, the Moghul General, in 1698. The latter event was a great blow to the Rāja and he anticipated trouble to his kingdom from Kāsim Khan's successors, the Moghul Emperor, once friendly, being now probably jealous of the Rāja's position, and the Moghul arms also being powerful in the Deccan between 1698-1701. To save Mysore from a possible, and perhaps long-deferred, Moghul invasion, Chikkadevarāja appears to have found it politically expedient also to despatch a timely embassy and offer of friendship to the Emperor in 1699 to the latter's court at Ahmadnagar.¹ The embassy returned to Mysore in 1700 with the title, *Rājā Jagadev* (engraved on the signet ring), and permission to sit on the ivory throne, said to have been conferred by the Emperor on Chikkadevarāja. Although the embassy does not seem to

¹ Cf. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's statement in *The Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 198, f.n.

have profoundly impressed Aurangzebe, as stated by Wilks,¹ its effect was spectacular, judging from the splendid reception accorded to the Khillats from the Moghul Court. The prestige of Mysore was enhanced locally: the Rāja, an independent ruler, became a power friendly with the Moghul Empire and secure from any internal or external troubles and introduced in Mysore new administrative institutions based on Moghul practice and procedure.

By assuming the titles *Karnāṭakachakravarti* and *Apratimavīra* as a possible rival of Śivāji and a representative of Hindu imperial traditions, Chikkadevarāja established himself as an important ruler in the Karnāṭaka country—especially over the turbulent Pallegars; by his varied activities in the southern country he became famous as *Teṅkanarāya*² (Lord of the South); and by his relations with the Deccan kingdoms, the Marāṭhas and the Moghul Empire, he raised the status of Mysore during the critical period of the seventeenth century. He was thus able to check the encroachments of his contemporaries on his growing kingdom and build it on a sound basis. He also established an effective centralization over the conquered chiefs and reorganized the administration of the places occupied by him. At his death in 1704 his kingdom extended in the east as far as Salem and Baramahal, in the west as far as the modern Hassan and Kadur districts, in the south up to Coimbatore and Dhārāpuram and in the north as far as the modern Bangalore and Tumkur districts. Looked at from all these standpoints Chikkadevarāja's relations with his contemporaries have an abiding significance in the making of modern Mysore.

III. The Dalavoy Regime

The period of rule of the successors of Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar down to 1761 may be conveniently termed as the *Dalavoy Régime* or the *régime* of the Commanders-in-Chief of Mysore. As long as the strong hand of the king controlled the affairs of the State, the Commander-in-Chief was only a

¹ Wilks, I, 99-100.

² *Mysūru Rājara Charitre* : Extracts.

secondary element in the politics of the kingdom and, with a few exceptions, his services to the cause of the country were laudable.

With the accession of Kanṭhirava II (1704-14), son of Chikkadevarāja, however, a change set in. The Daḷavoys of his reign seem to have taken advantage of his limitations and for the first time paved the way for their ascendancy.

Of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I (1714-32), son of Kanṭhirāva II, we have accounts in inscriptions and literary works; but he was, like his predecessor, essentially a pious and peaceful ruler. The administration of Mysore was carried on by Daḷavoy Devarājayya assisted by Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya—both of them the king's close relatives. Thus the king gradually played himself into the hands of the Daḷavoy and paved the way for retrogression in royal authority.

The short reign of Chārnarāja Waḍeyar (1732-34), the adopted son of Krishṇarāja I, was characterized by an extreme preponderance of the Daḷavoy and the officials over the administration of the kingdom. The deposition of Chāmarāja was followed by the rule of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II (1734-66), another adopted son of Krishṇarāja I. During his period of office the actual administration was conducted by the Daḷavoys, Devarājayya and Karāchuri Nanjarājayya, Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya, Venkatapathiah, Dewan Khande Rao and Hyder Ali Khan, while the king was occupied mostly in religious piety. This feature of his rule coupled with the constant bickerings among the officers was ultimately taken advantage of by Hyder Ali.

Although it might be held *a priori* that the Daḷavoys were responsible for the historic *interregnum* of 1761, an examination of the evidence proves the contrary. The Daḷavoys of the period, whatever their motives in the assumption of predominance over the administration, had the political advancement of the kingdom at heart. The Daḷavoys of Kanṭhirava II's reign extended the Mysore frontier by their brilliant achievements. Daḷavoy Devarājayya was instrumental in the acquisition of Kolar to Mysore during the reign

of Krishnarāja Wāḍeyar II. A letter¹ of his, dated 1751, details the transactions in this connection: "Ummāji Paṇḍit of Kolar has sent word to Daḷavoy Devarājayya of Mysore through Sābāji Nāyaka that in case assurance was given with regard to the maintenance of rights and privileges of the *Deshmukh*, *Deshpāṇḍe*, *Nāḍugauḍa* and others as heretofore, as also with regard to the expenses of the establishment, the salary of 400 Ōlekārs of Somaiya and the villages to be granted to himself, he would arrange for the transfer of Kolar to Mysore Government and send his own younger brother to Seringapatam. Devarājayya wrote to him in reply that he need not feel the least anxiety about any of the matters mentioned above in case the place was transferred to Mysore Government, and asked him to effect the transfer, looking upon the assurance given by Gōpālarājayya and Sābāji Nāyaka as assurance given by himself." This letter is sufficiently illustrative of the sincerity of Devarājayya's intentions in regard to the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore over the territories occupied by the Marāṭhas. Devarājayya also conquered and annexed *Māgadi* from Mummadi Kempe Gowda.² His brother Karāchuri Nanjarājayya (of Kaḷale) acquired *Dhārānagara* and *Baḷḷāpūr* for Mysore.³ The brothers also consolidated the position of Mysore in various parts of the country. There is thus enough data testifying to the energy and whole-hearted devotion of the Daḷavoyas to the cause of the Kingdom of Mysore.

The *Bhāshāpatra* (deed of promise) and the *Nambuge Nirūpa* (Order of Assurance), the two important political documents⁴ executed in 1758 by Krishnarāja Wāḍeyar II in favour of Kaḷale Nanjarājayya by way of reconciliation with the latter prove clearly the evil of excessive devolution of power on the Commander-in-chief, of which advantage was

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1909-10, p. 42.

² *Kakudgiri Māhātmya* by Nanjarāja: Introduction, also *M.A.R.*, 1922, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *E.C.*, IV (ii), NJ. 267 and 268.

later taken by the third party, Hyder Ali. The real force behind these documents was Hyder Ali himself, for it was he who, out of a diplomatic move, arranged for the reconciliation between Nanjarāja and the King.

For what followed after 1758, it is not fair to throw the entire blame on the Daļavoys. The absence of strong personal rule of the King followed by its corollary, the prevalence of endless court intrigues, as also the lack of critical appreciation of the forces of the time, contributed, to a great extent, to the rise of Hyder Ali to power in 1761.

EXPLOITS OF VĪRA NĀRĀYANA

BY SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR

THE famous Ottakkūttan was the poet-laureate of three successive Chōla Emperors—Vikrama Chōla son of Kulōttunga I, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II. Some of his poems are accurately historical. The *Mūvar Ulā*¹ and *Kulōttungan Pillai-t-tamil*² are some of them. There is some historical material in *Takkayāga-p-parami*³ also another work of his which was produced during the reign of Rājarāja II (1146-1162 A.D.). Therein, he sings the praises of some of the previous monarchs of the Chōla dynasty.⁴ Particular mention is made of Nambi Pillai otherwise known as Kārikai Kulathoor⁵ Uḍayān Kulattuḷan Tiruchiṇṇambalamudayān Perumān Nambi, who is mentioned in many inscriptions.⁶ Similarly the poet refers to a historical incident in another minor poem called *Ētti Yelupattu*.⁷

Origin of Ētti Yelupattu

Ētti Yelupattu is a poem on *Ētti* or The Lance. This poem contains 70 stanzas describing the meritorious deeds done with the lance. It is said that the lance is the special weapon of Sengundars or Kaikkōḷars, a sect of weavers. The occasion for the creation of this minor poem is narrated as follows:—

¹ Published by Mr. A. Gopala Aiyar, Tamil Pandit.

² A work of 100 stanzas of which about 60 stanzas have been printed in *Tamil Poḷil*, a monthly issued by the Kāranthai Tamil Sangam.

³ Published by M. M. V. Swaminada Iyer, Madras, 1930.

⁴ Couplets 772 to 777 mention Rājarāja the great, Rājendra the Gangai-konda Chōla, Vīrarājendra who defeated the Western Chālukyas and again re-instated one of the same family, Sungamtavirtta Chōla *alias* Kulōttunga I, Vikrama Chōla who won Kalinga and Kulōttunga Chōla. Another interpretation also has been given to these couplets. They are taken to eulogise Rājarāja II as the patron of the poet.

⁵ This place is identified with a small village near Chingleput.

⁶ Nos. 424 and 433 of 1924.

⁷ Published by Sengunda Mahājana Sangam.

Oṭṭakkūttan belonged to the caste of Kaikkōlars, from which a large body of men was drawn for the military service. Their principal weapon was the lance. During a castemen's gathering, Oṭṭakkūttan also happened to be there. It was suggested in the gathering that the poet should be asked to sing the praises of the caste warriors. He refused to praise them for obvious reasons, but at last consented to sing the praises of his caste, provided that they were prepared to sacrifice some of their heads and place them as a seat for him. Though they demurred at first, it is averred that they eventually agreed to do so and heaped a number of heads, on which he sat and sang the glorious deeds of his castemen who preceded him. In stanzas 46 and 47 of that poem, he makes mention of two persons Vīran and Nārāyaṇan of Paḷuvūr¹ who were famed for glorious deeds during their life-time.

Story of Vīra Narayana

It is said that Vīranand Nārāyaṇan were twin brothers and they were generally called Vīranārāyaṇar. Another minor poem celebrates the bravery of these twins, under the name of *Vīranārāyaṇa Vijayam*.² The author of this work is one Nānaprakāsa Dēśikar of Kānchīpuram, who is said to have lived about five hundred years ago. The theme of the story is that the heroes lived during the reign of Parāntaka I and a Raṭṭa chief named Vallān of Nellore troubled the country very seriously. Parāntaka sent these generals to subdue him and the enemy was silenced. When Parāntaka asked them how they killed him they unsheathed their swords, cut off their own heads saying that they took Vallān's head in like manner.

¹ Paḷuvūr, a small town in the Trichinopoly district about fourteen miles north of Tiru-ayyāru, north of Tanjore.

² Printed at the Hindu Theological Press in 1898. The work contains 683 stanzas divided into fifteen sargas. They are 1. *Kadavul vāḷttu*, 2. *Chōḷan avai-c-cirappu*, 3. *Vīranārāyaṇa-c-carukkam*, 4. *Vikkala-c-carukkam*, 5. *Pōrāṭar-c-carukkam*, 6. *Kaḷavukāṇ carukkam*, 7. *Dēva Sakshi-c-carukkam*, 8. *Tūḍaṭai carukkam*, 9. *Kāppamai carukkam*, 10. *Yeḷucci-c-carukkam*, 11. *Nipantanai-c-carukkam*, 12. *Tambārōhaṇa-c-carukkam*, 13. *Māṅgalyappiccai itta carukkam*, 14. *Maittalai-c-carukkam*, 15. *Mitchi-c-carukkam*.

According to inscriptions, Parāntaka sent his army to subdue a chief at Nellore, of which more anon. A summary of the story of the chiefs as found in *Vīranārāyaṇa Vijayam* is given below :—

When Parāntaka was reigning at Tanjore, he asked his courtiers one day, whether there were brave men in the country who could lead his army against his foes. One of his courtiers informed him that the chiefs Vīraṇ and Nārāyaṇan of Paḷuvūr, who belonged to the clan of Nava Vīrar, were the best of equestrians, devotees of Muruga—the War-God—and the bravest of warriors who could do any behest of the king. Parāntaka sent for them and when satisfied with them, he appointed them as generals of his army. When there was no war, they were looking after their country. During this time, a Raṭṭa chief named Bhōga was ruling at Nellore. He had a son by the name of Vikkalan.. He was also called Vallān. When Vikkalan became of age, a Ṛṣi came to his palace and taught him a mantra. He went to the temple of Sōmanātha—the patron deity of the chiefs—and concentrated his attention on the mantra. Sōmanātha was pleased with the devotee, appeared before him and asked him his wants. He replied that he wanted four boons. The boons were a magic horse, a corselet which could not be pierced by anyone, a sword and a gada. Lord Sōmanātha granted these boons but informed him at the same time that they would not last long and would perish soon, as the Ṛṣi never thought that the chief would ask for these worldly ephemeral things. When Vallān got what he wanted, he left Nellore—his birth place—selected Kadambur, a place in the south and built a city guarded by a moat and a deep ditch and beautified it. He invited people to live there. When he was satisfied with the arrangements of the town, his thoughts led him on to worldly pleasures and to marriage. He returned to Nellore and informed his parents of his desire. They selected a bride and celebrated the marriage on a grand scale.

After his marriage, he left Nellore for Kadambur with his bride and was enjoying the pleasures of life. In the midst of

these, he used to maraud the neighbouring countries. He was far above their clutches and the surrounding country people were not able to withstand his onslaughts. So, one day, they gathered and waited on him and made terms with him. According to the terms, every neighbouring chief or king was to pay him a certain amount of tribute. When this piece of news was carried to Parāntaka he sent for his minister and learned all about this marauder. Parāntaka wanted to root out this pest immediately, but his minister counselled him to be patient, as Vikkalan himself might send his men for the collection of the tributes, taking him to be one of those who contracted with him. Then they might deal with him. As was thought, Vikkalan sent his men to collect tributes from Parāntaka also and when his men entered the audience hall of Parāntaka, they were put to shame and driven away. On hearing this, Vikkalan was enraged and came to Tanjore on his magic horse at night, robbed the treasury and went away. When the robbery was known to the king, he collected his army and sent it against Vikkalan. Vallān too collected his army and the two forces met and fought fiercely for a whole day. Neither party won and both retired in the evening. When Parāntaka heard of this, he himself rose to lead the army against his foe. But his minister intervened and informed his king that Vallān was a small man and no fit enemy for a mighty sovereign like him. He counselled that he would be destroyed if Vīra and Nārāyaṇa were sent against him. Accordingly they were sent for and when they were informed of this, the twins represented to the king that a thief required no special army and Vikkalan might turn up any day at the capital. Till then they promised to wait in the city. Proud of the result of the last war, Vikkalan came on his magic horse and alighted at Tanjore and robbed several houses. Vīra and Nārāyaṇa came to know of this and they found him out, fought with him and recovered the property. Both the foes fought so valiantly that neither could win. Vīra was much enraged and thought of dashing his opponent against the

earth. With that intent he threw him in the air. His magic horse also sprang into the air. Vallān, thus handled, fearing for his life, mounted his magic horse and ran away to his town.

Vīra was puzzled at the disappearance of the foe, when Nārāyaṇa told him that he must have disappeared by magic. They went to the king and reported the fight that occurred the previous night. They informed the king at the same time, that they would kill him before the fifth day from the date of the king's order. They also requested that no army need follow them but their chosen companions of ten men. The ten men were : 1. Tanjai Vēmban, 2. Kacci Tanian, 3. Oṟṟiyūran, 4. Kaḷaṇḍai Arasan, 5. Puṟṟiṭan Koṇḍān, 6. Kōḷantakan, 7. Puliyūr Paḷḷikoṇḍān, 8. Piṇavan, 9. Kaṇḍiyūran and 10. Mudukunṇam Maṇian. They further requested that Vallān and the country might be informed of this fact. When Vallān heard the news, he feared for his life, as he had tried his strength with the twins during the recent night raid, constructed a special pavilion within his city and entrenched himself behind it.

A special chapter in the book describes the arrangements he made for his safety. He is said to have planted a massive pillar of a hundred feet high with a girth of thirty feet. The pillar was coated with a mixture of castor oil and fat so that nobody could climb up. A pavilion was put up on the top of this pillar and he sat there with his wife so that nobody could approach them easily. He had the necessary provision for the six days within which the twins had sworn to kill him. Notwithstanding this precaution, he ordered Kālī—goddess of destruction—to wait at the outer gate of his fortified town in front of the moat and watch so that nobody could approach him from anywhere. He ordered Durgā to wait at the next entrance with all her dēmons. He shut up all the other gates of his fort except the eastern entrances which were seven in number. In the first two entrances he ordered his picked men to wait and in the third he kept many wild elephants. In the fourth entrance prancing steeds were kept

and in the fifth, ferocious red dogs were kept to watch. The sixth was guarded by wild tigers and the seventh by untamed lions. He dug a deep ditch after the last entrance, filled it with water and allowed crocodiles and alligators to play therein. Within it a fire was made and behind it the massive pillar was put up. Thus fortified he climbed up his pavilion and rested there.

While Vikkalan was thus guarding himself, the twin-brothers Vīran and Nārāyaṇan together with their companions spent the first day of their time in the capital, making arrangements for the publication of their march by beat of drums. On the second day they went to take leave of their king, who told them that they had got only five days more from that date. Vīran represented to the king that they were ready to start on their errand after performing worship to their deity—God Muruga—and with the benediction of the king. They left for their town of Paḷuvūr after taking leave of the king. There they called their trusted servants, informed them that they wanted to worship god for three more days, and ordered them to procure the things necessary for the worship.

While they were spending two and a half days thus in worship, spies sent to the town of Kadambur returned with the news as to how Vallān was guarding himself. On hearing this Vīra rose to his feet and informed his comrades that three and a half days had already passed and they should not tarry there any longer. Immediately Vīran crossing his sword swore that he would not be afraid if any of his comrades was slain while attempting to take the life of Vallān and would not return without killing the foe. Others also vowed in like manner and set out on their errand.

When they entered the dominions of the foe, they met with the first guard Durgā. Vīran, the leader of the party, informed the rest that Durgā would be appeased by nothing except human sacrifices. When the party heard of this, Kacci Tanian cut off his head of his own accord and appeased Durgā. They got the benediction of that goddess and met

the second watch. There Kālī appeared in her full ferocious form, when Orṛiyūran offered his head as a sacrifice to Kālī. When she had been thus appeased, she allowed the ten men to go as she was not pleased with Vikkalan who was always exacting work without propitiating her. Then they approached the moat and were finding a way to cross it, when Kōlāntaka informed his comrades if another of the party was prepared to sacrifice his life with him, both the corpses might be tied as a raft and the remaining eight men would be able to cross the moat easily. Immediately Maṇiṇ offered himself and cut off his head. The rest tied the two bodies, used them as a raft and reached the other side. When they reached the town after these sacrifices, they found out that the town was built on eight posts. When they examined them one by one they found the eastern post would carry them within the town. As the post was too large to climb single-handed, one of the party suggested that it would be easy to climb the post if they sprang one over another like frogs. They accordingly leapt on one another, reached the summit and crossed on to the platform. When they approached the gate they found to their utter astonishment, that the picked men of Vallān were all sleeping soundly, perhaps by sheer fatigue as they kept vigil incessantly for the last four days. They passed the four gates thus found unguarded and reached the fifth entrance where red dogs were watching. Puṛṛitan Koṇḍān suggested that the red dogs were fond of raw flesh and accordingly he cut off his head with a request that others might cut up his flesh and throw it to the dogs. When they had crossed that barrier thus satisfying the dogs they met fierce tigers which were satisfied by the flesh of Kaḷandai Arasan. Then they came to the last entrance guarded by lions where Paḷlikoṇḍān offered himself as a prey to them. Thus they crossed all the entrances though they lost seven of their comrades. The remaining five saw to their astonishment that they had to cross the fire before they reached the inner town. Piṇavan fell into that fire and before he was consumed, others crossed the fire walking over his body. When they got to the other side

they met with the ditch full of alligators and Kaṇḍiyūran suggested that he might be used to cross the moat and accordingly he sacrificed himself. When they crossed the moat, they came face to face with that large post smeared with lubricants on which the pavilion stood. Tanjai Vēmban suggested that one had to use human blood to climb up that massive pillar coated with fat and oil, and that his life might be sacrificed to draw the necessary blood. Accordingly he cut off his head and the blood was smeared around the post and the two heroes were fortunately left to climb it. At last they came to the tent where Vikkalan and his wife were sleeping. Vīran and Nārāyaṇan reached the place after sacrificing the precious lives of their ten comrades.

When Anangavalli, wife of Vikkalan, heard the tread of footsteps she feared for the life of her husband, came out and met the two brothers. She immediately prostrated herself before them and begged the life of her husband. As the twins were noblemen by birth, they granted her prayer but conditioned that Vikkalan should vacate Kadambur and accept Parāntaka as suzerain. Vikkalan also awoke and when the two brothers met him, he accepted all these conditions and begged for his life. They told him that they had promised to kill and lay his head before their king and wanted to keep to their promise. Vallān immediately suggested that he could produce a likeness of his head by magic and they could take and deliver that head to his king. They accepted it as a palliative as they had no other alternative now, as they had granted the prayer of Anangavalli. After razing Kadambur to the ground, they returned to Parāntaka with the false head given by Vallān and they laid that head at the feet of their king. When Parāntaka enquired how they decapitated Vallān's head, they immediately put their hands to their swords and cut off their heads saying that they severed the head of Vallān in like manner. Parāntaka, fearing the consequences of the sin, took his sword and began to commit suicide as an expiation for that sin. By the grace of Muruga, the War-God, Vīra and Nārāyaṇa and the ten

comrades who had perished in the attempt to kill Vallān, came to life by a miracle. All the chiefs were congratulated and gifts were made to them. This is in short what we find in *Vīra Nārāyaṇa Vijayam*.

Its Historicity

Though there are apparent discrepancies in the story, two facts stand out conspicuously from the above narration. When Chōḷa Parāntaka was ruling the Chōḷa Kingdom, a chief of Nellore revolted and he was subdued by the generals of the Chōḷa monarch. Though we have no direct evidence to show that Vīra and Nārāyaṇa killed the Raṭṭa chief Vallān Vikkalan, we have it from inscriptions that some of Parāntaka's generals went over to Nellore, defeated a chief and ravaged the country about 941 A.D. Inscription No. 1912 found on a slab at Tiruvorriyūr¹ Sembian Chōḷia Varayan Māran Parameswara kaḷattūr gave a perpetual lamp to the god at Nellore when he was returning from Nellore after a victory. Again, another inscription No. 236 of a broken pillar lying near the kitchen at Nellore mentions the same fact of victory gained by the Chōḷa at Nellore. Who this Sītpuli was and whether these matters are to be investigated or not, we think that 'Sītpuli' defeated by the Chōḷa must have been an Eastern Ceylon's powerful subordinate.³ This is unsound, as the Rāshtrakūṭas were powerful. Though we have not got inscriptions at or around Nellore to support this, the number of twelfth century inscriptions is large in the district.⁴ Messrs. B. C. Chattopadhyay write that "Rēpūr shows 67 inscriptions of 79 and some of the former

¹ S.I.I., III.

² M.F.

⁴ *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*

Chetty.

fourteenth centuries; a similar remark applies also to Nellore which possesses 64 Tēluḡu inscriptions in a total of 124. Old Telugu inscriptions are thus not unknown in the southern part of the district just as old Tamil inscriptions occur in such unquestionably Telugu taluks as Atmakur; but, on the whole, Mr. Venkayya's conclusions seem to be correct, for, generally, Chōḷa or Chōḍa inscriptions are in Telugu in the north of the district and in Tamil in the south. The line of division between the two languages may, in the thirteenth century, have lain in the Nellore taluk but Rēpūr seems to have always been Telugu. Nowadays the dividing line roughly coincides with the southern boundary of the district."¹

However, Messrs. Butterworth and Chetty did not think while to give details of all the Tamil inscriptions in the district. Thus we are precluded from denying the value of previous records authoritatively.

Raṭṭa chief mentioned in the poem, we do not have any definite information at present. But we know that the Raṭṭas were powerful during the period under the rule of Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa line was the Chōḷas. Perhaps when Kṛṣṇa III was defeated by the Chōḷas when that king entered Chōḷa-land. In the Kanyākumāri inscriptions,² his territory extends as far as Nellore and annexed to the Chōḷa land in the Tiruvoṛṇiyūr inscription after the Rāshṭrakūṭa defeat. As to the Raṭṭas, we are unable to gather anything from the inscriptions. It is known that Vīra-Nārāyaṇa is the founder of the Raṭṭa at we have no other information or tradition at Paḷuvūr. Of the Sengundar clan but we do not know them clearly. Anyhow, the Raṭṭas are the same as that many Tamil works require further investigation.

² T.A.S., Vol. II.

THE VIVEKA-SARA OF SANKARANANDA

BY ARTHASASTRA VISARADA MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA

DR. R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Concluded from Vol. XXII, No. 2)

Cessation from Worldly Activity

WHOEVER has arrived at such a knowledge as the above should give up all worldly activity. For when a man comes to know that what he mistook for silver is merely a conch-shell, he does not proceed to pick it up. So when a man realizes that the whole is Brahman and Brahman alone and that the world is merely phenomenal, he will have no interest in the world. Having seen the true moon in the sky, no man will go to look at a picture of the moon painted on a wall. It should not be said that though a man has understood the true nature of Brahman or Ātman, he may act in the world with no harm to himself. For uselessness of such activity itself is a harm. Of what use is the activity of a man who, though knowing that it is mirage, goes to look for water there? The incentive for work is the attainment of some good or the avoidance of harm. A Brahma-knower can have neither of the two in worldly activity, if he takes himself to it. For having realized Brahman, he is not only tasting Brahman-bliss, but also has got rid of the chain of birth and death.

Some say that the form of his thought ought to be that he is not the body, not the senses, not the vital breath, not the mind, not the intellect, and not a man or woman, but pure sciencence and witness of all, and that Brahman is not affected with such functions as doing, enjoying, goodness, badness and attempt at knowing things. They say further that he should also think as follows :—" I am quite different from doer, deed, enjoyer, the enjoyable, speaker, speech, approacher, the approachable, destroyer, the destructible, seer, the seen, the body, the eyes, the ears, the vital breath,

the intellect, the mind, egoism, and speech; but that I am pure eternal sensciency. There can possibly be no incentive for me to enter into voluntary activity; for such involuntary work as respiration, hearing, seeing, and the like I am not at all responsible. Just as the sky is not affected with the thunder, lightning, raining and the like, so I am not at all touched with the involuntary work of the body, the senses and other organs."¹

They add that "one will not get Mōksha with the Brahman-knowledge of another. Nor will he get into bondage with the sinful acts of another. It follows therefore that if after attaining to the true knowledge of Brahman one is absorbed in Brahman, one will not be tainted with the effect of the involuntary acts of the body, the senses, and other organs. The body remains and goes on doing its natural work as long as the effect of past karma spends itself. It is only voluntary work undertaken with strong desire that is condemned here. Provided that a Brahma-knower has his mind in Brahman or Ātman, he may with no harm to himself engage himself either in worldly talk or Vēdāntic discussion, he may let his hands do acts laid down or prohibited in the Vedas; he may, while going for alms, happen to see with his eyes all sorts of things going on in the streets; he may, in eating the alms or begged food, happen to eat relishing dishes; he may happen to hear agreeable or disagreeable sounds, smell good or bad odour and sleep in darkness or light. They say further that when Brahman alone is true, and when the whole world, inclusive of the body, the senses, and their work, is known to be unreal and false, that false world and false worldly activity cannot at all frighten the knower of Brahman, though his body and senses are active in doing good or bad. For a false serpent never bites, the doer, the instruments of doing,

¹ This statement should be borne in mind by those who accuse the Advaitins of their liability to immorality. When an Advaitin ceases to act in the world, as he ought to, if he has realized Brahman, such a charge cannot be brought against him.

and the deed are all false. When the knower of Brahman knows that all is false except Brahman, how can that false activity affect him? Neither will his activity involve him in bondage, nor will his withdrawal from worldly activity bring in emancipation. For both activity and inactivity are the functions of the intellect (buddhi). How can one be bound or released from bondage by the bad or good deeds of another? Let others speak well or ill of us, we continue, however, to remain in Brahman, not caring for the good or bad acts of our body and the senses. Hence, there is no necessity for the knower of Brahman to cease from worldly activity."

We cannot at all tolerate even for a moment the above view, commencing from "some say that the form of thought" and ending with "no necessity for the knower of Brahman to cease from worldly activity". It is true that as the world is merely phenomenal, it is really false and unreal. Likewise, the body, the senses, and their activity are all unreal and false. Just as water in mirage, blue colour in the sky, and a city reflected on the surface of a mirror are all unreal and false; and just as silver appears on a conch-shell, so the whole world is an appearance on the basis of Brahman. Likewise, a woman and other things, though unreal and non-existent in their own form, appear standing before a man whose mind is set on them. Hence it is the mind that creates a doer, the instruments of his doing and his deeds together with their results. All this is true. When the knower of Brahman knows that all this is unreal and false, why should he engage himself in worldly activity and for what good? A man may mistake mirage for water and attempt to get water in it, though he finally fails in his attempt. But when a man knows that it is mirage and not water, for what earthly good should he go and wander in mirage? Likewise, when a man knows that the thing that lies before him is merely a conch-shell and not silver, he will not pick it up. •The knower of Brahman cannot say that if engaged in worldly activity, he will get the

pleasure of seeing, hearing, touching, and so on. For if he really knows the true nature of Brahman, and if he knows, as he ought to, that sensual pleasure is as unreal and false as the senses themselves, he will not at all engage himself in any pursuit after objects like a fool. Let a fool take pleasure in his pursuits. But how can a wise man find pleasure in them, when he knows, as he ought to, that what appears as objective pleasure is really the reflection of self-centred Brahma-pleasure? Who will go to bathe in mirage water? It should not be said that a wise man acts thinking that both his act and the thing on which he acts are unreal and false. For when a man thinks that a thing is unreal and false, how can he proceed to act upon it? A man proceeds to act upon a thing, only when he knows that it is in existence and not at all, when he knows that it is false and therefore non-existent. The belief that a thing is non-existent, and attempt to act upon it are inconsistent with each other. The Vedas and Smritis also declare that a true knower should remain quiet equally both physically and mentally.

Some say that when, however, a man believes that a man should be pure of heart, should tell the truth, should explain the Śāstras, and should do what is laid down in the Vedas, he may act up to his conviction with no harm to himself. If a man follows the above precept, there can be no doubt that he will prove a pretender, a blame-worthy man, and not fit to be associated with by the wise. Also he will not only lose emancipation, but also will get the infamy of a cheat. Besides, there can be no explanation of the inconsistency of a man acting upon the world, notwithstanding his conviction that the world is unreal and false. The two functions, namely, belief that the world is non-existent and acting upon the world at the same time, are opposed to each other. Objective pursuit draws the mind outside towards the object, while the belief that the object is non-existent drives it inside towards the true self. Withdrawal from objective pursuit gives rest and happiness to the senses by relieving them from

the fatigue of action. Activity always causes fatigue and hardship and is invariably brought about by its utility to the agent, while inactivity is always due to the conviction that activity is of no use. All activity is meant to satisfy physical and mental cravings. When a man regards his body and the intellect as his own self, then alone he engages himself in objective pursuit with the desire of satisfying their cravings. When, however, he has got rid of such false identification, and when he knows the true nature of Brahman or Ātman, then it is impossible that he should have any physical or mental cravings and attempt to satisfy those cravings.

Some others say that just as a Sannyāsin goes on begging alms for the protection of his body, in spite of his conviction that the world is unreal, that all activity is useless, and that Brahman alone is true and all-pervading, so others, whether Sannyāsins or house-holders, may with no harm to themselves engage themselves in all acts, social or religious. Does not a Sannyāsin beg for food and eat it, in spite of his conviction that it is unreal and false? Does he not wander from place to place for the sake of food to preserve his body and the intellect? If so, why should not others engage themselves in other social and religious works in addition to the activity necessary for begging food? All that is necessary for him is that he should think that it is only the body, the senses, and the intellect that do the work, but not the Ātman. When there is this conviction, he will not be tainted with the sin of his physical and intellectual work. Just as the sky is not affected with dust and rain-water, so the knower of Brahman will not be affected with the work of the non-self.

Those who make such a statement should be asked the following questions:—When a Sannyāsin or a householder with knowledge of Brahman engages himself in objective pursuit, does he do the work for his own good or for the good of others? If he does work for his own good, is it for worldly happiness or heavenly-bliss? If it is for worldly happiness, is it for the protection of his own body or for the protection of

his followers ? Or does he do so for pleasure ? In the case of a Sannyāsin, it cannot be for the protection of any followers ; for when as a Sannyāsin he has renounced all, he has no followers or dependants. Nor can it be for the protection of his own body for the body, being the result of his past deeds, lasts as long as the result of past actions endures, whether he cares for it or not. Thus when the protection of his body is accomplished by something else, wise men devoid of all nescience make no attempt for the sake of it. When a thing is otherwise accomplished, no wise man attempts to act for it and thus tire himself in vain. His effort will be directed only where he will be eternally happy. Ready-made past deeds bring in their results in time, of their own accord. Ātman should attempt only for those which without his effort are not attainable. The merits of past actions bring in their results just as parents bring in food, water, fruits, and other strength-giving things for their babies. No Brahma-knower need, therefore, attempt for the protection of his body. The result of past deeds alone does that work, and requires no action on his part. It is waiting each day to deliver the fruit of past deeds, and this is seen in sleep and other unconscious states. In sleep, in the mother's womb, in infancy, and in time of fits, no personal effort is seen for the protection of the body. Without providential help, no man's effort is ever seen to succeed. The king known as Parikshit lived in the midst of water to avoid death from snake-bite, as predicted ; still he died of snake-bite in the midst of water. Hence, it follows that man gets good or bad and happiness or misery not in virtue of his efforts but as a result of his past actions in spite of his efforts to the contrary. The body is there to experience either happiness or misery due to past actions ; and no one can prevent it. The results of past actions are unavoidable ; Bali, Rama, and others are instances of inevitableness of this rule. Whatever is ordained to happen in a definite place and time will surely occur in that place and time like storm in rainy season. Hence Sannyāsins possessed of

Brahma-knowledge will never attempt either to get happiness or to avoid misery. On days of their going out for begging for food they avail themselves of whatever comes of its own accord as a result of their past actions, and without thinking whether it is good or bad they accept it like children. They merge themselves in the ocean of peace never thinking of their personal well-being ; for they know that Viṣṇu has taken the oath of keeping himself near them for their protection. Wise men should always keep it in mind that it is past Karma and past Karma alone that brings in to man as its result either happiness or misery. Neither effort nor skill, neither learning nor manliness will be of any use to him in this matter. Knowing this full well, wise men place their body at the disposal of their past Karma, sport in Brahma pleasure, and drink deep the nectar of undisturbed peace. The non-self is a mere phenomenon and it requires no man's effort to nourish it. Just as a man thinks of no ships after crossing the ocean and arriving at his own place, so a Sannyāsin never thinks of his body after crossing the ocean of Samsāra or chain of birth and death by his true knowledge of the nature of Brahman.

Nor is there any objective pursuit for the worldly happiness of a Brahma-knower ; and worldly pleasure has no attraction for him. He knows full well that the world consisting of the earth, air, water, and other things is a mere appearance shining on the basis of Brahman, and just as a diseased woman has no attraction for a youthful physician, so the phenomenal world has no attraction for a Brahma-knower. The world is like a painting of Rama, Sita, and their followers. There are persons who are affected with the painting as if it were real and are moved to tears at the sight. But when they are told that it is a painting, they recover their courage and keep calm. So a man is affected with the world before he knows the true nature of Brahman ; and after knowing it, he enjoys the internal pleasure of calm peace without being disturbed in any way at the sight of the world.

If the objective pursuit of a man is meant for heavenly happiness, then the question to be put is as follows:—

Is that heavenly happiness that which is found in the Svarga world? Or is it for emancipation? Or is it for physical and mental purity? It cannot be for happiness in Svarga, for that world is as unreal and transient as any other worldly happiness to the knower of Brahman. Nor can it be Mōksha, for Mōksha is attained only with knowledge of Brahman and never at all with the performance of any rites, Vedic or non-Vedic. Likewise, it is not for the purity of the Ātman, or for the purity of the intellect, or for the purity of the body. For the Ātman who is identical with Brahman is ever and eternally pure, like fire, air, and the sky, and it is sheer madness to attempt this purification. Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods have done innumerable unrighteous acts for the good of the world and yet in virtue of their true knowledge of the nature of the one being have maintained their purity. When such is the case, there is no necessity to attempt the purification of the Ātman. Nor can it be for the purification of the intellect, for the intellect of a Brahma-knower must necessarily be pure for the reason that no man can attain the true knowledge of the nature of Brahman, unless his intellect is first of all rendered pure of all its vitiated thoughts. Nor can it be for the purity of the body, for with the true knowledge of the nature of Brahman the purity of the body is also brought about. There are things which are naturally pure; a few other things are rendered pure, when acted upon with purificatory means; and some other things are rendered pure, when they are brought in contact with some other things. But the body which is full of urine and other impure things can be rendered pure neither by bathing, nor by giving gifts, neither by prayer nor by muttering *mantras*, neither by the sprinkling of sacred water, nor by fasts. Only that dirt which the body has got by coming in contact with some external things can be removed by bathing, or by giving gifts or by prayer. That dirt which is natural to the body cannot at all be removed even by hundreds of baths, gifts or prayers. The outer surface of the body can, however, be cleansed with water; the mind with truth,

and the intellect with contemplation on Viṣṇu,—so say the Smritis. This kind of cleanliness is merely conventional, but not at all real. Whoever bathes himself in the eternal flood of Brahma-knowledge can cleanse not only his body and mind, but also his intellect and conscience. It is only the knower of Brahman that is not touched with the sin of physical, sensual, and intellectual acts. Bathing, worship, recitation of sacred verses, or prayers can be of no use to those who are immersed in the flood of Brahma-knowledge. For those who have been always bathing in the eternal flood of Brahma-knowledge, there is neither fear from birth or death, nor contact with merit, demerit or misery. There is no better purificatory thing for a man than the knowledge of the Ātman or Brahman. There is no better happiness than Brahma-ānanda. That cleanliness which Brahma-knowledge can effect can be acquired neither by a million of baths or sacrifices, nor by tens of millions of gifts or performance of religious rites. Just as a pot is cleansed by being burnt with fire, so a man can be cleansed only by the fire of Brahma-knowledge.

Self-regarding and other-regarding Acts

There are some who say that though a man should not, according to the teachings of the Vēdānta, undertake any work in his own self-interest, he may, with credit to himself, undertake work for the good of others. Many men are said to have attained heaven by doing good work for the good of others. The doing of good work is enjoined even upon wise men in order to lead the world by setting an example. The Bhagavadgītā says, addressing Arjuna, that in order to lead the world he should do the work assigned to him. People usually do whatever a man in high position does; and believe whatever he believes. While common people do work, aspiring for its results, a wise man should do work, with no aspiration for its results and only with the desire of setting an example to others. No wise man should behave so as to arouse doubts in the mind of ignorant people devoted to

work. If this teaching of the Bhagavadgītā is followed, the purpose of Sacred Books and the Śāstras will be fulfilled. Otherwise, who will follow the Sacred Books ? .

This is all very well said, and it is true to some extent. For the question is whether that teaching is meant to be followed by those who have realized truth by self-experience or by those who depend for their knowledge upon their senses and upon the teachings of others. It cannot be for those who have realized truth, for they have rejected the world as phenomenal and it is impossible for them to act upon what is phenomenal. It is only meant for those who with firm belief in castes, sects and religious orders think that something is their own proper work and that they ought to do it. Work for their own good as well as for the good of others interests only those who are actuated by desire to promote the well-being not only of their own body and intellect, but also that of others. A wise man, on the other hand, has no such belief and is free from all duties. An infant or a mad man is never expected to do any work, nor does he perform any work, as laid down. Likewise, a Brahma-knower has once for all abandoned both his egoism and the world. How can he, therefore, undertake any work either for his own good or for the good of others? The cause of activity lies in the desire for the well-being of the body, in the desire for the results of work, in the knowledge of the nature of work, in having fear from calamities otherwise, and in earnest devotion to work. When a wise man is, as he ought to be, devoid of all these qualifications, there is evidently no incentive for him to undertake any work. For when there is no cause, there can be no effect. When a man firmly believes that Brahman alone is real and that the world is only phenomenal, and when he truly believes that all objective happiness is phenomenal and transient and is not worthy of a wise man's thought and care, how can he have desire to pursue after will-o'-the-wisp? No man will attempt to quench the painted fire flames surrounding a man in a picture painted on a wall.

There is no difference between a painting on the wall and this world which is as mutable and changing as the painting and is as it were a picture on the wall-like Eternal Being called Brahman. When both are appearances like the magical mango-tree of a magician, they cannot but be unreal and false. How can they attract the knower of Brahman to act upon them either in his own interest or in the interest of others? Let there be a hundred or a thousand incentives for an ignorant man to act; they will have no effect on the knower of the true nature of Brahman. It has already been stated that when there is the conviction that the world is transient and unreal, there can be no incentive for a man who knows the true nature of Brahman and who is always merged in Brahman. How can he who looks upon the world as Brahman think of it as a separate existence to attract him to act upon it? Just as a man looking at the full moon never notices the blackish colour appearing in the moon, so the knower of Brahman who looks upon the world as a halo of Brahman, its eternal solid basis, will never care for it. Whoever attempts to do a work thinking that it is his own work can never be regarded as the knower of Brahman. Whoever has the conviction that the Ātman, signified by the word "I", is Brahman and that the world is also Brahman in its real form and merges himself in the eternal without being affected by the phenomenal world is called a knower of Brahman. Whoever has concentrated his mind in contemplating on the Ātman as identical with Brahman and has thus got rid of all false notions concerning the world, his body, mind and intellect, and is habituated to see Brahman in front, behind, to the right, to the left, above and below, can have no world to teach and set an example for its guidance. Just as emperorship and beggary cannot be found together in a man, so Brahman-knowledge and devotion to social, religious and other work cannot be found together in a man. Hence, there can be neither self-regarding or other-regarding work for the knower of Brahman. The Vedas also say that whoever has interest

in his body, caste or religious order does not at all know his own true form, the Eternal Brahman. So much for a man who has realized Brahma-knowledge.

Now concerning the man who depends for his knowledge upon the teachings of the Śāstras and learned men. There are two kinds of such persons: one who has renounced the world after learning, but has not as yet realized Brahma-knowledge; and another who is still a householder. Of these two, the first cannot at all engage himself in social or religious work. If he has not realized Brahma-knowledge even after his study of the Vēdānta together with the knowledge of the unreality of the world, his duty is to revise his study again and again, but never to engage himself in any social or religious work. So long as he realizes in his own experience the identity of his Ātman with Brahman, he has to control both his internal and external senses and having complete peace has to study the Upanishads carefully between the lines. This is what Śankarāchārya has clearly stated in his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras and the Upanishads. This kind of repeated study of the Sūtras and the Upanishads is to make him thorough in his conviction and enable him to get rid of his bondage, that is, the chain of birth and death. Accordingly, he has no time for any worldly activity. It is not only unnecessary, but also evidently harmful to him. It is unnecessary for him, for he has no other interest than Brahma-knowledge, and because in his view worldly activity can do no good either to himself or to others. It is harmful to him, because it makes his bondage firmer and firmer instead of loosening it. The more a man engages himself in worldly activity, the greater will be his attachment to the world, his body, his intellect, and other non-self. The distinction of work, agent, and instruments of work involved in the thought that "This is the work which I have to do with this means," destroys his Brahma-knowledge once for all. It should not be said that bathing, cleanliness, prayer, contemplation, and begging for food are the duties prescribed for Sannyāsins; and that the observance of duties is as

meritorious as their breach is sinful. For those are not at all the duties of a Sannyāsin, whether he is advanced in his studies and knowledge or just initiated in them. For Sannyāsa means not only abandoning the world, but also all kinds of social and religious work. The Upanishads say that he should give up all kinds of work inclusive of religious rites, and that he should devote himself to the realization of Brahma-knowledge, having complete control over his senses. They are the duties of a man who is not a Sannyāsin ; for it is laid down in the Smritis that after having renounced the world and all worldly activity, a Sannyāsin should devote himself to the hearing, understanding and contemplating on the meaning of the Upanishads. Otherwise, his Sannyāsa will not only be useless, but also render him sinful. Also, even if a householder comes in contact with a good teacher of Vēdānta he is sure to renounce the world together with all his religious duties.

It should not be said that past action might be unfavourable for Sannyāsa and Brahma-knowledge and quite favourable for bondage and the observance of social activities and religious rites. For when Brahma-knowledge, acquired from the study of the Upanishads, is strong and when there is a strong conviction that the world is unreal and false, and also when there is a strong desire for emancipation, the result of past actions will not be so strong as to involve him in further activity in this birth also. Only the conviction that the world is unreal is enough to prevent him from marrying a wife and observing social and religious duties. Though a man is very thirsty, he will not attempt to find water in mirage, if he knows that it is mirage. Hence when a householder has completed his course of Vēdāntic studies and understood that the world is unreal in its own form, but real as Brahman, its true basis and when he is also desirous of attaining emancipation, he should at once renounce the world and all kinds of work in it, and devote himself to contemplation. For such a man, it is impossible to take religious work even for the purpose of setting an

example to others, since his conviction in the unreality of the world has once for all driven out of his mind all incentive for work.

If this is so, then it may be questioned, of what use are the Vedic and Śāstraic texts which have laid down religious rites to be strictly observed by man? We answer this question as follows :—Those rites are meant only for him who has come to know of the unreality of the world and of the reality of Brahman only by hearing of the Vēdāntic texts and has not realized the same by his own experience, besides being actuated by no strong desire for emancipation. Such a man is obliged to remain and live as a householder and observe the duties laid down for him. He should at the same time distinguish between the body with its limbs and the Ātman, and consider that it is the body that does the work, but not the Ātman who is devoid of all activity. By acting in this way he will set an example to the world at large. Just as a man infers the existence of fire by looking at smoke rising up from a chimney, and just as a man infers by mathematical reasoning the time of eclipses, so a man may, by studying sacred books and by reasoning, come to the conclusion that the world is unreal and may not at all be convinced himself of the validity of that theory by his own experience. Only such a man of mere book-learning is a candidate for whom works on theology and religious rites are written. They are not at all meant for a Brahma-knower, who has realized in his own experience the true nature of Brahman and the unreality of the world.

Some are of opinion that according to the Bhagavadgītā he who on the strength of his Vēdāntic studies and experience believes his own Ātman to be the Ātman of all, and who has kept his mind and senses under his control will not be affected with the effect of social, religious, or any other activity, provided that he thinks that it is the body that does the work but not the Ātman. Hence it follows that he who has realized Brahma-knowledge should also observe religious work. It is wrong to say that the social and religious duties laid

down in the Śāstras are meant only for him who has not realized in his own experience the truth or validity of the Vēdāntic knowledge which he has acquired from learned teachers and books. For in the verse of the Bhagavadgītā quoted above the epithet "who believes his own Ātman to be the Ātman of all" cannot be deservedly applied to him whose knowledge is merely bookish.

True, that all the epithets used in that verse are applicable only to a man who has realized Brahma-knowledge. Still it should be borne in mind that those verses do not at all apply to a man who has attained Brahma-knowledge and remains like an emancipated man; but only to a man who is about to realize that knowledge. For, from the viewpoint of the former there is neither the world nor any other individual in bondage; the whole world with all its animate and inanimate contents has taken the form of Brahman. Accordingly, he has nothing else to act upon or to act for. But the latter has not attained the position of the former; and he still finds the world with other individuals as distinguished from himself. Just as a man looking at the pictures of men and women painted on a wall distinguishes between the wall and the pictures of men and women on it, so the latter still sees the world with many individuals; while the former sees only Brahman and nothing else. Just as a man knowing the beauty of a pearl comes to know that all pearls are similar in beauty; and just as a boy measuring the length between any two finger joints with a thread comes to know the measure of all finger-joints, so a man who has realized Brahman and has attained emancipation alike looks upon the whole world with all its contents as having been dissolved in Brahman and as having become Brahman like himself. Such being the case how can a Brahma-knower attempt to do work for the good of others? Activity is the function of a man who is in bondage of the world, while inactivity is the function or the nature of an emancipated man. Where is the world and the possibility of setting an example for others in the world by his own activity, for a man who in virtue of his true

knowledge acquired through constant study of the Upanishads and contemplation has once for all got rid of his false notions about the world and its contents and has attained the stage of remaining identical with one universal Being ?

It should not be said that just as he works for the maintenance of his body, so he might do religious duties as well. For with regard to eating and excretion, neither any distinctive notion of place, time, objects, and personal positions, nor the feeling of attachment to caste, sect, nor the sense of purity or impurity, and not even an egoistic reference to the body as "I" are required. The conduct of a true Brahma-knower is like that of an infant, or a mad man. They, however, see eating and other physical acts; but merged as Brahma-knowers are in the identity of their individual being with the universal Being, they can scarcely be conscious of religious or social duties. Just as in sneezing neither desire nor any determined attempt is required, so in the act of alimentation, a Brahma-knower entertains no desire nor makes any determined attempt. When he has got rid of such dual notion as "I, and this", and remains as identical with Brahman with no feeling of his individuality, who can make him act upon the world? For only when there is the distinctive notion of "I" entertained by him, there is the possibility of his regarding himself as an agent, and when there is the distinctive notion of "this", there is the possibility of his identifying that "this" as his work. In the absence of such dual notion, how can he be expected to act in any way? He remains quite indifferent to all and in all.

The Smritis like the Bhagavadgītā say that a Brahma-knower has nothing to do, to speak of or to think of. He has to remain merged in the Ātman. Keeping silent like a sage, sitting in contemplation, purity of self, annihilation of the will, complete control over the senses, and finding his own Ātman in all beings,—these are the six characteristics of a true Brahma-knower. These characteristics cannot remain side by side with worldly activity. It is true that the Smṛiti says that if he does any work, he will not be affected with its

effect. That work is no other than that which concerns the well-being of the body. It is eating, excretion, washing and other almost involuntary acts which are incidental to the body. This is clearly stated in the Upanishads:—A Brahma-knower is not affected with the effect of the work done for the sake of the body. The work is explained in the next sentence in the same work as follows:—Seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, walking, sleeping, breathing, talking, excreting, handling a thing, opening the eyes, and closing the eyes. With the exception of these thirteen kinds of action, a Brahma-knower cannot possibly employ himself in any other work without exercising his will. The thirteen kinds of action can, however, be permuted in a hundred or thousand ways with no harm to himself. By saying that just as a lotus-leaf is not touched or tainted with the water in which it is floating, so a Brahma-knower is not touched or tainted with the almost involuntary acts purely related to the body, the Upanishad emphatically denies all other social or religious work for a Brahma-knower. If the philosophical principle expounded in the Bhagavadgītā and other works is carefully considered, the same conclusion will be arrived at. The Bhagavadgītā says that there are two ways of attaining good: one is through the path of knowledge meant for Brahma-knowers, and the other is through the observance of social and religious work, as laid down in the sacred books, for the good of men having an inclination to do work. Stating thus the same work goes on to say regarding the first course, as follows:—For him who is content only with self-knowledge, who finds pleasure only in the Ātman, and who has nothing else to satisfy him except the Ātman, there is no work to be done. The Vedas are meant only for those who are either good and peaceful, or who are always active, ambitious, or who are dull and indiscreet. These are the effects of the three qualities, *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas* respectively. *Satva* means peace and goodness; *rajas* energy and fury; and *tamas* ignorance and carelessness. The Vedas have laid down three kinds of work corresponding to the three qualities. Arjuna

is required to get rid of the three qualities. He is asked not to mind the effect due to the pairs, such as, heat and cold, happiness and misery, and so on. It also says that a Brahma-knower is wide awake and attentive to that which other people regard as dark night in order to sleep over and not to mind it. A Brahma-knower should have his senses, mind, and intellect merged in the Ātman who is identical with the universal Being called Brahman. He has to make no distinction between a learned Brahman, and a cow, or an elephant, or a dog, or a cooker of dog's flesh. Such a man deserves to be called a Brahma-knower and will have no work of any kind to do. Consistently with this teaching in the beginning and the middle, the Bhagavadgītā concludes in the last chapter, asking Arjuna to abandon all work and merge himself in Kṛiṣṇa that is Brahman, identical with the Ātman. When following the principle of interpretation that the beginning and the close of a thesis should be consistent with each other, the teaching of the Bhagavadgītā is carefully considered, it will be evident that for a Brahma-knower no work of any sort is laid down. On the ground of the statement made in the Bhagavadgītā that if a Brahma-knower slays men or destroys the world, he will not be tainted with the sin of that work, it should not, however, be said that a Brahma-knower ought to do work laid down for him. What is really meant by saying that by doing a horrible or agreeable, and good or bad work, a Brahma-knower is not at all tainted with the sin of that work, is only the excellence of Brahma-knowledge and not that he should do any work, good or bad. When it is borne in mind that when doer, deed, and instruments of doing have all become one, how can a Brahma-knower who remains alone without a second do work? Work is possible only when there is the sense of duality. As to the thirteen kinds of acts referred to above, they are all almost involuntary, and they go on without any willing effort on the part of the Brahma-knower, like that of a man unconsciously scratching the itching part of his body in deep sleep.

Nor is Karma meant for a man who is initiated in Brahma-knowledge, and who is trying to advance in it. For, his one aim ought to be uninterrupted effort to merge himself in contemplation on Brahman. Accordingly, he will have no time to spare for worldly activity. If he engages himself in work he will not only fail in acquiring Brahma-knowledge, but also be involved in bondage.

If, however, a man has attained Brahma-knowledge and has the power of helping others without any harm to himself, he may take up social service and help his fellow-beings like Visvāmitra, Vyāsa, Agastya and other ancient sages. But when a man is unable to save himself, it is quite impossible for him to attempt the rescue of others from bondage. The Smṛiti also says that a man should save his Ātman with the aid of the Ātman himself and never allow himself to fall into bondage; that Ātman can become either a friend or an enemy to himself. He who has conquered his Ātman with Ātman will have the friendship of Ātman. He who has lost sight of his Ātman will have his Ātman inimical to himself. What is meant by saying that one should save one's own Ātman with the aid of Ātman is that since one's own Ātman has fallen a victim to a series of births and deaths, one should understand the true nature of Ātman, and by constant contemplation on the identity of the universal Ātman or Brahman with the individual Ātman one should extricate oneself from the tendency of identifying oneself with the body, the senses, or the intellect. Not allowing oneself or one's Ātman to fall into bondage means that one should not allow one's own senses and intellect to drag the Ātman towards the objective world. Falling into bondage means the loss of one's own stay in one's own nature and disappearance or appearance otherwise. One's suffering is due to one's ignorance of the nature of one's Ātman; in extricating oneself from this suffering true knowledge of the real nature of Ātman is the only means; and never can wife, sons, brothers, or the funeral and other rites performed by them release one's Ātman from bondage. Just as one is not cured of one's disease by the medical

treatment given to another, so one's release is not effected by the Yoga-practice of another. Hence, it follows that Ātman alone can help Ātman. If forgetting to attend to one's own Ātman, one turns one's attention to the objective world, then one becomes an enemy to oneself and fails to acquire release.

Just as it is better for a man to keep quiet than to look at the painting on a wall for a long time and suffer from pain in the eyes due to exertion, just as keeping quiet in a cool place is better than sitting in a hot place, just as sleeping is better than sitting in a cool place, and just as deep sleep is better than mere lying down on bed, so for a Brahman-knower keeping the senses inactive is better than employing them in pursuit of the objective world; better than this is the abandonment of all thought of the world; better than this even is the confinement of the mind to the thought of Brahman always and everywhere.

Avidya is the Cause of Bondage

Avidyā is wrong or mistaken knowledge and not ignorance or absence of knowledge. Mistaking a rope for a snake is wrong or mistaken notion and such notions are termed Avidyā. It is positive and is a wrong form of knowledge itself. As a form of knowledge, it is not outside knowledge. This Avidyā is of two kinds:—(1) covering and (2) impellent. The former covers or hides things, like darkness and makes them disappear or appear otherwise. The latter is of the form of sub-consciousness and is possessed of the three qualities, Satva, Rajas and Tamas. It is called Sātvika, when it impels a man to do good and peaceful acts; Rājasa when it drives a man to do energetic and heroic acts; Tāmāsa when it makes a man dull, inactive and indiscreet. This power of sub-consciousness called Avidyāvīkshepa drags man out towards the objective world and makes him think of himself as a doer, enjoyer, or sufferer and renders him unconscious of the true nature of the Ātman. Āvarana or covering Avidyā is got rid of by careful thought and investigation.

The latter is got rid of by Samādhi or concentration of mind on Brahman. Since both are pseudo-forms of knowledge, they can be rectified or removed by knowledge itself. Wherever there is knowledge there is also pseudo-knowledge. Knowledge itself acts sometimes rightly and on other occasions wrongly. The wrong proceeding is set right by knowledge itself in its right aspect. Since wrong thought originated with man, it cannot be said when and how it came into existence. Hence the pseudo-form of knowledge or consciousness called Avidyā is said to be beginningless. Since the right form of knowledge can remove the wrong form of knowledge by right thinking and investigation, it has an end. Just as a piece of cloth coming in contact with a fragrant thing retains the smell, so the former experience of things called Vāsanā remains in sub-consciousness inherent in man. This is the cause of hope after hope arising in man. Hope is the cause of desire; and desire is the cause of all worldly activity, which is the cause of bondage. Hence, it is the sole duty of man to get rid of this Vāsanā.

When sub-conscious knowledge remains in its own form with no external objects which are its own pseudo-forms, then to think of emancipation, that is, remaining in the pure form of consciousness, is an accomplished fact. The body, hands, water, air, and other material objects are all pseudo-forms of Brahman, whose characteristics are eternal existence, knowledge or consciousness, and unmixed happiness. When Brahman, the underlying essence of all pseudo-forms, the contents of the world, is correctly comprehended, then the distinction due to the pseudo-forms covering the Ātman of a dog, a cooker of a dog, a learned man, a good man and a bad man will all vanish and all will be consciousness and nothing else. To a Brahma-knower pseudo-forms like a tiger and other cruel beasts like those dreamt of in a dream cause no fear whatever. The power of Vāsanā or accumulated experience of past births is so strong that though Brahman alone underlies the differentiated world, the notion of the world alone haunts the mind of man. If Vāsanā is got rid of, the

world which is the effect of Vāsanā entirely vanishes. Samādhi can put an end to Vāsanā.

The Nature of Samadhi

Samādhi means cessation of worldly activity or ceasing to act in the world. It does not mean concentration of mind on an object, as in Yoga. Cessation of activity means withdrawing the senses and the mind from all names and forms constituting the world. Just as a man foolishly talks saying "I, thou; this is a Brāhman, that man is a Śūdra, and so on", so a wise man should not talk of distinctions consisting in names and forms.

Destruction of Vasana

If, as stated above, a Brahma-knower means a person who looks upon the whole world as Brahman in reality, why should he not think and talk of apparent distinctions due to conventional names and forms? Why should he hold his tongue and shut his eyes? Merely by his seeing things and talking of them, neither the world which is a mere phenomenon of Brahman, its real basis, nor Brahman, whose nature it is to appear variously and in the form of many things is altered. The philosophical distinction of dualism and non-dualism is a useless literary device. If the whole universe is in reality Brahman and Brahman alone, why should a Brahma-knower cease to talk of the universe, which is Brahman's apparent form.

It is true that the whole universe is Brahman in reality and that the world is merely the forms in which Brahman appears to us. Such being the case there seems to be no harm in talking of the forms. But if carefully considered, a Brahma-knower will surely bring upon himself a good deal of harm by talking of names and forms. For such talk as 'This is a Brāhman, that is a Śūdra, this is a cow, that is a dog, etc.', cannot be made at all, unless the name, colour, and genus or category of each thing as distinguished from another is taken into consideration. The distinctive notion of everything in the world is due to past experience of the thing itself.

Experience means impressions of things stored up in memory or consciousness, and is called Vāsanā in the Vēdāntic philosophy. Hence it follows that without the aid of this Vāsanā there is no possibility of talking of things to each other among men. Besides, talking involves egoism and also the distinctions of "mine and thine". In other words, Vāsanā or distinctive notions of things stored up in memory develops the notion of duality and destroys the rise and growth of Advaitic or non-dualistic truth. In truth, it is Vāsanā that is the cause of the body and of man's bondage.

The Triple Body

Man has three different bodies one within the other. They are: (1) the gross body, (2) the subtle body, and (3) the causal body. The gross body is the visible body depending for its growth on food; the subtle body is that which is made of the senses and sense-impressions or ideas; and the causal body is that which is made of purely wrong form of knowledge called Avidyā explained above. This causal body is got rid of by true knowledge, that is, the knowledge of the identity of the universal Ātman or Brahman with individual Ātman. The gross body comes to an end only when the result of past actions is completely enjoyed and exhausted. The subtle body is got rid of by constant thinking of Brahman. Just as a tree is destroyed by the destruction of its root, so the subtle body is destroyed only when the Vāsanā which constitutes it is radically uprooted. Its destruction is possible only when the senses are turned inwards away from the world.

THE SANGAM AGE PROBLEM

BY A. DURAISWAMI

THE problem of determining the period in which the Sangam literature in Tamil flourished is still exercising the most acute of South Indian historians. Two recent discoveries of note would seem to take us a little nearer a true solution.

That veteran scholar, Pandit Mr. Raghava Aiyangar, has advanced, in the first issue of the *Kalaimakal*, a very plausible, though bold, theory that Karikala Chola who, according to the *Silappadikaram*, conquered Magadha and Vajra, must have carried his victorious arms up to the Himalayas, marched at the head of a Tamil confederacy towards Tibet through the passes leading from Sikkin and that the mountains which he reached came in consequence to be called the Chola range,—a name current to this day—but that the snows descended and prevented his reaching his goal. The Pandit's usual wealth of learning leaves little scope for refutation. He feels inclined to place this invasion in the period which preceded the Third Sangam; though he assigns no specific reasons for this view, his instinct is so sound that we may well assume that further research will only corroborate his view. This discovery of a Chola's march on Tibet is an important land-mark in Indian history.

Passing in review the various statements in Tamil literature about the invasions made by Tamilian kings against North India, Mr. T. G. Aravamutha Aiyangar had pointed out some years ago in his book on the Sangam Age that Karikalam incised the tiger-seal on the Himalayas, defeated the kings of Magadha and Vajra and secured an alliance with the king of Avanti; and on a careful examination of the course of north Indian history he opined that this and other similar invasions could have taken place only in one or more of three periods,—the first from 208 to 184 B.C., the second from 148 B.C. to the beginning of the first century

A.D., and the third, in the third century A.D. His conclusion would apply equally to the theory of Pandit Mr. Raghava Aiyangar,—which, indeed, differs from his in that it places the Chola at the head of a Tamil confederacy and takes him across the Himalayas into Tibet,—and, therefore, both these writers may be taken to be agreed on the periods in which the invasions might have been possible.

Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar had gone a step further in that he argued that a passage in the *Kalingathupparani* suggested that Karikal conquered a king known as Maukahari, that we do know of a Maukhari dynasty reigning in Magadha in the periods in which these invasions could be placed and that therefore the *Kalingathupparani* must have preserved accurately an old tradition current among the Cholas to the effect that the king of Magadha vanquished by Karikal was a Maukhari. This suggestion regarding the identity of the king of Magadha defeated by Karikal was strictly unnecessary for the determination of the point which Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar sought to establish, but he drew pointed attention to it as affording some corroboration of his theory. Some scholars have considered the suggestion to be too recklessly based on a mere identity in names, but a newly discovered inscription seems to justify his courage and vindicate the sureness of his instinct.

On a boulder near Chandravalli, a place to the west of the fortified hill of Chitaldrug in the Mysore State, Dr. M. H. Krishna, the State Archæologist, discovered quite recently an old and weather-worn Brahmi inscription, in the Prakrit language, which records that a tank near by was 'constructed by Mayurasarman of the Kadambas who has defeated Trekuta, Abhire, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sayindaka, Punata and Mokari' (Mysore Archl. Dept., *Ann. Rep.* 1929). The allusion to the defeat of the Mokari, that is, the Maukhari is what gives this inscription its importance,—especially because Dr. Krishna seems to be totally unaware of Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar's suggestion about a Maukhari being defeated by a South Indian king. On a learned

discussion of the inscription, Dr. Krishna concludes that the inscription must have been incised about 258 A.D., that Punnata and Sayindaka formed parts of the present Mysore territory, Pallava was to its immediate north beyond the Vindhyas, and that Mokari too lay north of some mountain range but more towards the east. This discovery would therefore seem to confirm the view of Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar that the Maukharis could have been defeated by a king of the far distant south.

But it has been thought by some who refuse to believe in the valour of the South Indian kings that the Maukharis defeated by Karikal must have been on the borders of the Tamil country, and some support for this view might be sought in the circumstances that the inscription mentions them immediately after Punnata. Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar had himself pointed to a Mukari-Nadu in the Tamil country and to a number of Mogalis in the Telugu and the Kanarese countries. But it must be conceded that the inscription makes no attempt to range the names in order of geographical propinquity and it must also be remembered that if Mayurasarman could have conquered Sakasthana and Pariyatrika beyond the Vindhyas he could have had no great difficulty in vanquishing the Maukharis who lay to the east of them. Another important circumstance ought not to be allowed to escape our notice. We cannot afford to forget that while the *Silappadikaram* takes Karikala north to Magadha, and, therefore, to the Maukharis, and even beyond to the confines of Tibet, no record or tradition takes him to a Mogat or a Mukari-Nadu. The *Silappadikaram* being much closer in point of time to Karikala than we, the authority of that work must be preferred to any conjectures that we may now indulge in.

The palæography of the inscription seems to contain elements in it which may be later than 258 A.D., but, as Dr. Krishna points out, the period is one of transition in palæography. But even if we feel inclined to assign it to a century or so later, there is still the important circumstance

that about 350 or 400 A.D. the fact stood accepted that Mayurasarma had defeated a Maukhari. The inscription too does not profess to record a contemporary event, and so, even if the palæography point to a later date for the inscription, we need not forget that the inscription might refer to an event of the past and that Mayurasarman might have belonged to a date earlier than the inscribing of the record. The attribution of Mayurasarman and, therefore, his victory over the Maukhari, to be about 258 A.D., seems to be fairly satisfactory.

If about 258 A.D. Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, could have defeated the Maukharis, why should we feel any doubt about the possibility of Karikala having invaded Magadha, vanquished a Maukhari and marched towards Tibet? Karikala might have been earlier than Mayurasarman,—but the two new discoveries seem to confirm the *Silappadikaram* and corroborate the *Kalingatupparani*, and probabilise the theories that before 300 A.D. Karikala had defeated a Maukhari of Magadha and marched upon Tibet.

The age of the Sangam would thus be anterior to 300 A.D. and its literature must be accounted the product of perhaps the most glorious period of Tamil history.

THE DATE OF THE ELEVENTH PARIPĀDAL

BY K. G. SANKAR

THE *Paripādal*, which belongs to the *Eṭṭuttōhai* collection, is of unique interest in that it enables us to fix the Sangham age accurately by a careful consideration of its astronomical data. The data are contained in the following opening lines of the eleventh *Paripādal* of Nallanduvarār:—

விரிகதிர் மதிய மொடு வியல் விசும்பு புணர்ப்ப
வெரிசுடையெழில் வேழந் தலையெனக்கீழிருந்து
தெருவிடைப்படுத்த மூன்றொன்பதிறிருக்கையு
ஞருகெழு வெள்ளிவந்தேற்றியல் சேர
வருடையை ப்படிமகன் வாய்ப்பப்பொருடெரி
புந்தி மிதுனம் பொருந்தப்புலர் விடிய
லங்கியுயர்நிற்ப வந்தணன் பங்குவி
னில்லத்துணைக்குப் பாலெய்த விறையமன்
வில்லிற் கடைமகர மேவப்பாம்பொல்லு
மதிய மறைய வருநாளில் வாய்ந்த
பொதியின் முனிவன் புரைவரைக்கீறி
மிதுனமடைய விரிகதிர் வேனி
லெதிர் வரவு மாரியியை கெனவிவ் வாற்றூற்
புரை கெழுசையம் பொழி மழை தாழ்—

In this passage, the actual positions of the leading planets and stars are given as observed at day-break on a day at the beginning of a rainy season. The first three lines inform us that the heavens were divided into three *vithis* named after the *rāsīs* indicated by *Eri* (Krittikā, whose God is Agni), *Śaḍai* (Ādrā the asterism of Śiva) and *Velam* (Rēvatī or Bharanī, whose *yonī* is the elephant). Parimelaḷahar, commenting on them, says that by Krittikā is meant Rishabha, which includes $\frac{3}{4}$ Krittikā segment. But this assumes without proof that Nallanduvarār used a Rēvatyādi zodiac, and it is besides strange that he should have indicated a *rāsi* by a *nakshatra* segment, part of which was in another *rāsi* (Mesha). We must therefore infer that Krittikā, Ādrā and Rēvatī or

Bharaṇī are the asterisms so named, and not the segments, and that they were in Rishaba (30° to 60°), Mithuna (60° to 90°) and Mēsha (0° to 30°) respectively. The longitudes of these asterisms are given in several *siddhāntas*, but the only dated *siddhānta* is the *Brahma Siddhānta* of Śaka 550=628 A.C. According to it, the polar longitudes of Rēvatī, Bharaṇī, Krittikā and Ārdrā are 0° , 20° , $37^\circ 28'$ and 67° respectively. The *yōgatārā* of Rēvatī is identified with ζ Piscium, whose longitude in 1690 A.C. was, according to Flamsteed's *Catalogus Britannicus*, $15^\circ 32'$. If therefore by *Veḷam* we mean Rēvatī, it could not have been in Mēsha before 628 A.C. and the *Paripāḍal* would have to be dated then or thereafter only. But this is not necessary, as by *Veḷam* Bharaṇī may have been meant. The *yōgatārā* of Bharaṇī is identified with 35 Arietis ($42^\circ 36'$ in 1690 A.C.) or with 41 Arietis ($43^\circ 52'$ in 1690 A.C.). The true longitude of Bharaṇī, corresponding to its polar longitude of 20° is $24^\circ 41'$, and its precession in 1062 years (from 628 A.C. to 1690 A.C.) is therefore $17^\circ 55'$ or $19^\circ 11'$. Since these give us the rate of sidereal precession as 1 in every $59\frac{1}{4}$ or $55\frac{1}{3}$ years of which the former accords more closely with the true rate of 1° in 61 years, as determined by Mr. L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Pillai, we have to identify Bharaṇī with 35 Arietis only. Accepting this identification, we may infer that Bharaṇī could not have been in Mēsha before $24^\circ 41' \times 59\frac{1}{4} - 627 = 835$ B.C. or after $(30^\circ - 24^\circ 41') \times 59\frac{1}{4} + 628 = 943$ A.C. This period of 1,777 years (835 B.C. to 943 A.C.) is too wide for our purpose. But Krittikā and Ārdrā will help us to define the limits more closely. The *yōgatārā* of Krittikā is identified with Alcyone ($55^\circ 40'$ in 1690 A.C.) and its true longitude is $38^\circ 58'$. Its precession in 1,062 years is therefore $16^\circ 42'$, yielding a rate of 1° in $63\frac{3}{5}$ years, and it could not have been in Rishabha before $628 - 8^\circ 58' \times 63\frac{3}{5} = 58$ A.C. The *yōgatārā* of Ārdrā is usually identified with α Orionis ($84^\circ 25'$ in 1690 A.C.) and its true longitude is $65^\circ 5'$. Its precession in 1,062 years is therefore $19^\circ 20'$, yielding a rate of 1° in 55 years. But this rate is too wide of the true rate (1° in 61 years), and the

latitude of ∞ Orionis is $16^{\circ} 4' S.$, while the polar latitude of $\bar{A}rdr\bar{a}$ is given as $11^{\circ} S.$ The *yōgatārā* of $\bar{A}rdr\bar{a}$ may therefore be more correctly identified with 135 Tauri of $9^{\circ} 10' S.$ latitude and true longitude of $83^{\circ} 20'$ in 1690 A.C. Its precession in 1,062 years would be $18^{\circ} 15'$, yielding a more probable rate of 1° in $58 \frac{1}{5}$ years, and it could not have been in Mithuna before $628 - 5^{\circ} 5' \times 58 \frac{1}{5} = 332$ A.C. Even calculating at the true rate of 1° in 61 years, $\bar{A}rdr\bar{a}$ could not have been in Mithuna before $628 - 5^{\circ} 5' \times 61 = 318$ A.C. Putting together the inferences from the positions of Rēvatī or Bharanī, Krittikā and $\bar{A}rdr\bar{a}$ in Mēsha; Rishabha and Mithuna respectively, we may conclude that c. 300 A.C. is the earlier limit for the date of the *Eleventh Paripāḍal*. On the other hand, it is certain that c. 700 A.C. is the later limit, as according to the Cinnamanūr plates the founding of the Sangham and the victory at Talai-ālankānam were achieved by ancestors of Māravarman Arikesari. The *Paripāḍal* must therefore be dated between c. 300 and c. 700 A.C. It may also be pointed out that according to the *Paripāḍal* the *nakṣatras* were not Krittikādi, as in that case Rēvatī or Bharanī should be in Mīna, not Mēsha.

We are then told that Venus was in Rishabha (30° to 60°), Mars in Mēsha (0° to 30°) and Mercury in Mithuna (60° to 90°). Then we have the phrase அங்கு உயர்ந்தப. Parimelaḷahar says this means that Krittikā was in the zenith. If this is right, the Sun was in $90^{\circ} + 39^{\circ} = 129^{\circ}$, and Venus and Mercury, whose maximum distances from the Sun are 48° and 26° , cannot have longitudes less than 81° and 103° , which are at least 21° and 13° beyond the required positions. Uyar cannot, therefore, mean 'zenith' but only 'visibly high up'. Again, Agni may mean either Krittikā (the asterism of Agni) or the asterism Agni, identified with β Tauri, whose longitude in 1690 A.C. was $78^{\circ} 14'$. Jupiter is said to be in Mīna (330° to 360°). The position of Saturn is indicated by the words வில்லிந்கடைமகாமேவ. Parimelaḷahar takes it to mean that Saturn was in Makara (270° to 300°). But in that case, the mention of Vil (Dhanu) has no significance. It will be

noticed that Mars, Venus, Mercury and Jupiter are all in what are astrologically known as *svakshētras* (own houses), and it is possible that Saturn was really in Dhanu, but Nallanduvanār was influenced by the astrological notion of planets in *svakshētra* indicating heavy showers to link Dhanu with Makara in placing Saturn. If so, we have to consider the possibility of Saturn being in Dhanu (240° to 270°), especially as Nallanduvanār was acquainted with the *svakshētras* of planets (பங்குவின் இல்லத்துணை) and the theory of *vīthīs*. Then we have the words பாம்பொல்லை மதிய மறைய வருநாளில். They naturally mean that a lunar eclipse was shortly expected, though it is possible to take them to mean that the Moon set in the region of Āślesha (the asterism of Sarpa). Agastya (Canopus) is then said to be in Mithuna (60° to 90°), but there is no reference here to its heliacal rising, which in Varāha's time (c. 500 A.C.) happened when the Sun was in 143° . The longitude of Canopus in 1690 A.C. was $100^\circ 46'$, and so in c. 300 A.C. its longitude was $100^\circ 46' - \frac{(1690-300)}{61} = 78^\circ$.

Since Agastya (at least 78°) is said to have been above the horizon, the Sun's longitude cannot be less than 78° . Nor can it be more than 108° , as Venus, whose maximum distance from the Sun is 48° , was between 30° and 60° . The Sun's longitude was, therefore, between 78° and 108° , and the solar day must have been between the 81st and the 111th. Between the 81st and 111th solar days, the mean longitudes of the major planets, corresponding to their geocentric ones: Saturn (240° to 300°), Jupiter (330° to 0°) and Mars (0° to 30°) are Saturn (243° to 306°), Jupiter (321° to 348°) and Mars (314° to 351°). Between these same solar days in 1 B.C. their mean longitudes were: Saturn (73° to 74°), Jupiter (170° to 172°) and Mars (297° to 313°). The required increases in their mean longitudes are therefore Saturn (169° to 233°), Jupiter (149° to 178°) and Mars (1° to 54°). Between 300 and 700 A.C., these increases are found only in 397 A.C. and 634 A.C. The increases in 397 A.C. are;

Saturn 171°, Jupiter 168° and Mars 28°, and in 634 A.C. the increases are: Saturn 187°, Jupiter 161° and Mars 31°. But in 397 A.C. there was no lunar eclipse between the 81st and 111th solar day, while in 634 A.C. there was a lunar eclipse on Āshāḍha Paurṇamī, 16th June (89th solar day), the Paurṇamī tithi ending at 0.94 of the day. At daybreak on that day the planets were all in their required positions, Saturn 257°, Jupiter 341°, Mars 18°, Venus 43° and Mercury 69°. Since 634 A.C. is only 6 years after Brahmagupta, the longitude of Krittikā was then 39°, and the Sun being then in 86°, the asterism, if it is the *Agni* of the text, was 47° above the horizon. If, on the other hand, the asterism was Agni, its longitude was then $78^{\circ} 14' - \frac{(1690-634)}{61} = 61^{\circ}$ and it was 25° above the horizon. The longitude of Agastya in that year was $100^{\circ} 46' - \frac{(1690-634)}{61} = 83^{\circ}$, i.e., it was in Mithuna; and it is well known that the monsoon generally begins about the 16th June. The 16th June 634 A.C. is, therefore, the only date that completely satisfies the astronomical data of the *Paripāḍal*, and the credit for discovering it is due to Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, though his demonstration left much to be desired. It will be noticed that this date for the *Paripāḍal* is in perfect agreement with the date for Sangham age (seventh century A.C.) arrived at by me on other grounds in my paper on 'The Date of Māṇikyavāṇaka' (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXII, pp. 54-55).

HEAVENLY MANSIONS OF THE HINDUS

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I. Introduction

THE evolutionary career of mankind is said to be indissolubly linked together with the divine hierarchies who rule the several planets and the many signs of the zodiac, the passage of the Sun and the planets through the twelve signs of the zodiac marking the progress of man in time and space. The Sun is but the mirror in which are reflected the rays of energy from the spiritual sun, for the real sun is as invisible as the real man. The white light of the Sun is changed in passing through the planetary sphere into the colour of the particular planet and man absorbs these colours by a mental process which changes the pure and original colour which he inherits into a coarser or lighter shade according to his choice of thoughts, feelings and actions. The evolutionary stages of mankind are emblematically represented in the twelve signs. Cancer, for instance, is not the familiar crab; it has been represented as a beetle or a scarab, the emblem of the soul in the famous zodiac in the ancient temple of Denderah. Cancer is known to be the sphere of the soul or the gate of life whence the spirits coming into rebirth enter our sublunary conditions and it is significant that the Moon, the planet of fecundation, is the presiding deity of the sign. Capricorn is at another turning point of the soul's career. It is ruled by Saturn, the reaper with his scythe and hourglass in his hand, the planet of death and chaos, who brings sorrow everywhere and all around. Capricorn is not the familiar goat but a being partly fish and partly goat and represents, in evolution, the stage from fish through amphibia to the mammalian form. In Sagittarius is symbolised the Centaur, a being half horse and half man, denoting evolution to the human stage through the animal form. The next stage of human evolution is reached when we

abandon the physical path and attempt the moral one. For, the Sun's passage through Scorpio (a pictorial representation as a serpent or scorpion) is emblematic of cunning or subtlety pointing out the first faculty of mind evolved by infant humanity. It is succeeded by the balance of reason as symbolised in Libra. Herein man could be made fully responsible to nature's laws and reap what he has sown. When we have thus passed through the physical, moral and mental phases of our soul's existence, we reach the celestial Virgin, the most sublime and mystical sign of the zodiac, which is the vehicle of immaculate conception. Thereafter, humanity's rise to a wonderful height, marked by strength, wisdom and beauty takes place in Leo the sign of the majestic king of beasts.

This planetary evolution is interpreted in Hindu mythology as Manvantaras, seven of them constituting a Mahāmanvantara. According to this, man develops the senses, from the first up to the seventh in order, in the respective Manvantaras and reaches his full stature in the last Manvantara. We are now said to be in the first half of the fourth Manvantara, having already passed through three, and we are governed by the seventh Manu called Vaivasvat since each Manvantara has two Manus, each half being ruled by one. According to Esoteric Buddhism, we are the fifth Root Race and we have developed the fifth sense, while the sixth Root Race is shortly to begin under the lordship of Maitreya. A similar view is held by the Esoteric Theosophists. What was mineral life in the first Manvantara became vegetable life in the second, developing into human life in the third and that life is now said to have reached the sphere of the Devas illumined by the Spiritual Sun, and the race is, therefore, known as the Solar Race. Similarly, the mineral life in the second is now in the Pitrloka where the Spiritual Moon shines and hence that race is called the Lunar Race. This leads us to the so-called paths of the Sun and the Moon, Devayāna and Pitr̥yāna. They are so named because from the former there is no rebirth in the same Mahāmanvantara,

while there is rebirth from the latter. The hierarchies are only living beings in various stages—Deva helping the Pitr, the latter helping the man and the last in his turn uplifting the beast, which assists the animals to get on, while the latter helps to promote mineral life. Hence man is midway between the higher and lower worlds.

The ladder of consciousness or the several phases through which our destiny lies is written, it is said, in the stars and a belief in reincarnation is the bedrock of Oriental religions. Each individual is like a star radiating from himself, through the form he is wearing, an influence which is either personal, being limited to his physical consciousness or individual, signifying the spirit or inner character. He may thus be said to be related to a star as beautifully expounded in the *Isis Unveiled*. Therefore, the star or Nakṣatra under which a human entity is born is said to remain for ever its star throughout the series of incarnations passed by it.

II. The Stars

In the advancing stages of development in the nebulæ are found fizzy balls of gas or clouds of dust which later flatten, forming stars on the rim. The nebulæ themselves seem like distant cities of stars, the great nebula in Andromeda being the brightest of them all. A star generates radiation by consuming its own substance and that is how we get dark or carbon stars as apart from the gaseous and metallic ones, their different colours being due to their varying temperatures. Stars are endowed with rotation at their birth which, like energy, cannot wholly disappear owing to the conservation of angular momentum. As a star sinks, its spread increases and it spins faster towards the close.

The museum of the sky contains a vast range of exhibits. Of the many curious features in the starry vault of the mysterious universe around us, it will be interesting to refer to a few. The last nebula investigated at Mt. Wilson, and the most distant object observable

under the 100-inch telescope, was found to be receding at the terrific speed of 26 million miles per hour. It may be remarked that light from a receding nebula will appear redder. In variable stars, light flickers up and down. In the Cepheid variables, called after δ Cephei, the variability is regular. Sir James Jeans says: 'The perfectly regular light fluctuations of the eclipsing binaries would make them suitable for time-keepers even though we did not understand the mechanism behind these fluctuations.' Likewise, 'the fluctuations of the Cepheid variables have a quality which makes them variable as measuring rods with which to survey the distant parts of the universe.' Rapid increase, slow decline and rapid increase in luminosity are their characteristics. Long-period variables also exhibit similar light fluctuations, taking about a year, unlike the Cepheid variables which complete the cycle in a day, week or at the most a month. Variation in temperature explains the different colours in the star-world—dull red, vivid red, yellow, white, vivid blue and violet. Sir James Jeans observes that groups of stars are not accidental formations. Further, it is the existence of these natural groups of stars, like Orion's Belt, the Pleiades, Coma Berenices, Ursa Major, and others that lie at the root of and justify the divisions of stars into constellations. They are true families, as regards physical properties, identical motions through space, journeyings in society and the like, so that each constellation, both with reference to itself and the rest, can well be described as a moving cluster. There are three varieties of stars. The smallest class comprises the white Dwarfs. Van Maanen's star is of the earth's size and exceptional. Its centre is too hot owing to the continuous breaking up of the electrons. The faint companion of Sirius is of small size, white hot and very compact. To the next category belong the main sequence stars, heaviest, bluest, etc., with their centre hot as the sun's. The last is formed of red giants whose centre is cooler as for example α Orionis, Betelgeux, which is 25 million times as big as the Sun, or the still larger α Ceti 30.

III. Mythology of Stars

The stars have formed great landmarks through the ages and guided the voyages of countless generations from the dawn of time. To the Chaldeans and the Phœnicians as well as to the Chinese and the Indians, the science of astronomy must have been well known. Astronomy has rightly been regarded as the oldest, the most beautiful and the foremost of the sciences. An inquiry in pursuit of truth into that vast, unfathomable, all-embracing infinite space in the firmament of the heavens, in that dome of the gods, in that Ākāśa from which was born Vāyu which gave rise to Tejas whence sprang Āpas from which is born our living Pṛthivī, was undertaken by astronomers, the Chaldean, the Indian, the Arab and the Greek and amongst the foremost we know of may be placed Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, Bhāskara, Varāhamihira and Āryabhaṭa.

In ancient times, groups of stars were given names, perhaps according to fancy, as the clusters appeared to the eye or imagination. These were mostly in relation to the figures of men, animals and things. The Vedas also similarly refer to the twenty-seven asterisms or Nakṣatras comprising the lunar mansions. Amongst ancient references to these asterisms may be mentioned : the Argo of Jason in which he sailed on his quest for the Golden Fleece, guided by a plan of the firmament drawn by Chiron ; the reference by Job in the Bible 3,300 years ago to the great constellation of the Orion, the Giant Hunter who, according to one account, lost his sight in attempting to abduct Merope, the daughter of Oenopion and who subsequently regained it by exposing his face to the Sun or who, according to other accounts, was accidentally shot by Diana and died ; the Pleiades representing the seven daughters of Atlas, who pursued by Orion, prayed to Diana to help them and were by her transformed into a constellation, resting on the shoulders of the Bull. In the 49th chapter of Genesis, Jacob blesses his children, symbolising the twelve signs. Likewise, the

famous Babylonian bricks and the Egyptian hieroglyphical literature contain evidences of the ancient glory of this science of astronomy. In more recent times, Eudoxes of Cnidus about 360 B.C. described the form and movement, while Aratus about 270 B.C. sang about the stars and Hipparchus of Rhodes about 130 B.C. fixed for the first time the position of the stars as we see them. Ptolemy in his *Almagest* has listed 1,122 stars in 48 groups. How the Hindus considered the stars will be discussed later but the antiquity of our knowledge of this science will be evident from the fact that the Great Bear constellation or the Chariot of David is referred to in the Vedas at least 4,000 years ago. It is also known as Ursa Major or Rikṣa (bear). It may be likened to a plough of seven oxen (saptaṛṣabha) or as four of them forming the wheels and the other three the horses of the car of David. How it may be likened to a bear, it is difficult to say. *

Mythology has also been affected by the star cult, both amongst the Hindus and in the West. The extent of this influence cannot, however, be determined. All the stars were divine or saintly beings according to Hindu mythology. An idea of the constellations of Ursa Major and Ursa Minor is given in the following account. They perpetuate the unhappy fate of Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, King of Arcadia. Unable to bear Jupiter's affections for her, the jealous Juno metamorphosed her into a bear, along with her child Arcas. Jupiter pitied her in her suffering but could not undo it and consequently raised mother and son to the heavens as constellations. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa says that Agni was first produced in Krittikas and was then taken and put in Rohiṇī by Prajāpati whence, for the sake of protection from the Asuras, Indra took him and placed him in Punarvasu. The Brahmins next removed Agni to Pūrva-Phalguni, the Kṣatriyas to Uttara-Phalguni and the Vaiśyas to Chitra. Rohiṇī was the favourite consort amongst the twenty-seven wives of Chandra. The Krittikas, a seven-headed asterism of the personified sword as Dharma, were the mothers of Skanda. Saptaṛṣis were

divine seers and Arundhati, wife of Vasiṣṭha, waited near by. Dhruva, the steadfast, was also, though less frequently, personified in anthropomorphic tendency. Like Dhruva, Nahuṣa, the son of Purūravas and Ūrvaśī and all Nahuṣa's sons, Yati, Yayāti, etc., may have been stars; and the Yayāti myth also points towards it. The Aśvins are born from the mouth of the mare goddess as an asterism : it is also said that Vivasvat became a horse and begot, by Tvāṣṭrī, these Aśvins. The Sun burns Jaṭāyu's feathers, though not in anger and Soma, the son of Atri, had power over the Sun. The road to Amarāvati, Indra-loka, is the path of the stars.

IV. Solar System

The Sun, it may then be observed, is the physical and outward glory of the Spiritual Intelligence. He is the centre of the solar system, all things living, moving and having their being in the solar life emanating from him. From this centre radiate all the life-currents which energise every living thing upon the earth. And this life descends and ascends, through each of the seven planets, and in the process of evolution is changed and transformed and these seven planets are either directly or indirectly connected with the seven principal substances or dhātus in the human body.

According to Hindu medicine, man has seven elements (dhātus) in his body and as the seven planets are said to give or control these dhātus, they are said to possess even a biological effect on man. Hindu doctors hold that the position of the planets in a man's horoscope indicates the varying influence of these planets on his life and assert that his diseases and death can be predicted by the transit and progress of the planets. The three guṇas are equivalent to the three qualities of the zodiacal signs—fixed, cardinal and mutable. By combinations, these are again modified so as to provide seven kinds of energy, seven modes of motion or vibration which express themselves in the matter or form-side of the universe. In the Indian zodiac, each sign represents firstly a particular state of matter ; secondly, a characteristic

mode of motion; and thirdly, a co-ordinated type of consciousness or self. These three signify matter, motion and consciousness, the three Śaktis, icchā, kriyā and jñāna, which are correlated with the fundamental classification of self, non-self and the relation between them or *Aham ētat na* (the soul-matter-link of the Praṇava Vāda). The creative life proceeds from the self and runs through the other two. The planetary spirits or intelligences, through their numerous angels or agents, show the various states of consciousness and the signs, in their many combinations, exhibit the forms of matter in motion in which consciousness is working. Hence, a change in consciousness produces a change in form and *vice versa*. The entire Solar System may be regarded as the Body of God, the planets representing definite centres or organs within it: each planet utilising and manifesting a different type of vitality and consciousness, of which the Sun is the heart and the earth the head for the terrestrial inhabitants. While God is everywhere, His life and power are nevertheless manifested more especially through the Sun. Cosmic vital force comes to the Sun from the higher planes of being, the so-called fourth dimension of space and is thence transmitted to each and every world in the Solar Universe, flowing through ether like blood through the human body or like prāṇa along the nerves. Hence, each world is in touch with every other and with the Sun.

Planets

If in man be represented the universe in miniature, it may then be suggested that Sun represents ātma or soul, Moon manas or mind, Mars ahaṁkāra or ego, Mercury chit or intelligence, Jupiter buddhi or intuition, Venus ānanda or bliss and Saturn vivēka or balance and discrimination.

Sun.—The Sun, Sūrya, is so called as he travels in the air. He is a mixture of red and dark-brown in colour, of the Kṣatriya caste, endowed with Satvaguna, an old man belonging to the Kāśyapagotra, lord of the East and

of the sign of Leo. He represents the Paramātma and stands for Unity in life or consciousness.

Moon.—Chandra married the daughters of Dakṣa-prajāpati, of whom he was very partial to Rohiṇī. Dakṣa sent for him and advised him to treat all his wives in the same manner, but to no purpose. Chandra was, thereupon, cursed with childlessness and to suffer from the terrible and wasting disease of consumption. Thereupon, all the wives of Chandra implored Dakṣa to take away the curse, but, as that was not possible, a concession was made so that Chandra would wax in the one half and wane in the other half of the month. His colour is gaura or white and he belongs to the Dvija caste. He is lord of Cancer and the East and belongs to the Ātreya gotra. He represents Duality or Jīvātma, and the formative principle. He is the Individual Soul, being the reflection of the Supreme Soul or Paramātma. The earth represents differentiation, the material self or body, *i.e.*, activity in matter.

Mars.—Kuja is a son of the earth, of red and white mixed colour, belonging to the Kṣatriya caste, lord of the South and of Meṣa, endowed with Tamoguṇa, of the Bharadvāja gotra, four-armed, facing the Sun, with Kārtikeya for his god. He is defective of limb. Kuja denotes matter-dominating spirit working through material activities.

Mercury.—Budha is the son of Chandra and Tāra, greenish blue in colour (दूर्वाश्याम), a eunuch, a Śūdra, endowed with Rajoguṇa, the lord of Mithuna, and of the North. The cross (+), the symbol of Mercury, signifies desire, the astral consciousness, the circle in the middle denoting mutual consciousness, while the semi-circle above indicates that evolution has been pushed beyond the mental and is reflecting downwards light received from the higher (buddhic) plane which dominates all, or the two serpents intertwined round a central rod, denoting the fiery power or Kuṇḍalinī, full control of which makes the practical yogi.

Jupiter.—Bṛhaspati, the son of Angirasa, is the guru of the devas, an old man of yellow colour, endowed with

Satvaguna, belonging to the Brahmin caste and lord of the Īśānya, North-East. He is the soul expanding beyond matter but retaining material form.

Venus.—Śukra, son of Bhrigu and guru of the daityas, is dark-brown in colour and lord of Agni, South-East; belongs to the Brahmin caste and is endowed with Rajoguna. He represents spiritual self or individuality, risen above matter.

Saturn.—Śani is a eunuch, belongs to the lowest caste, is the son of Sūrya, is endowed with Tamoguna and is the lord of Kumbha. He represents the concrete soul limited by conditions.

Uranus and Neptune.—Uranus and Neptune which, being later discoveries, were unknown to the Hindus, are the negatives of the Moon and Sun respectively, representing individual consciousness and personal self-consciousness.

Nodes.—Rāhu and Kētu or the ascending and descending nodes are only chāyagrahas or shadowy planets.

Symbols of Planets

The planets have astronomical symbols, perhaps derived from Chaldean and Egyptian sources. The symbol of Mercury, ☿ is the *caduceus* of Hermes which like the *petasus* is an emblem of eastern origin; that of Mars, ♂ represents a round shield and spear; those of Jupiter ♃ and Saturn ♄, are doubtful, probably indicating the grasp or the clutching hand and the reaper's scythe respectively, and are perhaps the Syro-Arabic forms of the figures 4 and 5, indicating their position in the planetary system; that of Earth, ♁ is an inverted emblem of life, probably bearing some reference to terrestrial corruption and decay; and ♅ stands for Uranus and ♆ for Neptune.

Zodiac

The celestial equator is the great circle which divides the heavens into two hemispheres at 90° from the poles. The first point of Aries is the celestial meridian which corresponds to the terrestrial meridian of Greenwich. It is the equinoctial point on the equator from which commences the

hours of right ascension along the equator, or for longitude on the ecliptic. M. De Lalande says : " The whole of ancient astronomy prior to the age of Chiron (1163 B.C. ?), was probably confined to observing the rising of certain stars at different seasons of the year and the phases of the moon, with only an approach to accuracy ; for even long after that period, neither the Chaldeans nor the Egyptians knew the durations or inequalities of the planetary movements." Chiron, described as a son of Kronos (Saturn or time), it is said, perhaps observed κ Draconis then near the pole of the equator. It is said that about 12,200 B.C. α Lyrae (Vega) marked the pole ; ι Draconis about 4,500 B.C. and α Draconis about 2,700 B.C. And owing to the precession of the equinoxes, the pole moves in a circle among the stars taking about 26,000 years to complete one revolution. The astronomer, however, retained the duodecimal system for his calculations. The constellation or group of fixed stars seen in each of the 12 portions of the zodiac was called a sign, suggesting what would follow whilst the Sun appeared to rise at the same time with any star in that constellation. Besides, fixed stars lying outside the ecliptic were also divided into constellations : Arcturus, Bootes, Orion, etc. Those, however, within the zodiac were named after animals, from 'zodiac' meaning an animal. There are 57 constellations of which 29 are north of the zodiac and 28 south of it. Inside the zodiac, in the constellation Aries, 66 stars were observed prior to 1825 and in Taurus no less than 141. The largest are of the first magnitude, next in lustre are those of the second magnitude and so on till we come to what are known as telescopic and even spectroscopic stars.

Solar and Lunar Houses

Astrologically, the Hindu sub-divisions of the zodiac comprise twenty-seven lunar asterisms, the twelve rāśis and their numerous sub-divisions, and the nine planets in their relationships as rulers over the lunar and solar mansions. The twelve solar houses or rāśis are compared with the physical

body and the planetary positions in these signs with the inner man who inhabits the body, *i.e.*, the rising sign or the ascendant. The houses are classified as cardinal or angular, fixed or succedent and mutable or cadent, comprising 1, 4, 7, 10; 2, 5, 8, 11; and 3, 6, 9, 12, respectively. 1, 5 and 9 belong to the fire; 2, 6 and 10 to the earth; 3, 7 and 11 to air and 4, 8 and 12 to the water tattvas. The ascendant or 1 and midheaven or 10 are the most potent and active signs, the planets therein denoting a typical life and domination of self. The 7th house is as open, prominent and inevitable but to a less degree, the experience being through others. While the 1st is the personal in influence and the 10th is likewise but covering a wider field, the 4th is neither personal nor individual. 2, 5, 8 and 11 are connected with desire, feeling, emotion and *tamas*, 2 and 5 however being more conservative. 3, 6, 9 and 12 are mental and indicate how thought guides and directs both action and desire; but these lack initiative. 3 and 9 are intellectual and positive while 6 and 12 relate to workers and occupations. According to *Praṇava Vāda*, 1, 5 and 9 denote self; 2, 6 and 10 not-self; 3, 7 and 11 relation, and 4, 8 and 12 summation. These are important as the zodiac is the boundary line of the earth's sphere of influence.

Lunar Mansions

Hindu astronomers believe the lunar mansions to have been so divided or invented by Dakṣa, a son of Brahma. The Nakṣatras are, therefore, said to be the offspring of the daughters of Dakṣa, diurnally receiving their consort the Moon in his ethereal journey, being themselves the wives of Chandra of whom Rohiṇī, the fourth daughter, was the favourite consort. Each Nakṣatra or lunar station or mansion comprises $13\frac{1}{3}$ *amśas* or $13^{\circ} 20'$ each, and there are 27 such, to which is also added another, Abhijit, comprising three stars, coming between the 21st and 22nd lunar asterisms, *viz.*, Uttara Āṣāḍha and Śravaṇa. The three stars in the Abhijit are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding or what is called the latter

Ashar. A complete revolution of the Moon; with respect to the stars, being made in 27 days and some hours and minutes and seconds, and perfect exactness not being possible, the number 27 was fixed and Abhijit is said to have been inserted for astrological purposes in connection with nuptial ceremonies. The most ancient measure of time amongst the Hindus was lunar, a lunar year having 12 months of 27 days each, a year thus comprising 324 days. The explanation of the division of the lunar mansions into 27 houses is, therefore, evident. The 12 months of a lunar year are made up of 3 seasons—4 cold months allotted to Brahma, 4 warm months belonging to Rudra and the remaining 4 months being ascribed to Viṣṇu. In the Vedic period, according to Prof. Berriedale Keith, there was extremely little sign of astronomical study. The year was vaguely reckoned and 27 or 28 lunar stations were of dubious origin. At the close of the Vedic period, about the 14th century B.C., however, more elaborate works on the calendar were noticeable. The Vedic sacrifices demanded at least a rudimentary knowledge of the calendar and an elementary conception of mensuration. As Sūtras and Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga they are preserved in the two versions of the Yajurveda and Rigveda. We find here a calendar arranged on the basis of a five-year Yuga with a 366-day Yuga. The position of the Sun and the Moon at the solstices was noticed at the new moon as well as at the full moon, with regard to these 27 asterisms. Some further development of purely Indian types is found in the Gārgya Samhita and other works. The characteristics of this pre-scientific period were general ignorance of the mean motions of the Sun and Moon, resulting in a faulty appreciation of the length of the years and months; and a total ignorance of the true motion opposed to mean motion; the teaching of an equally daily increase or decrease of the length of day, dividing the sphere into 27 or 28 Nakṣatras; entertaining fantastic notions of the constitution of the earth and the universe; and a determination on false premises to work out large numerical

calculations. All save the Jaina texts assumed that the winter solstice fell at the beginning of the Nakṣatra Dhāniṣṭha, but the datum is quite insufficient to enable us to fix in any way the date of the works. As Sir William Jones points out, the names and forms of the lunar constellations, more especially of Bharaṇī and Abhijit, indicate a simplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people and differ entirely from those of the Arabian system in which the very first asterism appears in the dual number because it consists of only two stars. Abhijit, for example, looks like the ace of hearts and has a resemblance to the kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water plant.

Vedic Sacrifices

The Aśvamedha sacrifice points to the commencement of the new year, indicating thereby an astronomical revolution or the Sun's return to the same point in the ecliptic. It is a well-known fact that the Sun turns round its axis from west to east once in about 25 days; the earth goes round itself once in 24 hours and round the Sun in 365 days, 6 hours, etc. The breadth of the zodiac is 16° taking in all the orbits of all the planets and of the Moon. The Sun distinguishes the seasons and brings round the year; the Moon waxes and wanes in his monthly transit; and the stars are an undistinguishable throng, except perhaps Sirius the nearest star whose light rays take eight years to reach the earth.

An astronomical fact of considerable importance was the discovery of the relation of the planets to the zodiac which was itself the result of long and persistent observation. The apparent motions of the Sun, the Moon and the planets are confined in the ecliptic, a broad and imaginary circle in the heavens cutting the equator obliquely. Some very ancient and unknown astronomers divided this ecliptic into 12 portions, perhaps in their crude endeavour to adopt the annual revolution of the Sun to the monthly revolutions of the Moon and later on with a further reference to the planets Saturn and Jupiter. Thus, by multiplying the 30 years of

Saturn by 12 of Jupiter, occupied in their respective journeys round our Sun and applying the result to the ecliptic, the whole celestial circle was distributed into 360 portions. Thus perhaps was established in very early times, a year of 360 days, accurate observation later on adding another 5 days and still later supplementing it by another 6 hours. The leap year and extra days of the centuries thus came as a rectification of the ordinary years. Likewise, additional months in lunar years.

According to Hindu astronomers, however, when the lunar year was arranged by former astronomers, the Moon was at the full in each month on the very day when it entered the Nakṣatra, from which that month is denominated. Opinions differ whether the lunar month began with the full moon, or the new moon, and whether the original number of Nakṣatras in the lunar mansions was 27 or 28. But it is permissible to state that the zodiac was divided by Vedic observations into 27 parts, by means of the leading stars which formed the mile-stones in the heavens. Several stars in the solar mansions and practically in the pathway of the zodiacal constellations appear to have been omitted from notice apparently for the reason that while dealing with the lunar mansions they played no important part in the great calculations of time and space. No inference can be drawn from this that their existence was not known at the time.

While it is difficult to assert whether the solar or the lunar year was first employed for purposes of calculation, there is a school of thought which holds that the 12 signs on which the 12 months of the solar year depended were, according to Hindu astronomers, of later invention, owing to the obvious fact that they are named from 12 of the lunar asterisms चैत्र, etc., which a purāṇa allegorically intimates by ascribing to the 12 months 12 Genii, the offspring of 12 of the 27 wives of Chandra, etc.

Our Sun appears to be travelling fast with his family, facing Hercules. The first day of the solar year is the day

of entry of the Sun into the zodiacal sign of Aries at the vernal equinox, and the beginning of the year is dated from the new moon immediately preceding that day apparently for the reason that on that day the Sun, the Earth and the Moon are in a straight line. These lunar mansions are not all equal in size; some consist of only one or two stars as for example the 14th asterism Chitra which has only one star Spica. Each of these rāśis or signs again has two and a quarter of these lunar mansions. The lunar year begins with the new moon of Chitra, that is, preceding the entry of the Sun into the sign Aries, taking its name from the fourteenth asterism Chitra.

In the lunar calendar, the time is measured by the number of conjunctions of the Sun and Moon on the dial or the zodiacal section of the starry vault overhead on the equator and a year comprises twelve such conjunctions or lunations. In the solar calendar, the existence of the Moon hand is entirely ignored, a year being reckoned by the number of revolutions of the Sun hand, with reference to a fixed point or a star such as Spica. Consequently, the chief bright star in the Nakṣatra which rises about sunset, opposite the Sun, tells approximately the name of the lunar month. A rāśi or sign, on the other hand, denotes the entry of the Sun into it, *i.e.*, Saṅkramaṇa. The twenty-seven Nakṣatras or asterisms represent the twenty-seven equal parts into which the ecliptic is divided, commencing from Aśvini. This division was made with respect to α Delphini which was used as a starting point in the matter of sidereal division. Generally, the most conspicuous star in the space of each Nakṣatra is called its yōgatāra. Unfortunately, there is no bright and unmistakable star near the ecliptic, either in or near the first point of the first sidereal division of the Hindus, called Aśvini, worthy of being referred to as the origin of all sidereal longitudes. In the opposite direction and near the ecliptic, however, is the single and brilliant star Spica or Chitra, the cynosure of ancient astronomers. The origin of longitude is, therefore, so fixed at a point diametrically

opposite to Chitra, whose longitude in ancient Hindu zodiac was 180° .

Naming of the Nakṣatras appears to have been done about 2,000 B.C. when the tropical longitude of the first point of Aśvini was 330° . The year of the Āryans and other ancient nations commenced when the Sun's longitude was 330° , and the Chinese still begin their year in that lunar month in which the Sun arrives at 330° , the degree of tropical longitude.

The sixty-year cycle probably had its origin in the approximate coincidence of the Jovian and Saturnian revolutions round the Sun. It is, however, the smallest of the cosmic cycles, at the end of which all the five planets assume very nearly the same geocentric configuration as they had at its beginning, deviating on favourable occasions within 6° one way or the other. It must, in all probability, have been in use during the period of the Sāmhitas, though perhaps it was reintroduced later when Vijaya instead of Prabhava marked the commencement of the cycle.

The Chaldeans themselves seem to have been, according to V. B. Ketkar, a colony of the Indian Āryans calling themselves Caldais or timekeepers, having borrowed their era and chronology from the Indians and there is evidence to show that they were looked upon as foreigners in Mesopotamia. It is curious to observe that the Chaldean, Egyptian, Nabonassar and the Indian Āryan eras began on a Saptami; the length of the sidereal year was the same; and the Indian era was older than the Chaldean by four centuries. With the Chinese, they have a luni-solar year, months being lunar and years tropical; their era is not based on any cycle but computed by means of the true positions of the Sun and Moon; and they date from B.C. 2,637.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XXXIX

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[The House-Sparrow and the Barn-Owl in Moroccan Magic and Leechcraft.]

THE House-Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*, Linn.) is found all over India, and, through Western Asia, in Europe. As it is found in Europe, it must migrate, during the winter, into Northern Africa including Morocco.

The inhabitants of Morocco, who are descended from the Arab stock of the human race, speak the Arabic language and profess the Mahomedan faith, are, therefore, well acquainted with the House-Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) and its peculiar habits and characteristics.

This bird is remarkable for its prolificness. This peculiarity must have attracted the notice of the Arabs of Morocco who, therefore, use the flesh of this bird in the manufacture of the under-described nostrum for the increase of virile potency :—

“The sparrow (most likely the house-sparrow) is used as an aphrodisiac. In Andjra, a man chars and pounds the bodies of some eight or ten sparrows and mixes the powder with honey which has been sucked from the strawberry-tree and is noted for its lack of sweetness. Into this mixture, he puts forty quite small scraps of paper, and takes the mixture on an empty stomach on forty successive mornings. His sexual capacity will, then, become as great as that of a sparrow.”*

The Barn-Owl or Screech-Owl (*Strix flammea*) is found all over Asia and Europe and through Southern Europe, in Northern Africa including Morocco and Tunisia. The Arabs of Morocco are, therefore, well acquainted with this bird and

**Vide Ritual and Belief in Morocco.* By Edward Westermarck, Ph.D., Hon. LL.D. (Aberdeen). In two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1926. Vol. II, p. 341.

its nocturnal habits. This bird passes the day time by sleeping in its cavities and holes; while, all through the night it keeps awake, flies about and seeks its prey. This bird's habit of keeping awake during the night must have attracted the notice of the Arabs of Morocco who, therefore, use this bird's eyes in the manufacture of the under-described as amulets, charms and nostrums for procuring wakefulness:—

“The eye of an owl (most likely, barn-owl) is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep. He ties it round his right arm or fastens it to his head, or eats it boiled; and a shepherd boy has it hung round his neck. Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks, and other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks (in the water) in a small leather-case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness, others eat the eye for the same purpose.”

Another method of keeping awake is to paint one's eyes with a powder made of the eyes of an owl.

At Demnat, an eye of this bird, attached to a string is worn by a child round the neck as a charm against the evil eye.

Owls, like bats, may be dangerous to little children. For an illness caused by an owl flying over the head of a child, there is the following cure-charm:—The mother places a brass bowl on the top of the child's head and makes water in it, saying: ‘*Sarsara galbet sarsara*’ “*sarsara* (an onomatopoeic expression referring to the splashing and used for the sake of the rhyme) conquered the owl.”*

From a careful study of the afore-described amulets, charms and nostrums, we find that—

(1) The Arabs of Morocco are very careful observers of the peculiar habits and characteristics of birds and noticed the great fecundity of the house-sparrow and the wakefulness of the barn-owl.

(2) Having noticed the afore-mentioned peculiarities of the house-sparrow and the barn-owl, they thought within

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 333-36.

themselves that, if persons suffering from want of virile potency and from sleepiness could be somehow or other made to imbibe the afore-mentioned peculiar qualities of those two birds, their physical defects would be removed. The Arabs who are well up in leechcraft, therefore, hit upon the idea that, if those, who are suffering from the loss of sex-appetite, would eat the flesh of the house-sparrow and those suffering from sleepiness would eat the barn-owl's eye or tie the latter object as an amulet on their own body, the former would be endowed with great sex-appetite and the latter would be wakeful during the night.

(3) The foregoing amulets, charms and nostrums are examples of contagious magic which has been defined by Sir J. G. Frazer as having sympathetic magic based on a material connection between things. Here the flesh of the house-sparrow and the eye of the barn-owl, by remaining in contact with the bodies of the persons suffering from loss of sex-appetite or from sleepiness, remove those defects. Similar examples of contagious magic are to be found among many races of people all over the world. Thus the Red Indian hunter wears ornaments made of the claws of the grizzly bear, so that he may be endowed with its courage and ferocity; the Tyrolese hunter wears tufts of eagle's down in his hat for the purpose of acquiring the eagle's keen sight and courage. Casalis writes that the strange objects hanging from the necks of the little *Basuto* children of South Africa have a magical significance. Among these are included a kite's foot in order that the poor child may escape misfortune with the swiftness of the kite in its flight. Another child wears the claw of a lion in order that his life may be as firmly secured against all dangers as that of a lion. A third child wears the tarsus-bone of a sheep or an iron-ring so that he may oppose evil with a resistance as firm as iron; or as that little compact bone without marrow which cannot be crushed between two other bones without difficulty.

A European traveller, who was about to travel into the interior of South Africa, was asked by a medicine-man of

the *Basuto* tribe to collect for him certain parts of the bodies of some beasts and birds for his stock-in-trade. The uses of these parts of the bodies of beasts and birds are examples of *contagious magics* and have been described by that European gentleman in the following words:—

“He (the *Basuto* medicine-man) wanted lions’ hearts, which eaten, ensure bravery; lions’ fat, which produces enormous strength, lions’ eyes, which dried, endow the wearer with second sight, lions’ claws, a sure charm against evil. Hippopotamus’ fat, as a remedy for rheumatism, seemed not unreasonable, but why the hippo’s heart dried and pulverised and taken internally should endow the consumer with mental placidity was not so obvious. Elephant fat was required as an unguent to give great strength; elephant gall as an emetic; elephant heart for those who craved the virtue of courage.

Certain birds have their uses when dried, split and worn. The owl, for instance, gives second sight. The kingfisher, placed by a swain round the neck of his beloved, ensures her constancy. Every part of the otter has its uses for a swimmer. The fat, heart, and skin of the *gray monkey* called *Isimangwe* or *Idhladhlama*, sharpens dull intellects; rhinoceros’ heart and fat are prized both medicinally and magically but why rhino horn, pulverised, should find a ready sale in China I could not discover. Snakes were in demand; the puff adder, the python, the Black Mamba and Green Mamba (these last most dangerous snakes in the world, their bite killing within five seconds), but their use in this weird pharmacopœia was another thing I was unable to find out.

The merchant (or medicine-man) was disappointed when I told him I could not undertake to act as his collector. But at odd times later I thought of him.

Once, some thousand miles from his shop, we killed a hyena and the natives begged for the carcase. A nocturnal animal, the hyena hides himself by day so successfully that they believe he possesses the secret of making himself

invisible. They desired his body so that they might make for themselves an '*invisible cloak*'.

Again a native, lost in the bush, has what he considers an infallible guide if he is carrying the dried head and eyes of a vulture. He ties them on his head, and taking careful note of the direction in which they are pointing, sleeps. He must dream of the place he wishes to reach, and if on waking he finds the head-dress pointing the same way as overnight, he takes the road. If neither of these conditions is fulfilled he goes through the whole process again.

I have known my servant Julius adopt this method with the greatest confidence, and, whether by luck or not prove its efficacy. But Julius held converse on hunting topics with the *Ngulukulu bird*, and on another occasion with the spirit of his deceased grandmother.”*

Then again, the eating of certain kinds of food, more especially of the flesh of animals, would similarly have a very powerful effect upon the eaters thereof. Thus, among the Dyaks of Borneo, young men sometimes abstain from eating the flesh of deer so that they may not become timid. The Abipones of Paraguay in South America detest the thought of eating hens' eggs, sheep, fish or tortoise, under the belief that these tender kinds of food would produce sloth and languor in their bodies and cowardice in their minds. On the other hand, they eagerly devour the flesh of the jaguar, bull, stag, boar, anta and tamandna (two species of ant-eaters) under the belief that, by continually feeding upon the flesh of these animals their strength, boldness and courage will be increased.

The belief in contagious magic leads quite logically to many revolting practices. In Torres Straits, the sweat of famous warriors was drunk by young men who also ate, mixed with their food, the scrapings from the finger nails of the warriors which had become saturated with human blood “for the purposes of making strong like stone: no afraid”.

* *Vide* the article entitled *Basuto Doctor's Stock-in-Trade*. Published in the Calcutta daily newspaper *The Statesman* of Sunday, the 29th June 1926.

The eyes and tongue of a freshly killed enemy were often torn out and given to lads so that by eating the same they might become brave and fearless. By eating a man's fat and thus making it part of himself, the Australian aboriginal native thinks that he also acquires the strength of the deceased man.*

(4) The most noteworthy features of the Moroccan nostrum manufactured from the flesh of the house-sparrow are that it is mixed with *forty* small scraps of paper and that it must be taken on *forty* successive mornings. Although Dr. Westermarck has not explicitly stated it, I think the scraps of paper are inscribed with texts from the Koran, which lend the nostrum its magical efficacy. Then again, *forty* appears to be a sacred number among the Arabs of Morocco.

(5) The use of the barn-owl's eye as a charm against the evil eye is curious and strange, considering that the hooting of this very bird portends evil and death to a child. This is inexplicable except on the homœopathic principle of *Similia similibus curantur* or "Like cures like". For explaining this strange use of the owl's eye, it may be argued that, because the hooting of a barn-owl portends evil and death to a child, a limb of this very bird, namely, its eye may counteract the evil and baleful influence exercised upon a child by the eyes of a malevolent witch.

(6) The idea underlying the Moroccan cure-charm for curing the illness caused by a barn-owl's flying over a child's head is that the disease spirit is afraid of disgusting things like human urine and flies away from places or receptacles in which such things are kept. Consequently, the disease spirit which is troubling the child, would fly away from the child on whose head the bowl containing the urine is placed.

The utterance of the charm formula "*Sarsara galbet sarsara*" would appear to be an example of the belief in the magical efficacy of the spoken word for exorcising away disease spirits and other malevolent beings of that ilk.

* For a fuller exposition of this aspect of contagious magic *vide Magic and Fetishism*. By A. C. Haddon. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1916. Pp. 9-11.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XVII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Thado Kuki Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the
Fibrous Kernel of the Elephant-Apple or Wood-Apple.]

THE Elephant-Apple Tree or Wood-Apple Tree, which is a member of the Order *Rutacede*, and whose botanical name is *Feronia elephantum*, is called in Bengali *Kath-bael*, and in Hindi *Kaith-bel*. It is commonly met with in jungles and grows all over India. Its fruit is round-shaped, being about the size of a cricket-ball; and its outer rind is of a pale green tint. The interior of the hard shell of this fruit is full of a brown-coloured, soft and mealy kernel which is somewhat acrid in flavour and possesses a strong odour of rancid butter. But the people of Bengal and Bihar are very fond of this fruit and make its kernel, with the addition of a little mustard oil, salt and chillis, into a very appetising *chutni*. These fruits ripen in October. The Rev. Mr. Firminger is of opinion that the pulp of this fruit is "by no means palatable".

But another European authority, Dr. Wight, says: "The pulp of this fruit affords a pleasant jelly so closely resembling black-currant jelly as to be distinguished by a trifling degree of astringency. The jelly, however, I have prepared from it appeared to me to possess rather the flavour of apples with a sharp cider taste and to be such as it is not likely would be approved of by many."

This tree may be propagated either by seeds or by cuttings planted during the rainy season.

This fruit-tree is grown in all gardens owned by Indian proprietors for the sake of its pleasantly sub-acid fruits. But the Rev. Mr. Firminger says that "it is not entitled to a place in the gardens".*

* For the account of this tree, I am indebted to Firminger's *Manual of Gardening for India*. Revised by J. Cameron, F.L.S. Fifth Edition. Calcutta. Thacker Spink & Co., 1904, p. 275.

The Thado Kukis or, briefly speaking, the Thadus are a Mongoloid tribe of people who, in scattered communities, dwell in certain portions of the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Manipur Kingdom and, spreading east into Burma, also inhabit the Chin Hills and the Somra Tract. Their population is approximately estimated at about 50,000. The females of this tribe exceed the males by about 5 per cent. The major portion of the Thadus, however, live in the Manipur Hills. Their anthropometry and their ethnography including their social organization, their manners and customs, religion and folklore have been studied by Mr. William Shaw of the Assam Civil Service and published in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (1928), under the title of "*Notes on the Thado Kukis*".

The Elephant-Apple Tree apparently grows in the jungles of the regions which are the habitat of the Thado Kukis. These people are, therefore, familiar with the fruits thereof of which they appear to be very fond. They also know full well that the kernel of this fruit is made up of a brown-tinted, soft and mealy substance (resembling the phlegm of the human nose) mixed up with a goodly quantity of fibres resembling hair. This struck them very much and they, therefore, fabricated the undermentioned myth to account for the origin of the curious-looking mesocarp of the elephant-apple.

This myth is entitled : "*The Elephant-Apple Carrying*" and is to the following effect :—

A man and his wife, with their child, went into the jungle for the purpose of digging up and gathering yams. In one part of the jungle, they came across a large number of ripe elephant-apples. Some of these fruits they ate there; but they tied up the remaining ones into a load with the intention of carrying the same home. But they found it too heavy to carry. So, addressing his wife, the man said : "Leave some of the fruit here."

To this proposal the woman demurred saying : "No, the fruit is very sweet; we won't leave it. More children

will be born to us from the womb that bore this. Let us leave the child and take the fruit."

So they placed the child in a yam-hole and left it there. Then they carried the load of fruit home.

The child cried all day long on having been left there alone. Towards the close of the day, however, a were-lioness came there and, finding the child, said to herself, "I will bring this child up and eat it". So saying, she took it home and reared it.

When the child had grown big enough, he used to go to the fields with two girls for weeding the same. One day while weeding the fields, the two girls told him how his parents had taken him a-yam-digging when he was infant and had abandoned him in the jungle for the purpose of taking home a load of ripe elephant-apples and how the were-lioness had found him and was rearing him up for the purpose of eating him. They, therefore, advised him to go to the were-lioness' house, looking very ferocious, so that the were-lioness might be scared and cowed down by his assumed ferocity and that he might kill her. The boy acted as he was advised to do; and having killed the were-lioness, went back to his parents' home.

Addressing his parents, the boy said: "I will tell you a tale"; when he had told them the whole story, they wept on being reminded of their cruelty and heartlessness at having abandoned their infant-child.

Then the mother left him and his father and taking an elephant-apple, cut it into two halves; then she blew her nose and put the phlegm and the combings of her hair inside the fruit and said: "*For your sake, my child, I have done this.*" Then they all lived together.

*From that time forward, the hair-combings are to be found in the fibres of the elephant-apple; and the rheum of the nose is its kernel.**

* For this myth, vide Mr. William Shaw's "*Notes on the Thado Kulis,*" pp. 111—112.

From a study of the foregoing myth we find that :—

(1) The Thado Kukis are heartless and cruel and will not scruple to abandon even their nearest and dearest kinsmen for the sake of small advantages.

(2) They also possess the finer qualities of human nature and will readily repent for having done a wrongful and sinful act when the wrongfulness of their conduct is brought home to them.

(3) They are keen and accurate observers of Nature and will readily grasp the peculiarities of natural objects.

(4) As they are in a low plane of culture and ignorant of the scientific laws which govern the formation of trees and their fruits they fabricated the preceding myth to account for the origin of the fibrous kernel of the elephant-apple or wood-apple.

(5) Like many savage races of people, the Thado Kukis also believe that some members of their tribe are great adepts in the arts of magic and sorcery and that these magicians or sorcerers, by the exercise of their magical powers, can readily metamorphose themselves into fruits and beasts such as lions and lionesses. For instance, the were-lioness mentioned in the foregoing myth is no other than a Thado Kuki witch who had by her knowledge of magic changed herself into a lioness. The same belief in the capability of sorcerers and magicians to transform themselves into ravenous beasts is universal. During the Middle Ages, there prevailed in Europe the terrible belief in Lycanthropy according to which some men could transform themselves into *were-wolves* or men who were human beings by day-time and wolves during the night. The same belief in *were-tigers* prevails in India and Malayan Peninsula, in *were-hyenas* in South Africa and in the *were-bear* in Beluchistan at the present day.

REVIEWS

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections.

(Volume 83, Publication 3033, July 24, 1930.)

The Skeletal Remains of Early Man.

BY ALES HRDLICKA.

THE author's earlier treatise on "The Most Ancient Skeletal Remains of Man" (*Ann. Rep. Smith. Inst.* for 1913, pp. 491-552, 41 pls. and 12 figs. 1914) attracted such wide-spread attention that the first and second editions of this publication (1916) were soon exhausted and called for a more comprehensive memoir on the subject including original observations and measurements of some of the more important discoveries made since 1916. Though numerous individual contributions have been published on the recent finds, it was felt that a single treatise dealing with all the ancient cultural and skeletal remains of man in a complete form co-ordinating the results and observations of workers, in different centres of research, was still a great desideratum.

This new and larger work of Hrdlicka, whose principal aim is to present accurate and comprehensive information of the earlier and recent discoveries, must ever remain a classic, possessing a deep and abiding interest and permanent reference value to students of palæontology and anthropology. The great merit of the work which invests it with authority is, that in almost every case dealt with by the author, the fossil remains have been personally and repeatedly examined and original measurements taken by modern and well-tested instruments and the sites of discoveries visited and re-explored, besides consultation with those responsible for the finds. The accounts of these re-investigations are couched in an impersonal form, for according to the author, "there will be no theory to defend, no side to be taken in any controversy", while suggestions may be made which are justified by the more intimate acquaintance with the subject and "viewing it from the detached standpoint of one not directly involved in any discovery and therefore not having to defend any particular opinions",

The book opens with a consideration of the glacial period and the fact that, "the palæontological evidence and human pre-history do not generally conform to the theory of a quadruple European glaciation with three intervening warm periods", has led the author to reconstruct several approximate charts of cultural sub-divisions of the period of early man and their correlation with the geological conditions, which are now generally accepted. The importance of the Ice Age which witnessed the origin and development of man also makes it a difficult study and Hrdlicka after an extensive investigation has compounded the various views as regards the estimates of the sub-divisions, into a chronology shown in the tables on pp. 14, 15, 16, 19 and 20.

The study of the early remains of man and his craftsmanship must at all times possess a profound interest for the scientist and the general public. The worked flints which connect man with some phase of prehistoric industry occur in profusion and almost in a complete state of preservation, while his bones and other non-perishing parts like teeth occur sometimes in a condition which has led palæontologists to express contradictory opinions about the kinship of their possessor and the time when he flourished. A typical case is the jaw of Foxhall, which Collyer and Osborn referred to the Tertiary period but which Busk summarily dismissed as the "Jaw of some old woman, perhaps from some Roman burial ground". The measurements of the jaw as deduced from a given dimension and the illustration point to a more or less modern male bone and the development of the chin conforming to modern-like facial features deprives this find of any very great antiquity and Hrdlicka declares that "the Foxhall jaw fails to establish its right as representative of Tertiary man".

The circumstances which led to the discovery of the Apelike man of Java (*Pithecanthropus*) are interesting. The finds of human remains in 1856 in the Neanderthal cave and subsequently in Belgium and Gibraltar had fired the imagination of Dr. Eugene Dubois who had known the scientific predictions of Darwin, Layell, Wallace and Virchow and sought to discover the remains of the "Missing Link," in the fluviatile deposits of Indo-Malay Islands. He sacrificed his scientific career in the University of Amsterdam and accepted a commission as an army surgeon in the Dutch Indies. His expectation to discover the fossil remains of

the missing link in the East was founded on faunistic considerations like the distribution of the gibbons, the occurrence of anthropoid apes in the Tertiary formations of India and on the general affinity of the extinct mammalian remains of the Indo-Malayan region and of the Tertiary fauna of the Indian Siwaliks to which attention was drawn by Martin in 1886. His earlier labours in Sumatra, in 1888, where neither human bones nor artifacts were discovered, convinced him that the cave fauna of this island was too recent to provide him with the evidence he was seeking to obtain. After receiving fossil fragments of human skull from Java discovered by van Rietschoten in 1889, Dubois transferred his activity to this island where two fields of investigation promised fruitful results and proceeded to explore the cave deposits for human remains and also to search for mammalian fossils which would establish Siwalik affinities. Arriving in Java in 1890 Dubois soon discovered that the vertebrate remains, principally mammalian and reptilian, while showing local distinct peculiarities, bore unmistakable affinity with the Pliocene Siwalik fauna of India, though really belonging to a latter horizon representing the Pliocene-Pleistocene transition stage. He found at Trinil on the left bank of the Bengawan, in the Kendeng deposits of the water-shed, a fragment of the lower jaw of man with alveoli of the canine and the first and second premolars. At intervals and in separate situations but belonging to the same horizon he collected three molar teeth, the famous skull cap and a thigh bone,—finds which Dubois' scientific imagination has visualized. Almost every important discovery in science, perhaps as a rule, pretty nearly succeeds in establishing hostile camps and that of Dubois was no exception. The conflict centred in the problems,—Is the skull really human or that of an ape? Do all the finds belong to the same individual? Do they belong to the same age, Pliocene or Pleistocene? These questions interested the palæontologists, zoologists and anthropologists and among those who participated either in the examination of the finds or in the subsequent discussion may be mentioned Manouvrier, Cunningham, Turner, Flower, Virchow, Marsh, Milne Edwards, Weinert, Osborn and others. Marsh, in giving a summary of the objections of some of the writers, though personally he held views conforming to those of the discoverer, wrote in the *American Journal of Science* (1896) that, "the various remains discovered

were human and of no great age ; that they did not belong to the same individual ; that the skull apparently pertained to an idiot and that both the skull and the femur showed pathological features." Cunningham thought that the skull was to be regarded as human presenting some neanderthaloid characters, while Virchow was of opinion that it belonged to a gibbon. Turner was inclined to favour the view of Cunningham and Nehring and, while agreeing that the skull and femur belonged to the same individual, doubted whether the remains represented a being in direct or collateral line to man. Weinert demonstrated that the skull of the Java ape-like man resembled that of the chimpanzee and not that of the gibbon. According to him the teeth belonged to the same individual and the femur, judged from its state of fossilization and the circumstances of its discovery, must also belong to the same form. He really thinks that the creature assumed an erect posture in locomotion. Hrdlicka who, through the intercession of Woodward, had the opportunity of examining all the originals in the possession of Dubois, accounts for the widely divergent views expressed by the previous writers as due to the fact that none of the casts and the published illustrations of the skull that are found in the different institutions are wholly faithful to the fossils. Not content with the personal study of the originals, Hrdlicka visited the exact spot and the vicinity where the skull was taken and the beautiful photographs he has published must convey to the readers an idea of the extraordinarily interesting nature of the country and the excellent reproductions of the original photographs of the specimens must impress anyone of the very satisfactory condition of their preservation. To these advantages is added a complete list of bibliography. Hrdlicka expresses no opinion as regards the age of the Java material, but quotes Schuster from Salenka-Blanckenhorn Memoir that the *Pithecanthropus* lived in the old Diluvian (early Quaternary or Upper Pleistocene) and apparently is not inclined to the view of Dubois (Pliocene) or of Osborn (Mid-Pleistocene). The contention and speculation which have raged round the Java finds are due largely to the inadequacy of the material for purposes of comparison, but judging from the published records one will readily appreciate Hrdlicka's remark that "the Trinil skull alone is sufficient to establish the presence in what is now Java, somewhere during the early Quaternary and

possibly earlier, of a class of beings that so resembled the anthropoid apes on the one hand and came so far in the direction of man on the other, that if they were to be named to-day, we would hardly find a more appropriate name for them than *Pithecanthropus*''.

The discovery (1907) of an ancient human jaw in the Mauer sandstones not far from Heidelberg, described by Otto Schoetensack in 1908 under the title *Homo heidelbergensis* is remarkable in more ways than one. The find, the lower jaw of an adult, is a normal, clearly authenticated and well-defined specimen which happily is free from controversy. The teeth of the jaw are larger, more regular and less crowding than modern teeth and the lower border of the jaw is arched in a Cupid's bow and the chin is absent. The age of the jaw is lower Quaternary and perhaps the Heidelberg man was a contemporary of *Elephas antiquus*, *Rhinoceros etruscus* and *Felis leo fossilis*.

Four years after the Heidelberg man was described, Charles Dawson, a Sussex lawyer who had devoted his leisure to the collection of fossils in the Sussex Weald, in collaboration with Woodward applied the name *Eoanthropus* to a number of fragments of a human-like skull, a portion of the lower jaw, a separate canine tooth found between 1909 and 1912 in the old gravels of Piltdown, Sussex. To this lot were added by Dawson in 1915 another skull and a molar tooth. Unfortunately the acrimonious controversy which raged round the Java find, has been repeated over the Piltdown fossils. (Complete notes embodying the essential data on the specimens published by Woodward and other writers together with Hrdlicka's observations on the originals will be found on pp. 71-90 in which Keith's drawing of the brain cast and Woodward's photographs of the specimens are also reproduced.) The chief point of interest is that the bones are massive, apparently belonging to a female adult individual. Both Woodward and Keith consider that it is typically human; Elliot Smith sees in the skull a number of primitive characters; Hrdlicka, however, does not assign to these peculiarities any phylogenetic significance. The jaw is certainly far more primitive than any other known type relating to early man, and bears a close resemblance to that of the chimpanzee. But the features of the teeth, though apparently simulating those of *Dryopithecus*, differ from these, being more human. The Piltdown man *Eoanthropus* belongs to the Lower Quaternary.

Over forty pages of the book are devoted to a detailed consideration of the Rhodesian fossil remains, based on Hrdlicka's personal investigations in 1925. The account is enriched by the correspondence from the original discoverers and this section of the book makes the most enjoyable part. While working the Broken Hill Mine, Northern Rhodesia, the workmen in 1921 discovered a remarkable human skull, and unfortunately the work of excavation was not under scientific supervision. From the same cave, numerous mammalian bones, chiefly of ungulates and carnivores and of birds have been collected besides numerous stone implements of protohistoric and prehistoric times. The bone cavern is believed to have been the feasting place of the African Bushmen and Negroes and the larger carnivores who brought in the ungulates and the cannibalistic orgies must account for the human bones discovered in this situation but how the Rhodesian skull got mixed up with these other remains must be a mystery. This chapter includes copious extracts from the scientific reports of the British Museum authorities, correspondence, splendid photographs of the material and a most vivid description of the mining area together with a table of measurements by the author. The skull and other human remains with the collar bone, pelvis, femur, humerus and numerous stray teeth were described by Pycraft; the endocranial cast was entrusted to Elliot Smith; the associated stone implements were dealt with by Yearsley; the teeth of the Rhodesian Man, by Carter; the other vertebrate remains by Hopwood, Swinton and Bate. The introduction to the memoir was written by Bather. Pycraft was inclined to create a new genus (*Cyphanthropus*) for the reception of the skull, "because he saw more in the morphology of the additional remains than others can see" and the effort to associate organically these bones with the skull has not met with favour. From a purely structural viewpoint, the skull considered by itself, belongs to the Neanderthal family, though it may possess characteristics some of which are inferior and others superior to anything yet known of the Neanderthal Man. The brain cast shows definite human characters possibly related to those of the Neanderthals, but certainly superior to both *Pithecanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*. As regards the pathological condition of the bone, Yearsley concludes that the Rhodesian Man was a sufferer for a considerable time from sepsis, as evidenced by the condition of his

teeth and the alveolar border. This chronic septic condition of the mouth must have affected the mastoid bones, and his death was due to an enormous abscess which tracking down the temporal fossa through the neck, must have finally burst into the thorax. This conclusion must be purely hypothetical. The stone implements, which cannot be associated with the skull, bear no marks of palæolithic industries. They look rather like the implements of recent S. African stone-industries. The interest in the study of the vertebrate remains discovered at Broken Hill is the measure of indication which they would point to as regards the age of the skull and with the exception of *Rhinoceros whitei* and a new species of Serval cat, others belong to species still living in Rhodesia. As regards the affinities of Rhodesian Skull, as is only to be expected, there are differences of opinion. Woodward regards him as a primitive species of true Man, without Mousterian affinity; Elliot Smith remarks that the skull represents a type of mankind far more primitive than any known except *Pithecanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*; Keith regards him as near ancestor of Neanderthal and modern man. As Pycraft expresses it, the Neanderthal affinity of Rhodesian Man is borne out by the likeness of the latter with the Gibraltar and La Chapelle skulls. This section which is part of the results obtained by him in his Smithsonian Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences expedition (1925) concludes with Hrdlicka's own description of the Rhodesian finds and a bibliography is given. Two appendices are added which contain abstracts from original reports on the Rhodesian cave, lists of all the discoveries and the article of Harris on the mystery of the Great Bone Cave published in the *Illustrated London News* (1921). We can hardly expect a more satisfactory, complete and dispassionate account of a most remarkable series of finds.

The rest of the book is devoted to a critical exposition of the vast store of collection of material known comprehensively as Neanderthal. The area from which skeletal remains and artifacts were obtained includes the middle and the southern portion of Western Europe and the western-most parts of Asia. They are dated by the distinctive, "Mousterian", culture so called after the type-locality at Le Moustier in Southern France, obviously belonging to the latter third of the Glacial epoch. On page 145 of the book is given a tabular statement setting forth

in chronological order the places of the principal finds, the contents and the names of authors who have reported on them. As Hrdlicka states, the great interest in the study of the Neanderthal Man and his implements "lies in the evolutionally decidedly lower characteristics of the remains and in the seemingly rapid extinction of the variety, not long after the last glaciation, upon the supposed advent from somewhere else of *Homo sapiens*. All this is of interest to the student of palæontology and to that of cultural anthropology. The chapter is profusely illustrated with excellent diagrams and photographs and its value is enriched by copious extracts from the leading authorities and a complete list of literature on the subject. More than all, the author's notes and measurements based on personal studies are extremely important and the chapter makes the nearest approach to an authoritative and complete exposition of practically all the finds. Apart from the intrinsic merit of the Neanderthal finds, they have the added interest of inspiring Dubois and Dawson to look for other similar discoveries which culminated in the taking of *Pithecanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*. The gorge and the valley which gave the human skeleton in 1856, originally called "Gesteins" or rocks, were the favourite haunt of Joachim Neander, a poet and song-composer of the German Reformed Church, whose name was later adopted in preference to Gesteins. Lying between Dusseldorf and Elberfeld, the gorge and valley, little known to anthropologists till 1856, were the favourite spots for school and other excursions. Though Fuhlrott and a little later Schaoffhausen have published notes on the earlier discoveries, their importance was appreciated only in 1886, when Puydt and Max Lohest found parts of two fossils similar to the Neanderthal in Spy in Belgium. Before the Spy and Gibraltar skeletal remains were obtained, there was the usual controversy as to the real significance of Neanderthal Cranium. Virchow and Bernard Davis regarded the specimen as pathological; Blake thought that it probably belonged to an idiot. When new examples were forthcoming, the recognition was gaining ground, that all these remains represented in a normal and most characteristic way, a most interesting earlier phase or variety of Mankind, "our later Quaternary predecessor or relative, *Homo neanderthalensis*". It is to be remembered that the credit for doing work in this field is due especially to Prof. G. Schwalbe

of Strassburg, whose numerous publications on the early forms of human remains in Europe are well known to anthropologists. In commenting on the Spy finds Hrdlicka writes, "They are without question the most important ever made in relation to the problem of transition from the Neanderthal to the more modern forms of man. Here in practically one grave, certainly at the same level and under the same associations, are found two skeletons, one of which is in many respects still typically Neanderthal; but the jaws and the teeth of this skeleton and the skull of the second subject are far in advance of the Neanderthal stage and correspondingly nearer to modern man. No better demonstration could have been furnished or could reasonably be wished for, of the transitional potentialities among the later Neanderthal representatives, to which the skeletons evidently belong, towards the modern human type." To-day the problem is not a single skull or two as in the time of Darwin, but a large body of material, representing an important section of man's antiquity, "documented ever more geologically, palæontologically and anthropologically". The generalised present doctrine about Neanderthal man is that he is an archaic species of man, possibly a retrogression in the line of evolution of mankind; he represented a culture known as Mousterian; he was abruptly succeeded by Aurignacians; he lived long subsequent to the time of Java and Heidelberg men; he is not an ancestor of ours.

Hrdlicka could only make a passing reference to the new finds of importance made in China. Davidson Black called some ancient human remains found between 1920 and 1927 in evidently Pleistocene deposits at Chou Kou Tien, 25 miles from Peking, by the name of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* in 1927. These discoveries consisted of a portion of an adult skull and the symphyseal part of a child's lower jaw, many teeth, parts of the calvarium of a juvenile individual, and a nearly complete adult calvarium. The human remains have thus far been found in five separate loci; for the most part the remains are embedded in hard travertine; and they are associated with mammalian fossil fauna that is believed to be Lower Quaternary.

On December 2, 1929, while interesting investigations on these were still proceeding, W. C. Pei discovered an uncrushed and almost complete adult *Sinanthropus* skull while excavating a sheltered recess of the main deposit at Chou Kou Tien. The left

half of the skull below the temporal square was embedded in very hard travertine and the nasal and part of the glabellar region was similarly enclosed. The base was fairly free from travertine. The supraorbital ridges are massive as could be expected from the jaw. They are apparently equal in development to those of the *Pithecanthropus*. The frontal and parietal development of *Sinanthropus* is much more advanced than Java type, but the frontal development is apparently less than in *Eoanthropus*. *Sinanthropus* is of approximately similar length to *Pithecanthropus*, but its shape implies a considerably larger volume than the latter. *Sinanthropus* characteristically differs from the Java type in the following important features: relatively well-developed frontal eminences, well localized parietal eminences and greater height of skull vault, pointing to a relatively greater brain capacity in *Sinanthropus*. The mastoid processes in the latter are small and massive. The sockets in which the lower jaw articulated are well preserved.

Certainly, the Peking discoveries are of decided importance as they show us the presence of early man much farther east than he has been previously known or legitimately suspected. Hrdlicka regards the view of the age of the skull as earlier Quaternary as possibly subject to revision. He considers the skull to be clearly Neanderthaloid, representing no distinct genus, species, or even a pronounced variety, but corresponding rather to the better-developed specimens of the Neanderthaler, such as the Galilee skull. Of course, even a later Neanderthaler in China would, however, be a discovery of much interest as well as importance.

Hrdlicka had not the advantage of personal investigations and inspections of these as in the case of the other early remains of man at the time of the publication of his great work. In the "Recent progress in the field of old world pre-history" by George Grant Maccurdy in Publication 3100 of the Smithsonian Institution, its age is accepted as Lower Quaternary, based on the report of Père Teilhard de Chardin and Dr. C. C. Young who worked at the spot and collected the evidence, as contrasted with Black's statement of a greater brain capacity in *Sinanthropus*, while the characteristics are attributed to the greater thickness of its cranium.

Sir Arthur Keith in his new discoveries relating to the *Antiquity of Man*, Chapters XVII and XVIII which deal with the

Peking finds, regards the jaw of *Sinanthropus* as supplying one of the missing evolutionary stages which makes it possible to conceive how the Simian plate of the ape could be transformed into the mental eminence of man, a position seemingly impossible in that the human symphyseal region was different from that of the ape (p. 263 *et seq.*). He further says: "Peking man proved to be . . . an amazingly low type, unexpectedly like the Java man in form of skull and size of brain. *Sinanthropus*, however, is distinctly higher in the scale of evolving humanity than is *Pithecanthropus*; his brain is somewhat bigger; no doubt, in his brain cast we shall find evidence that certain cortical areas had made advances on the Java brain. The Peking skull shows very decided affinities to the Neanderthal type. In the teeth and jaws, and in that region of the skull which surrounds the ear, we find leanings towards the modern type of man." Thus, "*Sinanthropus* appears to represent one of the earliest and most generalized forms of humanity known to us at present," and "his point of emergence from the phylogenetic tree is set between the place assigned to *Pithecanthropus* on the one hand and that given to Neanderthal man on the other." The utmost that can be said of these epoch-making discoveries is that the *Pithecanthropus erectus* was a being that well deserved the name of "a human transitional form from Java" which can show us the way followed in human evolution from the lower forms. "Just as the next lower relations of this form were still animals, while the next higher relation was undoubtedly man, so may the *Pithecanthropus* be the 'missing link' that Dubois was searching for and found. Should it be necessary, however, to substantiate the appurtenance of this intermediary form to one or the other side then it belongs undoubtedly to that of the human kind. The *Pithecanthropus erectus* is a *Homo* whose unique position and its undisputed significance justify the generic name of 'Ape Man'." How far the *Sinanthropus* can be regarded as a descendant from the *Pithecanthropus* in the evolutionary scale of man is a problem which requires further elucidation and investigation. No implements have been found to help our study of human beings into association with some definite phase of industry. There is no doubt, however, that *Sinanthropus* is a member of the human family, distinct from all other known human types and deserving a separate generic rank. He represents a more primitive type,

whether older or not than the fossils found in Java and Sussex, and he is obviously close to the main line of descent of modern man.

We must here resist our temptation to go into the further details of these most fascinating chapters of the book which for purity of style, a judicious presentation of facts and above all an all-pervading scientific candour, is entitled to high praise. We cannot lay it down without expressing our admiration for the selfless and painstaking industry, the passion for truth, the laborious research, freedom from partisanship which are discernible almost in every page, and which confer on the book itself the power of being used as an authoritative and invaluable text of reference by students alike of palæontology and anthropology.

C. R. N.

Indian Culture through the Ages, Vol. II.

BY S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.

(*Longmans, Green & Co., London, 12s. 6d.*)

IN this volume, Prof. Venkateswara purports to sketch the public life in India from the earliest ages to the beginnings of British Rule, relying on original sources, and the subsidy of the Mysore University has made it possible to publish this work. Unless we are able to differentiate political philosophy and speculation from public life and the civic institutions with which it is associated, it will not at all be possible to trace how in later times life, ideas and ideals themselves came to be crystallized.

In the light of original sources the author has attempted a characterization of Vedic polity, post-Vedic development, both in ideals and in actual practice; has elaborated the political institutions of the Mauryans; has offered an explanation of several difficult expressions such as *Ibhya*, *Janya*, *Vāchamhi*, *Vyavahāra* and the like,—though his interpretation of the last *Vyavahāra* as Case Law may not be acceptable in preference to its usual connotation as Judicial Procedure. Again, his predicating a regular constitution and not a despotism for *Asōka* is hardly reconcilable with the Professor's later statement that *Asōka*'s was a paternal and benevolent monarchy working on constitutional principles. It ought not to be difficult, at this time of day, to

describe his administration as an undisguised despotism of a single will, restrained, perhaps, by the noble and exalted character of a remarkable ruler of ascetic leanings, who was ever ready to shift the burdens of sovereignty on to a faithful and disciplined bureaucracy.

Prof. Venkateswara relies on Bhāsā's dramas for describing the duties of the king and his council and on Sūdraka's *Mrichakatika* for the administration of justice in olden days, regarding these as equal in authority with Hieun Tsiang's travels for this purpose. Perhaps, for ideal pictures of those days, these works could have been referred to along with Kurral and Kāmandaka.

The Afghan Polity in India was based on the Persian model for civil administration and for its military organization on the Turkish system, this Cromwellian rule being limited by the fear of the nobles, rebellion within and invasion from abroad. The tyranny and exclusiveness of these pale men in petticoats may have been exaggerated, but, exceptions apart, it cannot be asserted that the Delhi Sultans were 'remarkable for speedy justice' or that 'judicial power seems to have been wielded fairly well by the Sultans'.

While the administrative system of Sivāji has received quite a full treatment, with a proper setting for the Peshwas and their efforts at the amelioration of the ryots, it is to be regretted that perhaps for want of space, the culture of the Vijayanagara period has not received the treatment it deserved at the hands of one who is himself so well versed in its history and its traditions. Coming on to later times, the prohibition of *sati* might have found appropriate mention.

In the closing pages of the volume, Prof. Venkateswara endeavours to appraise the true aims of the Vedic Ṛṣis as being originally Ṛta and Satya, Dharma being a later addition. To harmonize the ideal and the real, to sublimate the instincts of the flesh to the quests of the spirit, and to point out the true keynote of Hindu culture have always been the essential features of our age, and this volume gives expression to these in abundant measure.

Isavasyopanisat

EDITED BY Y. SUBRAHMANYA SARMA

*(Published by Adhyātma Prakāśa Press Book Depot,
Bangalore City. Price As. 6)*

MR. SUBRAHMANYA SARMA is a learned Sanskrit scholar who has attempted to issue the Upaniṣat-bhāṣya of Śrī Śankarāchārya at a moderate price to the public. He has furnished each volume with an introduction and short notes on points of interest.

An important feature of the book is that it contains copious references to parallel passages from the other works of Śrī Śankarāchārya. Its usefulness is enhanced by the addition of a summary of the Upaniṣat and indices of mantras and of important words in the bhāṣya.

This noble attempt deserves every encouragement.

N. I.

The Sphotasiddhi

EDITED BY VEDAVISĀRADA S. K. RAMANĀTHA ŚĀSTRĪ

(Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 6. Price Rs. 3)

IMPULSES of fear and other feelings may be communicated by acoustic expressions. But the sphere of the word is far more comprehensive inasmuch as ideas of cause and effect or substance and form can also be expressed thereby. This peculiarity of the word is called "sphoṭa" by the School of Pāṇini. For instance, on the utterance of the word cow, images of cows of different colour and form present themselves to the hearers. Sphoṭa is thus the potency of a word to evoke in individuals thought-images. The greatest exponent of this doctrine is Āchārya Maṇḍanamīśra. So far, two works have been published on the subject—Sphoṭa Chandrika of Choukām̐ba Benares Series and Sphoṭasiddhinyāyavichāra of Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The work under review has a splendid commentary called Gōpālikā which is the work of Ṛṣiputra Paramēśvara belonging to the Payyoor Bhaṭṭathirippad family in Malabar.

The Editor deserves to be congratulated on the scholarly manner in which he has presented the work. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent,

N. I.

Neo-Hinduism

BY D. V. ATHALYE

(*D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 5-8-0*)

WHAT Brahmo Samaj was to modern Bengal, the Ārya Samaj was to the Punjab and the Rāmakrishna Mission to all India, in a sense, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. New elements fused with the old and reformers rose afresh to propound the glories of the Vedānta to a somewhat decadent India under the materialistic tendencies of the age. In the teachings of the Brahmo Samaj itself, there was no appeal to the masses, and hence except amongst the 'intellectuals' who wanted a creed to sanction their 'rationalistic' practices, there was little response. But the teachings of Śrī Rāmakrishna Paramahansa and Svāmi Dayanand Sarasvati were of a different type. While Svāmi Dayanand preached with the Vedas, pure and simple and undiluted as his text bereft of extraneous ritual and practice, Śrī Rāmakrishna and his disciple held to the basic belief that the soul is infinite, that it was never created, that it will never die, that it had to pass and evolve into various bodies, till it attained perfection in the human one. This mission of the Vedānta, it was the purpose of the Rāmakrishna Homes to spread throughout the world. That is well indicated in the book before us.

Opening with a short sketch of the Life of Vivekananda, Mr. Athalye gives what he regards as the sage's interpretation of Bhakti, Jñāna, Karma, Rājayoga and practical Vedānta. Bhakti and Jñāna are but different paths to the same goal. Karmayoga helps to win half the battle, where to work is to worship. Rājayoga is the science of the self-realization in life of the infinity and identity of the Godhead, through intense concentration of mind. A magnificent and bewitching personality, great patriotism, a rare catholicity and commendable tolerance and outlook even in religious matters, and a zealous appeal to the world for self-realization were the predominant characteristics of this great religious reformer whose work is continued with vigour all over the world. A work which deals with these matters scattered over scores of volumes and presents a well-arranged narrative to the reader deserves every encouragement.

R.

A Primer of Indian Logic

BY MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VIDYĀVĀCASPATI

S. KUPPUSWĀMI SĀSTRĪ, M.A., I.E.S.

(*P. Varadachary & Co., Madras.*)

THIS little book on Navya-Nyāya is based upon Annambaṭṭa's Tarkasaṃgraha and is designed to serve as an introduction to the study of Indian logic in its syncretist form of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika dealing with the twin aspects of sound reasoning, namely, the synthetic or deductive aspect which moves on from the universal to the particulars and to the analytic or inductive aspect which mounts up from particulars to the general or universal.

In Indian logic, deduction and induction do not represent two mutually exclusive types of inference but they are always looked upon as inseparably connected parts of a complete process of thinking called inference and the chief function of anumāna as a means of valid cognition is to enable one to realize how certain facts are inseparably and necessarily connected with each other in accordance with a general principle.

The learned author has clearly shown that Indian logic never allowed itself to be restricted in its scope and development to the exclusively formal side of ratiocination but always kept in view, as its constant, knowledge or more accurately knowledge of truth in relation to what is conceived of as *summum bonum*.

The book is well printed and beautifully got up. It contains, in addition to the text and translation, an interesting introduction and an illuminating exposition by the learned author. It is of great value to students of Indian logic.

N. I.

Best Short Stories of India

SELECTED AND EDITED BY PHYLLIS ATKINSON, B.SC.

(*D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. 2 Vols. Rs. 4 each*)

AN interesting series of stories of Indian folk tales, etc., from the several issues of the *Indian Antiquary* have been collected in these two volumes and serve to give a peep into the social and spiritual ideals of the Hindus. Their primary aim is entertainment and not dull sermonising and they amply fulfil the purpose.

R,

Rock Temples Around Bombay

BY K. H. VAKIL, B.A., I.L.B.

(*Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.*

Price Rs. 3)

THIS book ought to form a very useful and handy guide to visitors to the famous caves at Elephanta, Jogeswari, Mantapeswar and Kanheri, all within a few miles' reach from Bombay. Mr. Vakil's book on Ajanta profusely illustrated with specimens of Indian temples and attractively got up was a judicious summing up of the case for the celebrated Ajanta caves ; and in this work under review he has sought to record the achievements in sculpture and architecture fostered by Brahmanism. His object is to help us to visualise the story of the evolution of India's artistic heritage and analyse and elucidate its significance.

We have no doubt that this book is a valuable one to the students of Indian art for a proper appreciation and revaluation of the extant specimens.

S. S.

1. Virabhadra Vijaya

BY VIRABHADRA NRIPALA (*Price Rs. 1-4-0*)

2. Anantanatha Purana

BY JANNA (*Price Rs. 2*)

(*Published by the University of Mysore.*)

UNDER the auspices of the Mysore University, Oriental Library Publications, Kannada Series Nos. 17 and 18, have been published, under the editorship of D. Srinivasachar and others. The author of the first of these is Virabhadra Nripala, Keladi ruler. The date of the book appears to have been 1,530 A.D. In a detailed introduction, Mr. M. S. Basavalingia shows how the author is indebted to his father's work, Tribhuvana Tilaka. The edition has been undertaken on the basis of only one MS. available in the library.

Janna's Anantanātha Purāṇa is a well-known work of this emperor of poets. Janna was not merely a poet, but also a famous warrior and an able minister. Several inscriptions are traced to him. He did much for the propagation of Jainism in his day.

The excellence of old Kannada works can well be illustrated from these and other publications of the series. And it is very much to be wished that their proper place in Kannada literature will not be allowed to be lost.

S. S.

The Prachi, Vol. I, Parts I, II & III

THIS journal, devoted to the study of the past history of Utkal or Kalinga, is an outcome of the patriotism of its people and we extend our cordial greetings to it. Orissa played a not unimportant part in the history of India. Its share in the oversea activities of India has been fully narrated in Part II. Its later history is just touched upon by Mr. G. Ramdas. Orissa has also made a distinct contribution to Indian architecture by a style of its own.

R.

India and the World

UNDER the distinguished editorship of Dr. Kalidas Nag, this new monthly is being issued as an organ of internationalism and cultural federation, published by the Indian Bureau. The social, political, economic and cultural problems of India have undoubtedly a direct bearing upon contemporary history and the necessity for a magazine of this kind to focus the different international organizations of the world upon India cannot be gainsaid.

The June issue of this periodical contains an article on woman's rôle in Rajput history by Ramesh Chandra Mitra. Mirabai is well known. In the days of utter helplessness and decay of Mewar under Rana Bhim Singh, her father, in order to ward off the rivalry of Man Singh of Jodhpur and Jagat Singh of Jaipur each of whom sought her hand in marriage on pain of the country being ruined, Krishna Kumari took poison and died, imploring her afflicted mother to grieve not for her who was not afraid of death. Rani Durgavati of Gondwana as regent raised her petty state to the rank of one of the most progressive kingdoms of the day. The Rani of Jhansi, Lakṣmi Bai, was described by Sir Hugh Rose as the best and bravest military leader of the rebels in the days of the Sepoy Mutiny.

The Annamalai University Journal

The Annamalai University has commenced the publication of a journal, the first volume of which is before us. A highly talented editorial board has been constituted with Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu as Editor. Of the several articles in the magazine may be mentioned, Village Organization in the Madras Presidency at the Time of the Introduction of British Rule by C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., the Chidambaram Temple by V. G. Ramakrishna Ayyar, and the Kerala Theatre by K. Rama Pisaroti, as being of interest to the members of the Mythic Society.

Sri Mukundamala

EDITED BY K. RAMA PISAROTI

(*Journal of the Annamalai University. Annamalai University
Sanskrit Series, No. 1*)

MUKUNDAMALA is a highly felicitous hymn of nine verses by Kulaśekhara in praise of Lord Sri Kṛṣṇa as Mukunda (bestower of Mokṣa). Its publication with the instructive commentary of Rāghavānanda called Tātparyadīpikā is, therefore, a welcome addition to the devotional literature in Sanskrit; and no apology is, therefore, necessary to quote the last verse in the Mālā :—

भवजलधिगतानां द्वन्द्ववाताहतानां
सुतदुहितृकळत्राणभारार्दितानां ।
विषमविषयतोये मज्जतामह्वानां
भवतु शरणमेकौ विष्णुपोतो नराणाम् ॥

N. I.

Buddhist Remains of Andhra Desa and its History up to 600 A.D.

BY K. R. SUBRAMANIAM, M.A.

THIS publication of the Āndhra University serves to remind us of the glorious part in the history of Indian Buddhism played by the Āndhras and of their maritime enterprise. Though not a pioneering work, it yet contains, as a result of careful observation and deep study, a concise account of the famous Buddhist ruins of Amarāvati, Nāgārjuni Konda and other places, in addition to the general history of Āndhradeśa up to 600 A.D. based upon available materials,

It is difficult to accept Mr. Subramaniam's views regarding the home of the Satavāhanas and the effect of Brahmanism on the status of Indian women, particularly when the Guptas were proud of their maternal relations, when the Chālukyans entrusted their queens with provincial administration, and when even in Vijayanagar, women served in the secretariat offices. Besides, his description of the Kadambas as pirates is erroneous, though professedly based on Tamilian tradition. Nevertheless, we heartily welcome this book as a valuable contribution to the study of the Āndhradeśa and the South Indian Peninsula.

R.

Bhaktibhandari Basavannanavaru

BY M. R. SRINIVASAMURTHI, B.A.

(*Karnataka Sangha, Central College, Bangalore.*)

BASAVANNA, the Lingayet Reformer, has been attracting the attention of scholars for some time past and this excellent Kannada work on the great Vīra Śaiva is one more contribution to the literature of the Lingayets. As a critical appreciation of Basava's work, the volume before us leaves little to be desired, and we find here clearly and well traced the extant traditional accounts of the Reformer and his life, his spiritual struggles in the cause of the reformation he was anxious to bring about, his relations with Bijjala, his Kalachurya Master, which, according to the author, exonerate Basava from any complicity with the murder of his king. The democratic fervour of Basaveśvara's teachings, which, we may note in passing, are well exemplified in the extracts already published by Śrīman Hale Katti and others, is well brought out. These and an insistence on the dignity of labour, are, however, hardly reconcilable with his theory of the doctrine of exclusive salvation. It is still a moot point how far Basava was influenced in his teaching by the prevailing Śaivism of his day in South India and by the preaching of Kasmere Śaivism, though Mr. Srinivasamurthi seems to regard the Chola Śaivites as having inspired the Lingayet revival.

The book is neatly got up and contains several illustrations. Written in an elegant, vigorous and attractive style, it serves as a good handbook on the study of the Lingayet religion.

R,

A Manual of Classical Sanskrit Literature

BY R. VASUDEVA SARMA

(Printed at Murugavilāṣ Janānukoolā Press, Trichinopoly.)

TO deal, however, briefly with the history of the origin and development of classical literature in a brochure of sixty-three pages is to attempt an impossibility.

The learned writer has, therefore, contented himself by giving a list of the more important works on kāvya, drama, prose romances, lyric poetry, the champus, popular tale, fable and technical literature as also their authors.

Mr. Vasudeva Sarma could well have increased the bulk of the book and entered into details by discussing the place of each work and its author and, what is more important, by an examination of the work itself on the basis of its language and style. The booklet has, nevertheless, served a useful purpose in giving an idea of the vast field that lies unexplored in the sphere of classical literature.

N. I.

Four Kannada Dramas

Ashadhabhuti—BY A. N. MURTI RAO.

Savina Samasye—BY V. VENKATACHARYA.

Parijata—BY B. NARAHARI SASTRI.

Vicharane—BY DEVUDU,

WE congratulate the Karnataka Sangha of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, on the two new dramas which they have published. Hitherto, Kannada dramas relied for their plot on the episodes contained mostly in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit works. It is true some twenty years ago attempts were made to translate into Kannada several plays of Shakespeare and Prof. B. M. Srikantia introduced a leaven of Greek culture into Kannada literature. We are glad to find that similar enrichment from prominent works of the world's authors has been taking place. *Āshāḍhabhūti* (Price 0-12-0) of A. N. Murti Rao is a nice adaptation of Molière's *Tartuffe*. Likewise, *Savina Samasye* (Price 1-0-0) of V. Venkatacharya is an adaptation of *Twice Too Much* which itself was based on the well-known *Sleeper Awakened* of the *Arabian Nights*. We hope

that similar renderings on standard lines will appear in due course. These books are well got up and neatly illustrated.

Pārijāta of the Sudhākara Karnātaka Granthāvali series by Bellavi Narahari Sastri, unlike the other two is based on Pārijāta Apaharaṇa contained in the tenth canto of the Bhāgavata. To the plot in the original have been introduced some changes in order to suit the purposes of the drama on the lines, perhaps, of M. D. Alasingrachar's *Śrīmati Paripāya*. We are confident that no reader of this little drama will misunderstand the characters of Nārada or Śrī Kṛṣṇa, for, as has been pointed out in the preface, the idea is to indicate how even the great ones have to pay a penalty for their follies. The author is quite well known for the excellent Kannada dramas which he has been writing for the stage for some time.

The fourth of the dramas under review is Devudu's *Vichārane* being a Kannada rendering of John Masefield's 'Trial of Jesus'. It is a laudable attempt to familiarise the Kannada public with the vicissitudes of the founder of Christianity and is perhaps calculated to show that in the ultimate resort all religions are one. For, are we not told in the introductory note of Srinivasa a little too graphically, perhaps, that the forgetting that Śiva and Viṣṇu are not different has brought them down into a pugilistic warfare to decide which of them is the superior of the other?

The Indian Literary Review

(Bombay. Rs. 3-8 a year)

MESSRS. D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO., who have been assisting many a scholar in India in the publication of works on varied subjects, are to be congratulated on their idea of publishing a monthly record of literature. The *Indian Literary Review* fills a real want not only by the articles and notes that appear in it, but by keeping the reader in touch with the world's current literature.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Kavus

To

THE EDITOR,

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY,

BANGALORE.

DEAR SIR,

In continuation of my last communication to your Journal (January issue of 1932, pp. 383-385) regarding 'The Kadambas of Vanavasi' in which a mere reference only was made to the sacred groves or forest shrines of the goddesses known as the *Kavus* (and also as the *Vattams* or precincts as in *Bhadrakālī-Vattam*) in Malabar, I propose to give a little more detailed account of them here along with those of other sylvan deities similarly enshrined in these parts, e.g., Śāstā or Ayyappan; Vēttekkaran or Vēttakkāran, Nāgas or the Serpents, Yakshis, etc. These sacred forest shrines seem to have been originally all roofless enclosures open at the top and exposed to the sun and the rain, though modernised later as they are found now.

The Hindu sacred literature makes mention of several sacred groves or woodlands of the goddesses and in addition to the few instances already cited by me in my last paper, one other not less important may also be given here. It is there in the old Purāṇic legend of the transformation of Sudyumna into a woman for having intruded himself with his retinue into the reserve forest of Śiva and Pārvati described as Umā-Vana (the forest of Umā or Pārvati) at the foot of Mount Meru. It was this woman who subsequently gave birth to Purūravas, a Vedic figure and the ancestor of the Aila race or dynasty of kings.*

The temple of the goddess here at Cranganore is a celebrated one known as *Sri Kurumbakkavu* all over Malabar. Leaving the honorific prefix *Sri* aside, *Kurumbakkavu* is explained as *Kurup̣pa-kavu*, the forest shrine of the small-pox goddess as the

* *Bhag. P.* IX—I, 22-35 and “सुद्युम्नभावेन उमावनं प्रविष्टस्य वीतासेना स्त्रीभावं प्राप्ता यस्यतस्य स्त्रीभावं प्राप्तस्य पुत्रो वैतसेनः पुरूरवाः”

(Commentator Sridharaswami on *Bhag. P.* XI, 26-35.)

local deity is regarded to be. The word is Sanskritised as *Kurumba Vana* which may also mean the forest of *the Kurumbas* (*Kurubas*) or *the Kurubaka* trees. It is interesting to note and quote here what Prof. K. R. Pisharoti says about this. He writes thus in the Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Institute, Vol. I, No. I, p. 35 :—"The term Kurumbakkavu also suggests the same idea. For Kuruppa means in Tamil small-pox and Kurumbakkavu may well be taken to mean 'The City' of the Goddess of Small-pox. We do find Kurumbakkavu Sanskritised as *Kadambavanam* as found in the expression *Kadambavana-vāsini* applied to the goddess enshrined in the place, but this Sanskritisation, as is generally the case with such Sanskritisations, is not to be seriously taken into consideration." And so on (*italics* are mine). One apparent instance of inaccuracy or carelessness here is that the term Kavuvu, rendered as *Vana* in Sanskrit, is explained as the City instead of the grove. However, one thing is clear that Mr. Pisharoti's information was not well sifted and verified before it was committed to writing. Technically speaking, the central idol here is that of Śiva, and the goddess is only subsidiary in form, but practically the temple is hers, and is known and observed as such; and her image has been reproduced and is now available in coloured print for sale. Attached to her *sanctum sanctorum*, there is a smaller shrine within the temple *completely* and *permanently* shut up on every side with walls and roof, the secret contents of which therefore remain unknown to all including even the priests. It is a regularly constructed temple now. But there are sacred open enclosures outside within the premises: (1) one on the eastern side not well cleared and therefore covered with creepers and other growths; (2) another on the western side with a roughly worked figure within known as *Vasūrimāla*, the small-pox goddess (*Vasūri* being a variant of *Masūri* = small-pox) to whom the libations of a red liquid (probably a substitute for blood) prepared with saffron powder and lime, are offered for protection from this dangerous epidemic, and (3) the third, nearly a furlong further away to the south with a small idol within, which is the one now known as *Kurumbayambalam* (Kurumba + Ambalam) or Kurumba-shrine. These are evidently the relics of the early state. Further the Pujaris were, till very recently, pseudo-Brahmins of an inferior caste. The annual cock festival—during

which the animal is slaughtered and offered in sacrifice in large numbers, obscene songs are openly sung and intoxicating drinks are freely indulged in by the devotees of the Nair and lower castes—is still going on. The temple had an inspired prophet *Velichappadu* to direct its affairs and his flock in the right path. This is one of the typical and the most important centres in Malabar of the cult of the Black Goddess, *Kāli*, in her fierce and terrible aspect.* *Mookkōla* (*Mukti-Sthalam*) is another centre of the goddess worship situated about ten miles north of Guruvayur in the Ponnani Taluk (British Malabar) where, not far away from the regular temple, there is an open roofless enclosure containing an idol of big round pebbles piled in the midst of a sacred grove which is treated as more important and holier in virtue of its greater divine sanctity and where the goddess Durga is worshipped in *pure* Brahminical way as the *Sakti* of the *white* cult (*Dakshināchāra*). This deity is considered to be Vana-durga or Vana-devi. Only two typical extreme or opposite instances are given here, but more can be cited.

Śāsta or Ayyappan is another deity similarly enshrined in woodlands and groves. His shrines are found scattered all over the Malabar country. The Sabarimala Pagoda is one of the most important, and in giving a detailed account of it in the July issue of 1930 (pp. 50-57) of *Q.J.M.S.*, Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer has dealt with the cult of *Śāsta* at great length and has also mentioned other important centres of his worship in Travancore. I shall, therefore, confine myself to one or two in Cochin and British Malabar. Of these *Tiruvallakkavu* is one in the Cochin State situated three or four miles south of Trichur on the main road side. This *Śāsta* is considered to be a divine patron of learning and also the tutelary god of the Namburi families of Perumanam village, one member of which related to me the following interesting temple legend:—The shrine was originally a roofless one open above. A very learned Brahmin of an ancient Namburi house situated close by

* For further information, the reader is referred to my paper in 'Mahodayapuram' published in the October Number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIX and Prof. K. R. Pisharoti's criticism thereon published in the Bulletin above referred to and reviewed in the July Number of *Q.J.M.S.*, 1931.

(Mazhamgalam by name, now extinct) went to the shrine one morning and finding the corpse of a cow lying in the sacred precincts sorrowfully exclaimed 'Alas! What a calamity it was that such a sacred animal was killed in that holy place!' On his usual visit to the shrine next morning he found there a tiger, panther or leopard lying dead being pierced with an arrow at its chest. 'Ah!' he exclaimed in wonder, 'how quick and merciless, though just, was the retribution!' meaning, of course, how soon the wild animal that killed the cow met with its death—the just punishment at the hands of the presiding god. And for permanent pacification of this deity, the learned Brahmin recommended and ordered the roofing and thereby the closing up of the shrine at the top; and it was accordingly reconstructed with closed roof after the ordinary model. *Chamravattam* is an important shrine of Śāsta* in the British Malabar situated on the river-bed a little below Tirunāvāya and Triprangode on the Bharata or Ponnani river of which the Sanskrit name is Nila. All these holy places are mentioned with brief accounts of or allusions to their legends, as Sambarakrōda, Nāvā and Svetāranya respectively in Uddanda Sastri's *Kokila-Sandesa* (see verses 69-74, Part I). Śāsta is represented as mounted on a quick riding horse with bow and arrows in his hands for hunting. He is also known as Bhūtanātha or Bhūtabharta and as such seems to be akin to Śiva to whom these epithets are generally applied, and is propitiated with prayers and offerings, especially for protection from the evil influences of the malevolent planet Saturn.

Véttekkaran or Véttaṭṭakāraṇ is the third deity enshrined in the forests or groves. He is the hunter god, that is, Śiva represented as *Kirāta*, a hunter, in the Purāṇic works. The story of Arjuna's penance to please Śiva, the latter's appearance on the scene as a hunter, the fight between the two, Arjuna's defeat therein and Śiva's reappearance in his own form and grant of Arjuna's prayers—this story is too well known to all to need repetition

* This Śāsta who is represented by a rough boulder as worked and revealed by Nature (Swayambhū) is said to be a storm-god, *i.e.*, the director of storms for good or for evil; and the destruction or collapse by violent storms of the pandals put up for a session of the Hindu Mahasabha recently arranged to be held at Tirunāvāya is attributed by the local people to the wrath of this god.

here. The important shrines of this deity are chiefly found in the British Malabar where one branch of the Zamorin's family at Kottakkal worships it as its tutelary god, and some local chieftains seem to regard it as such in their households. The dagger is his special weapon.*

With a few exceptions perhaps, the shrines of these deities are resorted to, and their cults are called into service for miraculous cure of devil-possession, protection from evil spirits and exorcism; the inspired prophets who form a conspicuous feature of the temple service in the lower or degraded form, act as the media for communication with the spirit world.

The sacred groves of Nāgas or the Serpents may be found in almost all the compounds of the Malayalee houses in sequestered and uncleaned corners reserved therefor, and the Yakshis and other minor spirits may be looked for in the wayside groves exacting or receiving homage and offerings from the passing travellers. All these cults, though now incorporated into the general body of reformed modern Hinduism and given appropriate places according to their merit and status, seem to have had their origin in the primitive age of magic, animism, fetishism and deification of the departed ancestors, heroes and heroines.

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA.

* For a detailed account of this god with illustrating plate, *vide Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State*, for 1104 M.E. (1928-29).

EDITORIAL

DURING the quarter, the Mythic Society has again sustained a heavy loss in the death of three of its most valued members. Sir Dorabji Tata who was so well known as a great industrialist, business-man, philanthropist and merchant prince of India was an Honorary Vice-President of the Society and evinced a keen interest in the affairs and the well-being of the institution. Rao Bahadur B. V. Venkataswami Naidu of Bangalore was another business-man who was an enthusiastic member of the Society. Rajasabhabhushana Mr. Karpur Srinivasa Rav, Retired Chief Engineer in Mysore, assisted the management of the Society in its early days in various ways. We offer our deep condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

* * *

Rev. Father Heras deserves the congratulations of all of us on the successful termination of the First Historical Congress arranged under the auspices of the Bombay Historical Society. It is a matter of special gratification to us that Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, one of the founders of the Mythic Society, delivered the Presidential Address. The realm of history has been extending both forwards and backwards and the most recent archæological research in India has pushed back our knowledge of ancient India by at least two millenniums, and the work of scholars has conquered new realms in which Indian culture in the past found a home and flourished. Numismatics, architecture, iconography, painting and literature, in addition to contributing important material for our cultural history, have opened up new fields of research for verifying and revising our knowledge of ancient India, and its place in the world's heritage. Everything should, therefore, be done for the promotion of enterprise to collect every material of any importance, for its preservation in the country and for its utilization by expert hands.

* * *

Discussing moral and mental equipments for the study of the Vedanta Philosophy in the *Modern Review* for May 1932, Swami Nikhilananda says that Vedanta has been supplying food to thoughtful minds wherever it was known and that its influence extended far beyond the land of its birth and development.

Empedocles, Pythagoras and Socrates were imbued with its spirit; the whole philosophy of Plato was deeply coloured by Hindu thought; Aristotle and Plotinus were inspired by Vedantic ideals; and when the progress of science and free inquiry liberated European minds from the dominant beliefs of Christian theology, attention was again directed to the thoughts of the Vedanta. Schopenhauer, Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Charles Wilkins, Roer, Cowell, Böhtlingk, Max Müller, Paul Deussen, Garbe, Venis, Davies, Sir William Jones, Thibaut, Jacob, Victor Cousin, Frederic Schlegel and others came under its influence and popularized the lofty ideals of the Vedanta in the Old World and the New. Vedanta is not a speculative philosophy taking pleasure in the formulation of abstract thoughts but it intends to solve the problem of reality, the riddle of life and universe. It pursues knowledge for its own sake and comprehends everything in its broad sweep. By Sādhana Catuṣṭaya, *i.e.*, by being able to discriminate between the real and the unreal, by renunciation, self-restraint and by the desire for liberation, Vedanta philosophy is understood and attained. And the knowledge of reality destroys desire after objects which are unreal and the pleasure of the Vedantin lies in that he knows that by the knowledge of which everything else in the world can be known.

Dhirendranath Mukhopadhyaya writing on the Krita, Gupta, Śaka and other eras in the June issue of the same journal, remarks that with Dr. Fleet fixing the epoch of the Gupta era at 319–20 A.D. and with M. Sylvain Lévi later on publishing the synchronism of Samudra Gupta with Meghavarna of Ceylon c.A.D. 352–79, a great deal of uncertainty about Gupta chronology was removed. But several other references (p. 650) led to a fresh examination of the subject and the results are given in this article which is to be continued. He appears to regard the Gupta to be the same as Vikrama Saṁvat, seeking justification in the chronicles to which he refers. If so, the early Kushans, the Imperial Guptas and the Buddhist Āchāryas must be of the same period. Dr. R. Shama Sastri would begin the Gupta era about a century earlier than Dr. Fleet and according to Dr. Bhandarkar's reasoning in *I.A.* (June 1932), Pushyamitra becomes the inaugurator of the Krita or Vikrama epoch in 57 B.C. Dr.

Bhāṇḍarkar's view, however, cannot be reconciled with the accepted date of the Hathigūpa inscription which refers to Pushyamitra and Śātākarni.

Beginnings of Linga Cult in India is the heading of an article by Atul K. Sur in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Poona (Vol. XIII, 1931-32), in the course of which the author dismisses the theory till recently held that the Linga Cult was not anterior to the period of the Imperial Guptas. Referring to the proper significance of the Śiśnadeva occurring in the Ṛgveda, he seeks to establish the antiquity of the cult as dating further back from the Paraśurāmeśvara of Guḍimallam, the inscription of Bhīṭa and the Dhamek Stūpa and the Basarha specimen referred to in the Indian Archæological Reports. Further, references to neolithic times are to be found in the Foote Collection of the Madras Museum. It is also interesting to observe that Przyluski derives Linga from an Austro-Asiatic original and regards the cult as un-Āryan, referred to in opprobrious terms in the Ṛgveda and borrowed from the aborigines. He further says that the cult flourished in the Indus Valley in the Ṛgvedic period, fusing with the cult of Śiva in the epic period. Another view is that the Ṛgvedic Śiśnadeva only implies pleasure-seekers. It has to be pointed out, however, that the condemnation of the practice of worshipping Śiśnadeva occurring in the Ṛgveda is the condemnation of aboriginal practices at the time which worshipped the Phallus. What is known as the Linga Cult is really the Fire or Agni Cult, Linga itself being only a symbol. No doubt the Agni worshippers followed it as a symbol, represented by the triangle and the Phallus as the receptacle and the flame respectively, while the Soma Cult people took the Yoni as the Crescent Moon and the Phallus as the Sun above. Reference may also be made to the Trisūla and the Tripuṇḍra of modern times.

In the *Maharaja's Sanskrit College Magazine*, Mysore, for April 1932, Sri Kṛṣṇa Brahmatantra Parakāla Samyamīndra Svāmīgalāvaru's work called Mēgha Māla which is edited and published by Mahāvidvān Karur Seshacharya, is concluded. It is an astrological work of some importance and deserves to be published in book form, particularly as it gives the planetary influences on countries.

Prof. Kokileswar Shastri considers whether Śaṅkara was a pantheist and answers in the negative in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* for March 1932. For Śaṅkara has shown that what has no self or nature behind it cannot be put to any use in practical life and that both unity and multiplicity cannot be held to be equally real. In his own theory, the 'One' is the Reality which has a 'nature' of its own which is self sufficient and independent (स्वतःसिद्ध) and which is permanent, eternal and which for ever retains its own uniform character, and is not subject to any change. What is observed is the illustration employed to bring out the relation between the Absolute Reality Brahman and the appearance of nāmarūpa. Every true cause is a centre of power and it is a source of power which is liberated on the occasion of its stimulation by something else. The relation of the underlying principle to the objects is not the same as the relation of one of the objects to the others. And elsewhere Śaṅkara criticizes and refutes the theory of Pantheism. Vṛttikāra says: "A thing cannot be one and also many at the same time. If the 'one' be real, the 'many' must be unreal, and *vice versa*. When an object is changed into various forms and qualities, it loses its oneness, it is now composed of many forms, etc." Since it was one, which is now present in the shape of many forms, its unity has disappeared. Brahman is thus something composite, manifold in its nature. This is the view of divine immanence; there is thus a Samānādhikaraṇya between Brahman and the world. This idea of Vṛttikāra is correct. Because, these manifested changes, no doubt, constitute the world; but Brahman transcends them all, and hence it is separate, and distinct and distinguished from them. Brahman has got a nature of its own different from the changing objects—names and forms. It has appeared as the world, has assumed the forms of nāmarūpa, remaining unaffected by these, in its own nature. No finite form can adequately manifest It. The world cannot reveal the depth of divine nature. It exists beyond all changes, all transformations. It is not its entire nature that has appeared in the form of the world. In and through all changes, the identity of its essence can be recognized. One cannot, therefore, look upon the nature of Brahman as composed of these changes. Again, its unity does not become composite by the productions of nāmarūpa like a tree composed of its branches, flowers,

etc., but Pantheism reduces finite self also to certain states and activities. The real nature of the finite, empirical self, however, is what underlies those relations and qualities, unaffected by them. Thirdly, it is the essence of the conscious self to be for self, to distinguish itself from all other things. For, how can the finite minds as consciousness, interpenetrate or merge into one another? Yet in the Pantheistic view, the finite self would lose its own svarūpa, merging in God's consciousness. Fourthly, that Ātma is one and many in its nature cannot hold good according to Śaṅkara, for Ātma has no parts like the cow in the illustration.

Hence what constitutes the essential nature of Brahman remains the same, is not changed and affected, under the appearance of the changes of nāmarūpa. As soon as the modifications of nāmarūpa appear, our Avidyā imagines the underlying unity of Brahman as entirely reduced to these nāmarūpas, as if Brahman has become Sāvayava, *i.e.*, composed of parts. But in reality Brahman retains its own unity. Hence, says Śaṅkara, our Buddhi imagines Brahman to be composite through changing nāmarūpas imposed on it. Amongst other arguments of Śaṅkara against Pantheism may be mentioned the following : (a) The qualities or relations are accidental, produced by stimulating causes and not therefore permanent ; (b) No co-ordination is possible between तत् and सर्वम्—Brahman and the World ; (c) The final emancipation is to get rid of many—pleasure, pain and other changes—to be free from their power, which is impossible if they constitute the nature of self ; (d) The real nature of a thing is what lies behind the changing states and unaffected by them, and (e) 'Knowable objects' being परार्थ, they work in the interest of the self which must be other than these and they cannot, therefore, be held as constituting the nature of self.

* **

In the *J.R.A.S.* for April 1932, the Uṣas Hymns of the R̥gveda translated by the late Professor A. A. Macdonell has been published. This work of a scholar who spent a whole life-time in Vedic studies deserves to be made available to the public.

* **

K. P. Jayaswal further elucidates the Śaka Śatavāhana problems in the March (1932) number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. Sandanes and Mambarus of the Periplus are identified with Sunandana of Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Mahendra Śātavāhana respectively, thus abandoning the Śātakarni and Nahapana theories. It would thus follow that the Śaka Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D. commemorates the victory of Kuntala Śātakarni *alias* Vikramāditya II. over Wema Kadphises at Karur near Bahāwalpur. Again, he also reiterates his belief that Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was preceded by his elder brother Rāma Gupta and that the latter's wife Dhruva Devi was subsequently married by Chandra Gupta however repugnant such a marriage may be to Hindu ideas and he seeks to support his views by literary tradition and epigraphic evidence.

* * *

Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts for April 1932 has a short note on 'A Vaishnava Relief', a marble slab elaborately carved in high relief, probably of Rajaputana origin and belonging to the twelfth century A.D. The material illustrated is that of the mediæval Purāṇic Brāhmanical mythology, from a Vaiṣṇava point of view, according to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. All the three members of the Hindu Trinity stand in niches, four handed and with attributes amongst which the Vedas with Brahma, the Trident with Śiva and the Mace with Viṣṇu are clearly recognizable, representing (he says) Dattātrēya in the three aspects of Viṣṇu. The central panel refers to Mahēśa. The Navagrahas are also represented, as well as the Seven Mothers. The representation of Anantaśayana resting on the Cosmic Sea is also there. With due respect to the views propounded in the note, it may, however, be observed that Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma are here represented independently each with his attributes and that the characteristic central panel pointedly brings out the trimūrti aspect of Brahman.

* * *

In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for March 1931, Giuseppe Tucci contributes an illuminating and interesting article on *Animadversiones Indicæ*, dealing with Yōgācārya Maitrēya and Buddhist Tāntrism. The Siddhaṣ

like Matsyendranātha who tried to harmonize Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hinduism; the ideas that are common to the Siddhas and to the Śaivas as well as to the Buddhist Tantras; Siddha Charpati the guru of Minanātha Matsyendranātha; the different Nāgārjunas, the Mādhyamika teacher or the Vedantin Nāgārjuna of South Kōśala and the Siddha or Yōgāchārya Nāgārjuna of Kahara (modern Karad in the Satara district) and lastly the Tibetan Tāntrism with its cult of Dākinīs and Yōglīs are all dealt with. The subject deserves a more elaborate treatment in his hands at an early date.

* * *

Writing on Hindu Culture and Greater India in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for June 1932, Suniti Kumar Chatterji refers to the cultural unification of India proceeding simultaneously with the cultural conquests of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia, Afghanistan and Turkestan, etc., as well as to the transformations in China, Korea and Japan owing to contact with spiritual forces from India. This is contrasted with the devastating havoc played upon the cultures of the South American peoples. The value of Indian culture in these foreign lands is also compared with the Christian spirit in Europe which assimilated but did not destroy the ancient cultures in the lands where Christianity was propagated.

* * *

Miniature Painting among the Jains is an article written for the *Jaina Gazette* (April 1932) by Norman Brown, to be elaborated in his forthcoming work on the Kālikāchāryakatha. Dr. Brown regards these miniatures to which he refers as the only known survivals of painting in Western India during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century miniatures in MSS. from Nepal and Bengal constitute the sum of painting for all India during that period. No traces of outside influence exist. The art in the palm-leaf pictures comes nearer to the fresco painting in the ceiling of the Kailāsanātha temple at Ellora, though it could not have been derived from there. With the introduction of paper in the middle of the fourteenth century, a change was observable and the paintings became more delicate, perhaps influenced by the art of Persia.

* * *

In the *Prabuddha Bharata* for May 1932, discussing why Buddhism lost its hold on India, Edmond Holmes considers that in order to understand Buddha's teaching, it must be affiliated to the spiritual idealism of the Upaniṣads. For Buddha was the practical exponent of that philosophy and while the Upaniṣads taught us what we really or ideally are, the Ātman and Brahman being ideally one, Buddha taught us how to become what we really are. Had he denied the soul, had he meant by Nirvāṇa annihilation, his teaching would not have dominated in India for a single day. It was the monkish interpretation of his teaching, as preserved in the Hīnayāna, which helped to alienate India from Buddhism, coming as it did with the emancipative trend of Buddha's teaching, its revolt against ceremonialism and its exaltation of conduct above ritual.

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Recent Progress in the Field of Old World Pre-history—by
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Jesse Walter Fewkes—by J. R. Swanton and F. H. H.
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The Narrative of a Southern Cheyenne Woman—by Truman
Michelson.

Government of Hyderabad—

Hyderabad Archæological Report for 1928-29.

Government of Mysore—

Mysore Railway Department Report for 1930-31.

Mysore Public Works Department Report for 1930-31.

Krishnarajasagara Works Report for 1930-31.

Mysore Revenue Department Report for 1930-31.

Mysore Forest Department Report for 1930-31.

Census of India, 1931 : Vol. XXV, Mysore, Pt. II—Tables
—by M. Venkatesa Iyengar.

Adhyatma Prakasa Press, Bangalore City—

Isavasya Upanishad with Sankara's Commentary (Sanskrit)
—by Y. Subrahmanya Sarma,

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Transactions of the Royal Historical Society : IV Series.
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British Diplomatic Representatives : 1689-1789.

The Authors—

Sri Krishna Parijata Nataka—by Bellavi Narahari Sastri.

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The Philosophy of Islam—by Khaja Khan.

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List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of
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Best Short Stories of India : Vols. I and II—by P. Atkinson.

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Indian Culture through the Ages: Vol. II—by S. V. Venkateswara.

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A Primer of Indian Logic—by Kuppuswami Sastri.

Karnataka Sangha, Bangalore—

Bhakti Bhandari Basavannanavaru—by M. R. Srinivasa Murti.

Kern Institute, Leyden—

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology: 1930.

Purchased :—

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Sociology: 2 Volumes—by Herbert Spencer.

Bombay Archæological Report for 1901.

Religious Thought and Life in India—by Monier Williams.

Ratnagiri and Savantwadi District Gazetteer.

Chanda District Gazetteer.

Bellary District Gazetteer.

Malabar, Etc. Gazetteer.

List of Sanskrit Manuscripts: 2 Volumes—by Gustav Oppert.

Totemism and Exogamy: 4 Volumes—by Fraser.

Maps of Ancient Kashmir, Etc.

The Jatakamala: English Edition.

The Rise of Bombay—by S. M. Edwards.

Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel: Parts 1 to 3.

Lord Connemara's Tour in India (1891).

Problems of the Future—by S. Laing.

Canada Museum Bulletins.

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The Mysterious Universe—by James Jeans.

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Brihat Jataka—by V. Subrahmanya Sastry.

The Kabala of Numbers: Vols. I & II—by Sepharid.

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of members of Associate Societies is published for information :—

“Rule 105.—Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings; and in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.”

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer,
Mythic Society.

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THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

ESSAY COMPETITION

An anonymous donor offers, through the Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City, a prize of Rs. 50 (fifty only) for the best essay in English on "The Evolution of the Kannada Drama". The existence of an indigenous drama in the Karnataka country, its development and its present condition as an histrionic art, with reference to authorities, if any, should be dealt with. The competition is open to all. The essay, which should be about twenty-five foolscap pages of typed or written matter on one side only, should be submitted to the General Secretary of the Mythic Society with a fee of Rs. 2, so as to reach him not later than the 15th May 1933. The award will be communicated to the successful competitor and will be announced in the first week of July 1933; and the prize will be given away at the Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society to be held about July 1933. The accepted essay will become the absolute property of the Mythic Society for all purposes.

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary,
Mythic Society.

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXIII

OCTOBER, 1932

No. 2

**THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY**

Bangalore, 12th September 1932

DR. E. P. METCALFE, D.Sc., F.INST.P.

in the Chair

THE Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Monday, the 12th September 1932 at 6 P.M. with Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc., F.Inst.P., Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, in the Chair, when a large number of members and friends were present.

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, M.A., President of the Society, in offering a most hearty welcome to the distinguished Chairman of the Meeting, made the following introductory speech.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

We are justified in claiming Dr. Metcalfe as an Indian ; he has been with us now for over two decades and his father is still remembered as the pioneer of higher education in the Telugu country. Our distinguished Chairman of this evening obtained the B.Sc. degree with first class honours at the

University College, London, and came into close association with well-known men of science. From London, where he was also a post-graduate scholar doing research work for two years, he proceeded to Cambridge to pursue his studies under Sir J. J. Thomson at the Cavendish Laboratory. Recommended by Sir William Ramsay, he came as a professor of the Central College where he became principal. On the retirement of Dr. Seal, he was raised to his present position of the Vice-Chancellor of our university.

The physics laboratory in the Central College was designed by him and was constructed under his personal supervision; and the chemistry block also was constructed on the same model. The improvement in science instruction and the research work in our University College of Science owe their influence to his splendid guidance and brilliant example. Dr. Metcalfe has carried on successfully experiments in important spectroscopic research. His papers on subjects like the optical and electrical properties of gases and vapours are well known.

The remarkable discovery of the selective absorption of light by electrically luminiscent mercury vapour by Dr. Metcalfe led to several papers being published by him and his friend and colleague Professor B. Venkatesachar; and great activity in spectroscopic work originating from these researches has made the Central College a leading school of research in India with an international reputation. The doctorate of science of the London University was conferred upon him in recognition of his original investigations. He is also a Fellow of the University College, London, and a Fellow of the Institute of Physics. As a wireless specialist, it is unnecessary for me to dwell on his achievements.

In addition to his proficiency in science, he is well known as an excellent player on the violin disproving the oft-mentioned negative correlation between scientific pursuits and artistic tastes.

Dr. Metcalfe is one of our foundation members and as an instance of his wide cultural tastes and close association

with the aims and objects of our Society, may I refer to the fact that the Central College Library has a set of the Indian Antiquary and Epigraphia Indica, the stock in trade of the antiquarian scholar? With these few words, gentlemen, let me introduce to you our worthy Chairman of this evening. Dr. Metcalfe, I extend you a hearty welcome on behalf of myself and on behalf of the Mythic Society.

*
* *

Mr. S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., General Secretary and Treasurer, then read the following report for the year 1931-32 :—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1931-32.

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening the report of the Society's activities during the year 1931-32.

It is a matter of great rejoicing and gratification to us that our Patron, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, completed a most arduous and successful pilgrimage to Mount Kailasa and Manasarovara. A short, illustrated account of this eventful journey was published in the Journal with the gracious permission of His Highness and the kind assistance rendered by the Palace.

Membership.—The strength in our membership continues to be steady. We would respectfully appeal to the members in arrears to pay up their dues and also to secure fresh members for the Society.

During the year, the loss to the Society by the death of its members was heavy and it is our most painful duty to record the demise of the following :—The late Maharaja of Cochin, Sir Dorabji Tata, Sir S. E. Pears, Rajamantrapravina C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Rajasabhabhushana Karpur Srinivasa Rao, Rao Bahadur B. V. Venkataswami Naidu, The Hon'ble Mr. A. Suryanarayana Rao and Messrs. K. Chandrasekharaiya and Vedam Venkatchalam Iyer. Several of these were office-bearers of

the Society and the last a valued contributor. We offer our condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

Finance :—Total receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 4,141-14-6. As against an opening balance of Rs. 102-12-6, the closing balance was Rs. 208-9-6. In October 1931, under Government Order No. G. 3202-3/G.M. 56-31-1, dated the 14th October 1931, the temporary grant of Rs. 100 per month was reduced to Rs. 50, the annual reduction being Rs. 600. The work which the Mythic Society has been rendering cannot be measured in terms of current coin and it is needless to dilate upon the inconvenience which has been caused to the Society in carrying on its activities. Representations are being made to the Government for a reconsideration of this order and it is hoped it will be possible for the Government to see its way to accede to our request. We desire to express our grateful thanks to our Honorary Auditor, Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, for undertaking to audit our accounts during the year.

Exchanges :—Our exchanges, which exceed a hundred, include practically all the learned periodicals in the world interested in our work. Most of these are bound together in separate volumes and preserved in the Library.

Reading Room :—The Reading Room attached to the Library is well used and there were 3,019 visitors during the year. All our journals and exchanges, in addition to the several daily newspapers, are available to the readers.

Library :—Considerable accessions are being made to the Library from time to time and, during the year under review, Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Taraporevala Sons & Co. and the Oxford University Press have presented several books to us for notice in the Journal. Our thanks are due to the Government of India, the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukkottai, the Universities of Mysore, Madras and Calcutta, and the Annamalai University and various other institutions and publishers and authors for sending works for review.

Our efforts at collecting the back numbers of several periodicals of antiquarian interest met with further success in the year. We appeal to our members and to the public to present us with back numbers of journals of antiquarian interest so that we may be able to possess complete sets of these for their benefit.

The Director of Public Instruction in Mysore has been pleased to send us another instalment of books and our grateful thanks are due to him. We look forward to the receipt of a still larger number of volumes from him at no distant date.

Lack of space and want of funds happen to be great drawbacks in putting the library in an efficient working condition. In addition to the provision of an attender and a librarian, separate accommodation to locate the library and to provide facilities for reference and research is absolutely essential and many more almirahs are required to arrange the books. But these have to be deferred till the depressing financial situation is tided over and both the Government and the philanthropic public are in a position to extend financial help to us.

Journal.—As a high class periodical of historical and antiquarian interest, the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* is very popular and attracts increasing attention at the hands of the learned. The reviews of books and editorials are well received. We are very grateful to our numerous contributors and others who have helped us to this end.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The premises of the Daly Memorial Hall and the garden attached to it are maintained in good condition. The Hall has been used, as usual, by the Mysore Civil Service Association, the Mysore Amildars' Association and other bodies for their conferences and meetings. The inaugural meeting of the Mysore Journalists' Association over which His Highness the Yuvaraja presided was also held in our Hall.

Visitors.—Professor Otto Stein of the University of Prague, Rev. Fr. H. Heras, President of the Bombay

Historical Society and Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Iyer of Madras visited the Mythic Society and were pleased with the work conducted under its auspices.

General:—A valued member of the Society has offered a prize of Rs. 50 for the best essay in English on “The Evolution of the Kannada Drama”. The competition is open to all and the essays for entry should reach the General Secretary on or before the 15th May 1933. The details are already published in the daily press and will also be referred to in the Journal for October 1932.

In conclusion, we beg to express our gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, His Highness the Maharaja’s Government and to the Government of India for their continued support and their generous sympathy with the objects of the Society.

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Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao proposing and Mr. M. Venkatesa Iyengar seconding, the Report was duly adopted.

Prof. F. R. Sell, in proposing Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao for re-election as the President of the Society, referred in highly appreciative terms to the learning and scholarship of Mr. Shama Rao and said that a worthier President for the Society was hard to find. The proposition, on being ably seconded by Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar, was carried with acclamation.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao and seconded by Mr. D. Venkatramiah, the following gentlemen were unanimously elected to the several offices and to the Committee :—

Vice-Presidents :

Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar.

Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar.

Mr. K. Chandy. •

Mr. C. S. Doraswami Iyer.

Mr. K. Matthan.

Mr. R. Narasimhachar.

Dr. E. P. Metcalfe.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Joint Secretary :

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan.

Editors :

Prof. F. R. Sell.

Mr. K. Devanathachariar.

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Branch Secretaries :

For Ethnology :—Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao.

For History :—Rev. Fr. C. Browne.

For Folklore :—Mr. B. Puttaiya.

Committee :

The above and the President *ex-officio* and

Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar.

Dr. R. Shama Sastri.

Mr. N. S. Subba Rao.

Mr. A. R. Wadia.

Dr. M. H. Krishna.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Amidst loud and continued cheers, Dr. Metcalfe then rose and delivered the following interesting and instructive address :—

I must felicitate the Mythic Society on the completion of yet another year of active life and on the flourishing condition disclosed in the Report just read; and this in the face of external depressions which, in the case of the Society, seem to be reflected chiefly in a diminution in the assistance given to it by the Government. However, in spite of this circumstance and in spite also of some apparent difficulty in realizing subscriptions, the health of the Society seems to be thoroughly sound, reflecting much credit on those to whom the management of its affairs has

been entrusted. It is a matter for congratulation that the Society has not merely survived the uncertainties and dangers which commonly beset the early life of such associations, but has steadily maintained its vigour and increased its reputation.

The Mythic Society was founded some twenty years ago in a very modest way. The original plan, as I remember it, was to form a kind of study circle, to meet quite informally at members' homes, in rotation, to discuss Indian folk-lore and manners and customs. The idea speedily developed far beyond this primitive intention; and by the efforts of keen and highly competent scholars like Mr. F. J. Richards, the late Father Tabard (who was of such personality in the antiquarian world that he may be said at one time to have been *himself* the Mythic Society), my old friend Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and others, the Society was formed under its present somewhat ambiguous name. Later, obtaining a local habitation in this Hall and accumulating reputation and recognition at the hands of distinguished personages and bodies, the Society has become securely established; and enjoys the proud position of being one of the two leading antiquarian societies in India.

To be quite candid, my own connection with the Society has been little more than nominal, though I was actually among the founder members. My work and, in consequence, my chief interests have been in other directions; and, beyond reading with much enjoyment the limited portion of the Society's Journal falling within my comprehension, I have hardly shared the full benefits which the Society so freely provides for the instructed. For this reason, I am afraid that I cannot be regarded as an appropriate Chairman for your Annual Meeting. I am none the less grateful to you for giving me the pleasure of presiding on this occasion.

During the last three years, by a turn of fortune, I have come into association in an official capacity with a powerful and active agency of antiquarian research in the Mysore Archæological Department: and my interest in antiquarianism has accordingly been very practically engaged.

This department, which, as many of you are no doubt aware, is now being worked with, and to a large extent by the University, is producing results of great value and interest. The department came to the University with an already established reputation, earned under a succession of distinguished chiefs. It is highly gratifying to me, as the executive head of the University, to find this excellent reputation maintained and even extended under the management of my able colleague, Dr. M. H. Krishna.

By way of including in this address something of antiquarian interest I will give you a very brief account of an outstanding piece of work recently carried to the first stage of completion by the Archæological Department. This will take the form of my own impressions obtained as a result of a flying visit which I made not long ago to the site of one of Dr. Krishna's recent researches.

For the first time in this part of India, the technique of archæological investigation developed abroad by Flinders, Petrie and others has been employed in excavation works carried on by Dr. Krishna near the hill fortress of Chitra Durga, at Chandravalli.

A flat area in that neighbourhood had been noticed by Sir John Marshall as the possible site of an extinct township; and one or two trial pits had been put down by the Archæological Department with promising results. This work was taken up systematically by Dr. Krishna under the encouragement of my predecessor, Sir B. N. Seal; and interesting finds began to come to light.

The site adjoins a watercourse, usually dry; but carrying a considerable rush of water during heavy rain. In consequence, the channel has been deepened by the erosion of the flow, and objects such as pottery, tiles, etc., have been found protruding from its side, indicating the probability of a succession of buried habitation levels. The site itself is a large level stretched at the foot of the Chitaldrug mountain from the washed down débris of which it has evidently been formed. In this way, of course, the ground level has

gradually risen ; and thus successive horizons containing remains of human occupation have been buried. There seem to be no less than half a dozen of such horizons, each characterized by certain peculiarities. These, undoubtedly, represent successive townships or settlements. The lowest horizon is of the neolithic period, yielding a variety of beautifully fashioned stone implements.

The clay of the neighbourhood is of a quality suitable for the manufacture of pottery and bricks ; and successive inhabitants of the area seem to have taken full advantage of this circumstance. Judging by the really enormous quantity of potsherds on the site—so large as to appear almost to constitute the local geological formation!—the chief interest in life of the people must have centred in the making of earthen vessels. A large number of these, of various shape and quality, either complete or not much broken, have been recovered. By the kindness of Dr. Krishna we have some representative specimens here this evening. These range from objects of humble style and primitive execution to polished, glazed and decorated ware of a much higher standard. I understand that certain important conclusions may be arrived at from the decorative style of some of this work, which has not persisted to the present day in this part of the country. Dr. Krishna will, I hope, tell the Mythic Society more about this at some future date.

I believe that the quality of the pottery found at the different levels does not improve markedly all the way up to the surface. One of the main evidences of a rise in the standard of civilization lies in the substitution of iron implements for neoliths. This is a very obvious indication of improvement and advance and it seems to have occurred at a period represented by the lowest levels. There is, I believe, only one neolithic level yet found ; and geological considerations suggest that the excavations have really reached the bottom habitation level.

Dr. Krishna has photographed a collection of metal objects found in the several levels ; and the photographs are

here for your inspection. You will recognize many familiar shapes which have changed but little down to present times. Strange enough is the conspicuous absence of what is perhaps the most common of the metal objects of the wayside in this iron age, the ubiquitous worn-out bullock shoe. No animal shoes of any sort have been recovered. The question immediately suggests itself of what was the earliest age at which the practice of shoeing horses and draught cattle became prevalent in India.

A remarkable and possibly very important observation made in the course of the excavation is connected with the building bricks found in the different levels. These vary in size and shape. The earliest were the largest. It seems quite likely that careful study of the size and shapes of bricks will enable the investigator to identify the various levels at different points over the field; and perhaps even to extend the identification so as to relate these with levels of the same periods brought to light in future excavations in other places. In fact, the characteristic brick form may perhaps mark and date an archæological level somewhat as special fossil forms indicate a geological level. This, however, is as yet only to be regarded as a brilliant conjecture which, I understand, will be the subject of a careful investigation by Dr. Krishna.

The traces of buildings hitherto discovered at Chandravalli appear, for the most part, to be the remains of bases of dwellings on which mud walls may have been supported. It may be imagined that such mud walls would have perished by being washed down, leaving no identifiable remains. These bases—if they *are* only bases—are very definite and regular. Those found in different levels are not similarly orientated. Is it permissible, I wonder, to deduce from this that breaches of continuity of tradition in the matter of the lay-out of the town occurred between successive periods?—leading to the further inference that each town was entirely demolished in turn. There are evidences of two such complete breaches of continuity.

Finds of coins and clay seals have been made in the various levels, from which some idea of the age of each may be formed. The uppermost level may be about 800 years old: the middle group of levels about 2,000: the lowest neolithic cannot be dated.

In the foregoing description of the work which has been done at Chandravalli, you will easily recognize the touch of the non-expert. It represents merely my own impressions of what I saw and was told on the occasion of one visit. It is for Dr. Krishna to give us a proper discourse on the subject of these researches of his; and I hope that it may be possible to arrange an opportunity for him to do so. My own share in the doings at Chandravalli was to carry out the unwelcome task of determining whether in our present straitened circumstances we could afford to go much further with the excavations. After consulting Dr. Krishna, I came to the conclusion, with which he agreed, that there was but little chance of much more in the way of archæological facts coming to light as a result of further work there; while other sites offered better prospects of more interesting discovery. So it was resolved to close the work at Chandravalli at this stage for the present, utilizing our resources elsewhere.

It must be noted that, interesting as the site at Chandravalli undoubtedly is, it appears quite certain that it has always in past times been occupied by humble folk. It is not to be recommended as suitable for treasure-hunting of a lucrative kind.

Before leaving the subject of Chandravalli, I feel that I cannot omit a reference to a really remarkable epigraphical discovery made by Dr. Krishna in that neighbourhood. This is described in the *Archæological Survey Report* of 1929. The inscription is chiselled on the flat face of a large rock about twenty feet by fifteen. It is very much worn. In fact, the casual observer might easily fail to notice that the faint markings on the rock do compose an inscription. Patient study has led to the deciphering of the first three lines only of the inscription—three lines, however, which yield

information of the greatest importance regarding the territorial division of this part of India during a period of which but little seems to be known, the third century A.D. The lines, which are so pregnant in meaning to the historian, translated are:—This tank was constructed by Mayurasarman of the Kadambas who has defeated Trekuta, Abhira, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sayindaka, Punata and Mokari.

For the full significance of this laconic statement I would refer you to the dozen or so pages, including maps, which are given as a commentary in the *Archæological Survey Report* already mentioned.

It is now time for me to bring my remarks to a close. I must thank the President, Secretary and Committee of the Mythic Society for giving me this opportunity of saying a few words about some of the antiquarian work which is being done under the University. You will, of course, understand that what I have referred to is, after all, but a small part of the achievement of the Archæological Survey Department in recent years. A great deal more has been and is being done also in the fields of epigraphy and numismatics.

The University is also concerned with the management of still another institution devoted to antiquarian research on the literary side, the Oriental Library. Time does not permit of more than the barest reference to the excellent work which is being turned out by the staff of the Oriental Library. To give some idea of the magnitude of the literary task lying before them, I may mention that the Library possesses some ten thousand manuscripts, mostly of the palm-leaf variety, of which barely half have as yet been examined sufficiently closely for the purpose of a descriptive catalogue.

The association of these two research departments confers upon the University a great privilege and a potentiality for cultural development which not every university enjoys. I feel sure that the Mythic Society will view with the greatest sympathy the efforts which are being made by the University through these departments to advance the cause for which the Society itself stands.

In conclusion, I beg to thank the Mythic Society for honouring me by inviting me to preside this evening.

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Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman of the evening in suitable terms which was heartily applauded.

The President of the Society then rose to conclude the Proceedings and expressed his great appreciation for the work of the Society's able and energetic Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya and the Curator Mr. M. Venktesia; and he offered the Society's thanks to them which were accorded with acclamation.

With the garlanding of the Chairman and with three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the meeting terminated.

**STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND
EXPENDITURE**

THE MYTHIC
Statement of Receipts and

RECEIPTS					AMOUNT
					Rs. A. P.
1. Opening Balance	..	..	..	..	102 12 6
2. Subscription—					
Resident Members	..	..	..	..	263 10 0
Moffussil Members	..	..	..	..	468 7 0
Life-Members	..	..	..	..	15 0 0
3. Grants—					
Government of Mysore	..	..	..	..	1,721 0 0
Government of India	..	..	..	..	300 0 0
4. Interest and Dividend on Securities		..	..	..	702 10 0
5. Recoveries from Staff	..	..	..	..	255 0 0
6. Sales	..	..	..	..	265 7 0
7. Hall Charges	..	..	..	..	48 0 0
TOTAL					4,141 14 6

Reserve Fund—				At Face Value RS.
1. Mysore State Loan 6½% Stock	..	..	..	9,850
2. Mysore State Loan 6½% Bonds	..	..	..	200
3. Mysore State Loan 5% Stock	..	..	..	1,500
4. Mysore Bank Share (one)	..	..	..	100
TOTAL				11,650

Certified correct.

T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
Hon. Auditor,

SOCIETY, BANGALORE

Expenditure for the year 1931—32.

PAYMENTS					AMOUNT
					Rs. A. P.
1. Establishment—					
Pay of the Staff .. .. .	..	..	..	..	1,092 0 0
Lighting Charges .. .. .	..	..	..	..	151 15 0
Bicycle Account .. .. .	..	..	..	..	37 10 0
Garden .. .. .	..	..	..	..	103 0 0
Electrical Accessories .. .. .	..	..	..	..	32 4 0
Premises .. .. .	..	..	..	..	100 12 0
Furniture .. .. .	..	..	..	..	61 0 0
2. Journal—					
Printing .. .. .	..	..	..	..	1,200 0 0
Postage .. .. .	..	..	..	..	313 5 0
Miscellaneous .. .. .	..	..	..	..	48 0 0
3. Library—					
Books Purchased .. .. .	..	..	..	..	161 13 6
Subscription to Newspapers .. .. .	..	..	..	..	74 8 0
Book Binding .. .. .	..	..	..	..	127 12 0
Miscellaneous .. .. .	..	..	..	..	41 6 0
4. Advances to Staff .. .. .	..	..	..	..	162 0 0
5. Mysore Horticultural Society Subscription .. .. .	..	..	..	..	24 0 0
6. Stationery .. .. .	..	..	..	..	57 7 6
7. Bank's Charges .. .. .	..	..	..	..	6 13 0
8. Miscellaneous .. .. .	..	..	..	..	137 11 0
9. Closing Balance .. .. .	..	..	..	..	208 9 6
TOTAL ..					4,141 14 6

Details for Closing Balance—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1. In the Bank of Mysore	198	4	9
2. With the Curator	0	14	7
3. With the Branch Secretaries.. .. .	9	6	2
TOTAL ..	208	9	6

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

AMONG the dynasties of Southern India which arose and played an important part during the centuries following the battle of Tālikōṭa, that of the Waḍeyars of Mysore claims our foremost attention. For, while many a dynasty contemporaneous with the Waḍeyars is now effete, the latter are yet ruling Mysore preserving and propagating all that is good and noble in Hindu culture. The two centuries after Tālikōṭa formed the most significant period in the history of Karnāṭaka in general and Mysore in particular, when the Waḍeyar dynasty gradually emerged into the fuller limelight of history, attracted the attention of their contemporaries and evolved a system of government which formed the basis of all later developments. In the following pages, an attempt is made to deal with this subject from the available sources with special reference to (1) polity, (2) economic system, (3) general culture, and (4) some considerations in the light of recent criticisms.

I. Polity.

Early Conditions.—Inscriptions and other sources indicate that Mysore during the period 1565-1610 was one of the tiny principalities subordinate to the Vijayanagar Emperor through the Viceroy (Mahāmaṇḍalesvara) of Seringapatam (Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa). The term *sīme*—meaning a territory comprising a congeries of villages—appears to have been applied to Mysore in the same way as it was to other principalities, each of which was generally in a state of war with others and seeking the aid of the Viceroy to destroy the aggressive neighbour—particularly Mysore. If the Viceroy was mature and tactful like Rāmarājayya, he could overawe opposition and strive to ensure peace in the territories under his control; if, however, he were young and inexperienced like Tirumala,

he would easily play himself into the hands of the commander-in-chief and the chieftains and, instead of putting an end to the forces of disorder, would court his own ruin at the hands of the most powerful and enterprising chieftain.¹

The position of each chieftain or Pallegar was, in theory, analogous to that of the feudal vassal of mediæval Europe. He had to render allegiance to his liege lord, the Viceroy of Seringapatam, to pay him the annual tribute and, in many cases, to contribute his quota of forces—men, horses and elephants—to the imperial army, especially in times of war. So far as Mysore was concerned, however, her chieftain appears to have generally evaded payment of tribute and was always trying to shake off the imperial yoke on some pretext or other, partly by strengthening his position by means of forts and partly by a policy of systematic encroachments on his neighbours. This attitude fructified under Rāja Waḍeyar (1578-1617) who by 1608 became master of a principality of 'thirty-three villages yielding 25,000 varahas per year', and began an important epoch in the history of Mysore by his acquisition of Seringapatam from Tirumala in 1610.²

Later Developments (1610-1761)

The King.—The king (*rāja*) was the executive head of the administration. Rāja Waḍeyar and his successors—down to Devarāja Waḍeyar were, in theory, subordinate to the Vijayanagar Emperor even after the acquisition of Seringapatam but, in practice, they were independent, as inscriptions testify. The later rulers completely shook off even the semblance of imperial authority since after 1665 the Empire became politically extinct.

¹ Vide the writer's *Source Book of Karṇāṭaka History: Mysore under the Waḍeyars* (Compiled for the Mysore University, 1929) (*Unpublished*). Also the writer's article *Rāja Waḍeyar and his Successors* (Sec. I) in the *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, Vol. IV (2); *E.C.*, 4 (2); Ch. 23; 3 (1) Nj. 141; *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 52, etc. (for *sīme*).

² *Mackenzie Collections* (Madras Oriental MSS. Library): Puttiab's *Mysūru Dhoregaḷa Pūrvābhyaṇḍaya Vivara* (ff. 3-7) (*Kaḍitam*); also, *Mysūru Samsthānada Vamśa Pārampara Kaiḥyat* (ff. 2-6) (MS. in the Mys. Archl. office).

Kingship was hereditary. Generally the ruler belonged to the elder or senior line of the Royal House inaugurated by Rāja Waḍeyar (1617-37).³ Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar (1637-38) and Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar (1638-59) successively came of the senior line. However, in case of failure of issue in that line, recourse was had to adoption of an heir from the junior. Thus Devarāja Waḍeyar (1659-73), a son of Muppina Devarāja Waḍeyar (step-brother of Rāja Waḍeyar), was adopted and chosen as ruler by Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar. Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704), the successor of Devarāja, likewise belonged to the junior line. This distinction, however, faded under Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I (1714-32) who, on failure of issue, successively adopted Chāmarāja (1732-34) and Krishṇarāja (afterwards Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II, 1734-66) who belonged to *arasu* families of good social standing, namely, the Ankanahalli and Chikkanahalli families respectively.

The power and prestige of the king, from 1610 down to the close of Chikkadevarāja's reign were really enormous and hence the rulers of the period have been aptly called 'Makers of Modern Mysore'. The decadence and retrogression in royal authority after 1704 were responsible for the *interregnum* of 1761, as already pointed out.

The ancient ideals of kingship were closely observed. The interests of the ruler and the ruled were held identical. In this connection, the dictum 'as is the king, so are the subjects' (*yathā rāja tathā prajāḥ*) was very well put into practice. Punishment of the wicked and protection of the good, were, as ever, the foremost of the king's duties (*dushṭa nigrāha śiṣṭa paripālanaṁ*). Kingly power was based on service to Gods and Brahmins (*deva brāhmaṇa pūjārtham sāmrajyam pratipālayan*).⁴ The theocratic ideal of kingship was prominent in the minds of the rulers at first. The idea of kingship as a contract between the

³ *Vide* the writer's article on *Devarāja Waḍeyar* (Sec. I), *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (1).

⁴ *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 151; also, TN. 62; SR. 103; XII KG. 37, etc.

ruler and the ruled gathers increasing importance under Chikkadevarāja and his successors who, however, paid due regard to the earlier traditions as well. The general character of the king and his solicitude for the welfare of the people are borne out by a classic passage⁵ referring to the admonition of Doḍḍa Devarāja to his brother Devarāja on the eve of the latter's coronation. Thus runs the thought, "Dear brother, by virtue of your qualities, an ornament to the race of Yadu, all the subjects are pleased with you. I have transferred my burden to you. Henceforward you should rule the country. All glories having been attained by me, the results of my previous deeds have borne fruit. The family gods have favoured me. How happy indeed are the subjects! You have mastered all *śāstras* and are practising what is laid down therein. By the force of my affection towards you, I would advise you to attend to the service of Gods and Brahmins, without caring too much for your own welfare. You must protect the subjects by showing them parental kindness and mercy. By so doing, your prosperity, wealth and fame will increase." Devarāja,⁶ we are told, divided his kingdom into four parts, giving the first to the Brahmins, the second to the Gods, the third to charity, and retaining the fourth for his own use. He is also said to have ruled the country in accordance with the precepts of *Smṛti* (*smṛtyukta dharmadindāḍu*). The deep religious significance of the ideals of kingship is further borne out by the vast body of literary and epigraphical records of the period.

The Crown Prince.—With the growth of the kingdom, the Crown Prince (*Yuvarāja*) became an important element in the polity. Special attention was paid towards his education. Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar I, son of Beṭṭada-chāmarāja Wāḍeyar, we are told,⁷ was educated in all branches of learning, along with Nanjarāja and Lingarāja (afterwards the commanders-in-chief of his reign), by Brahmin

⁵ *Chikkadevarāja Vamśāvali*, pp. 169—170.

⁶ *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 54; also *E.E.*, III (1); SR. 14.

⁷ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. IV, 84-86 (*vv*).

teachers and received excellent training in horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery and the use of several kinds of weapons of offence and defence. Alahisingarārya⁸ was the preceptor of Chikkadevarāja and the latter was taught along with Tirumalārya (son of Alahisingarārya) who later became his minister. The items of the prince's education included, among others, training in swordsmanship, archery, horse and elephant riding, philosophy, dharmaśāstras, danḍanīti (the science of politics), drama, rhetoric and language—in all of which Chikkadevarāja is stated to have become proficient.

As Crown Prince (*Yuvarāja*), Chikkadevarāja was of considerable assistance to his uncle Devarāja Wāḍeyar in the latter's southern campaigns. Sometimes, the Crown Prince acted as a joint ruler also. Kanṭhīrava Arasu, brother of Chikkadevarāja, ruled the patrimony of Mysore along with Devarāja Wāḍeyar, especially after the confinement of Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar.⁹ In later times, as the influence of the king dwindled, the habit of associating the Crown Prince in the civil and military administration of the country was discontinued, and in its place arose the system of regency.¹⁰

The Council.—In the administration of the country, the King was assisted by a council (*Mantrālōchana Sabhā*) after the traditional manner. The composition and character of the council varied. The earliest reference to it is in the reign of Rāja Wāḍeyar. We note his brothers Bettadachāmarāja Wāḍeyar, Chennarāja and Devarājarasa forming an advisory council to meet exigencies especially in connection with the acquisition of Seringapatam.¹¹ Though under Rāja Wāḍeyar's successors there does not seem to have been any regular council, yet there is enough data at hand to hold that in his administration the King was assisted by the commander-in-chief (*Daḷavoy*) and the minister (*Mantri*).

⁸ *C. Vamśāvali*, p. 155; also colophon to *Commentary on the Mahābhārata*.

⁹ *Vide* f.n. 3, (*op. cit.*, Sec. 3).

¹⁰ *Palace History*, pp. 183-88.

¹¹ *Vide* f.n. 8, *supra*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Thus Chāmarāja had a minister by name Govindayya.¹² Timmarasa¹³ was the minister of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Wāḍeyar, and he appears to have continued in office down to the reign of Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar. The King's personality, however, counted for much during this period since conquest and annexation of neighbouring territories formed the key-note of the policy of the rulers. But with the commencement of Chikkadevarāja's reign, conditions had become complex. Numerous conquests had been made in all directions while others were yet in progress. The need for consolidation of these conquests was keenly felt by Chikkadevarāja. Accordingly, we notice the revival of the council to help him in his administrative measures.

The council thus revived consisted of Yeḷandur Pandit (well known as Viśālāksha Pandit), Tirumala Iyengar (Tirumalārya), Shaḍaksharayya, Chikkupādhyāya and Karaṇika Lingaṇṇayya—men of varied accomplishments and representatives of Jaina, Brahmanical and Veeraśaiva religions. Of these councillors we have some interesting details.¹⁴ Viśālāksha Pandit was the son of Bommarasa by Summāmbikā. He was an expert in all sciences and in Jaina philosophy and religion. He is referred to as the foremost minister of Chikkadevarāja. He was well known for his economy of words, intelligence and extraordinary virtues. He is said to

¹² *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, p. 23.

¹³ *Vide* f.n. 7, *supra*, *op. cit.*, Ch. 25, v. 84.

¹⁴ *Ananta Kavi, Belagoḷada Gommateśvara Charitre* (MS., K.A., 202, in the Mysore Oriental Library), pp. 100-09:

Bommarasana sati summāmbikēya garbhadoḷu... Viśālākṣha Paṇḍitanemba
... siriwantanogeda | Ōdida sakala śāstra... ādiya Sri Jinamatakepeyillendu.. ||
Chikkadevarājarasage mantriyādanu... mantri kulāgrāṇi milavāṇi jāṇanim
sadguṇa maṇimāni mahāmātyam... | Tannarasina rājyadoḷuḷḷa jina-grhavanud-
dharisi... beḷagoḷatirthadoḷu.. | arhanmatake kaṇṭakarāgirutirḍa nerepāshandā
vargavanu | dhoreyinda negotti nishkaṇṭakadiravudūriwa... | deva dorbalige...
sale śaka sāvīradaru (āru) nūrāgirda Naḷa samvatsarada Phālgunada | beḷu
pakshadekādaśiyōḷagabhiṣeka.. || bandudu bahuvastu dikkudikkugaḷinda...
mandaisi kūḍitu parishe mastaka puje chandadinda... ||

(This is a MS. of 149 pages. The verses are not numbered in the MS. This Kannada work was written about 1780.)

have promoted the interests of his religion by erecting and conserving Jaina monuments in the country—particularly at Śravaṇabelagoḷa, and by overcoming with the king's help the opponents of the religion of Arhat. In 1679 the Mastakapūjā to Dorbali at Śravaṇabelagoḷa was performed with great *éclat* under his guidance. In a grant¹⁵, dated 1685, by Chikkadevarāja, he is referred to as 'Doḍḍa Paṇḍita of Yeḷavandur'. His influence at the court of Mysore appears to have waned after this date and, according to Wilks, his death was brought about by his enemies on sectarian grounds. Tirumalārya, the next important minister, was the son of Aḷahiyasingarārya, the friend and councillor of Doḍḍadevarāja and the preceptor of Chikkadevarāja. He is celebrated as the author of prose and poetical works as also of some Sanskrit inscriptions of the reign and is referred to as the most important adviser of the king in all matters. He is¹⁶ stated to have been 'like Bṛhaspati in the council of Chikkadevarāja'. Shaḍaksharayya, also known as Shaḍaksharideva, was the great Veeraśaiva poet of Chikkadevarāja's court. Chikku-pādhyāya was the other Brahmin minister of Chikkadevarāja and is famous as a poet also. Lingaṇṇayya was another important Brahmin councillor and wakil of the king, and is said to have led an embassy to the court of Aurangzeb about 1700.

The council was entirely subordinate to the king, being purely an advisory body. Under the successors of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar, the council of ministers became more and more powerful and evolved as the actual administrative body. Thus, we note¹⁷, 'during the reign of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I, the king's personality and influence hardly made themselves felt, especially in the administration of the country. All power was actually exercised by the king's two relatives Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya and Daḷavoy Devarājayya. Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, successor of Krishṇarāja I, chose his

¹⁵ *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 41.

¹⁶ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26.

¹⁷ *Palace History*, p. 182.

own councillors, Vīra Setṭi, Gōpināthiah, Kanṭhīravayya, Kaḍur Chikkayya, Nāraṇappa and Śivanappa, by removing the old councillors. Yet the latter who were very powerful turned traitors, deposed the king and inaugurated their own rule. Under Krishṇarāja II, Venkaṭapathi, the chief Brahmin minister, and Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya were prominent personalities in the administration of the country, being assisted by Daḷavoy Devarājayya, Karāchūri Nanjarājayya, Hyder Ali, Dewan Khanḍe Rao and Chennappayya. The bickerings among these ultimately led to the rise of Hyder Ali who became the *de facto* ruler of Mysore in 1761 as already pointed out.

The Commander-in-Chief.—Next to the King, the most important element in the polity was the commander-in-chief (*Daḷavoy*). The circumstances connected with the origin of this office in Mysore are very interesting: "Shortly after his acquisition of Seringapatam," thus runs a version¹⁸, "Rāja Waḍeyar, addressing his councillors, said, 'if we want to extend our territory, our army is not quite sufficient. If we increase the numerical strength of the army, we shall at the same time, have to look to the proper administration of the same by an honest commander-in-chief. Māra Nāyaka, the Daḷavoy at the time of our ancestor Yadu Rāya, was killed because he fell into evil ways. Since then none of our ancestors appointed a *Daḷavoy*.' Thus deliberating, Rāja Waḍeyar appointed Karikāla Mallarājayya, his nephew, as commander-in-chief. The latter, having accepted office, went to Kaḷale saying he would return; but since he did not do so and since, instead, he sent back the insignia of his office, Beṭṭada Arasu, a son of Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (brother of Rāja Waḍeyar) was appointed to the place. Thus continued the office from Rāja Waḍeyar's time." Another version¹⁹ runs thus, "After Tirumala left Seringapatam to Mālingi, the Chief of Ummattur proceeded against Seringapatam assisted by the surrounding paḷlegars. Rāja Waḍeyar, however, had little force to cope with the situation. He

¹⁸ *Palace History*, p. 54.

¹⁹ *The Kaiḷfiyat*, ff. 7-8.

therefore, sought the assistance of his nephew Karikāla Mallārājayya, Chief of Kaḷale 40,000 country, took oaths from him in front of the Chāmunḍeśvari temple and arranged that henceforward Rāja Waḍeyar's descendants should rule Seringapatam, Mysore, Kaḷale and other territories annexed from time to time, while the descendants of Kaḷale Mallārājayya should be Sarvādhikāri (chief ministerial officer) and commander-in-chief. A bhāshā patra (deed of promise) to this effect was drawn up. In 1616 Nandi Nāthayya, son of Mallārājayya, was entrusted with the office of Daḷavoy." Thus, however much the versions may differ, it would be fair to hold that (1) the institution of the office of commander-in-chief was due to the necessity of self-preservation of Mysore against hostile neighbours, (2) it was the outcome of a compact between the Mysore Royal House and the Kaḷale House, and (3) the first commander-in-chief from Rāja Waḍeyar's time was Karikāla Mallārājayya.

In general, the commander-in-chief was directly subordinate to the king and had to carry out the latter's behests to the strict letter. He was not only in charge of the army but wielded considerable influence over general administration as the king's right-hand man. The ambition of the commander-in-chief to be foremost in the administration sometimes led him to plot against the king and was the cause of his dismissal. Thus Beṭṭada Arasu's intrigues to kill Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, grandson of Rāja Waḍeyar, resulted in the loss of his eyes and confinement. Daḷavoy Vikrama Rāya lost his office under similar circumstances during the reign of Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar. Old age, inefficiency and disloyalty also involved loss of office, as in the cases of Daḷavoys Timmappa, Hamparājayya and Dāsarājayya in Kanṭhīrava's reign. In Devarāja's reign, Hamparājayya, who had been reinstated, was removed from service as he had defrauded the state revenues (1661). The short tenure of office varying generally from three to five years was, however, an effective check on corruption and misrule.²⁰

²⁰ *Vide f.n. 18, op. cit.*, pp. 64, 81-82, 114, 133, etc.

There were often close relations between the Royal Family and the Daḷavoy Family. Thus Dāsarājayya, one of the Daḷavoys of Kanṭhīrava, was the latter's father-in-law. Nanjarājayya and Lingarājayya of Hura, the famous Daḷavoys of Kanṭhīrava, were related to him on his mother's side.²¹ Really capable Daḷavoys like them stood the king in good stead and worked heart and soul to bring name and fame to their master. In fine, but for the Daḷavoy it would have been impossible for Mysore to attain political greatness, however capable the rulers might have been themselves. Sometimes, the Crown Prince was chosen as a general to provide him opportunities of military practice, as in the case of Chikkadevarāja in Devarāja's reign.

The Daḷavoys were often allowed to make grants independently of the King. Thus Chāmappa, Daḷavoy of Chāmārāja Waḍeyar, made a grant²² for the merit of the latter on a lunar eclipse in 1620. In 1654 we have a grant²³ of lands to God Nrisimha by Daḷavoy Lingarājayya, son of Mādhava Nāyaka, Lord of Hura, during the reign of Kanṭhīrava I. Sometimes, the consent of the Daḷavoy was obtained by the King in making grants, as in the case of erection of a maṭha in Kaḷale and the grant of two villages by Devājamma during the reign of Devarāja Waḍeyar, and in the case of a charity by the same donor.²⁴ It is specifically stated in these records that Daḷavoy Nanjanāthayya consented to these grants. These instances clearly indicate the close co-operation between the King and the Daḷavoy in the civil government of the country.

Under the successors of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar, the commander-in-chief gradually became independent even as the councillors, on account of the weakness of the Kings. Ultimately, he became the foremost arbiter in the destiny of the kingdom. Daḷavoy Devarājayya and Karāchūri

²¹ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 3, v. 13 and Ch. 4, vv. 76-77.

²² *E. C.*, III (i) SR. 36.

²³ *E. C.*, IV (ii) Hg. 49.

²⁴ *E. C.*, III (i) Nj. 81 and 56 (1662).

Nanjarājayya are instances in point. They played a prominent part not only in the conquests and annexations but also in the administration of the country thoroughly eclipsing the influence of the King.

The Army and Ethics of Warfare.—In a kingdom like Mysore surrounded by hostile neighbours, self-preservation was, as we have seen, the key-note of progress. The idea of struggle and survival of the fittest in the complex political conditions of the century following the battle of Tālīkoṭa, is nowhere so well borne out as in the case of Mysore. The key to the success of Mysore is to be sought in the organization and maintenance of the army.²⁵

At first, apart from a few warriors, elephants and horses in the personal service of the King, there does not appear to have existed a regular standing army. In times of emergency the Chief relied on the quota of forces sent by the allied pallegars (as for instance, those of Kaḷale, Biḷugali, Biḷikere, Hura, Hullahaḷḷi, Mūgūr and other places). A special feature of the army thus recruited was that it was trained and commanded by experienced haḷe-paika nāyakas (a type of commanders of the *haḷe-paika* community) under the guidance of the Chief. The system of militia was also in vogue and was of much use to Rāja Waḍeyar and his brothers not only during the siege of Kesare by Tirumala, but also in the conquest of Seringapatam in 1610.

A regular standing army with a commander-in-chief (Daḷavoy) was brought into being by Rāja Waḍeyar after 1610, as already pointed out. This army under him and his successors usually consisted of infantry, cavalry, elephants and camels, and was composed of heterogeneous elements since it was to a great extent supplemented by the quota of forces contributed by the subdued pallegars and the heads of local administrative units (*Maṇḍalīkas and Nāyakas*).²⁶ We

²⁵ *Vide Exts. from C. Vamśāvali and K. N. Vijayam* (pp. 16-17; 38-46) (Ch. 3) for the earliest references to military matters.

²⁶ *Vide* the writer's article on *Kanṭhāraṇa Narasaraḷa Waḍeyar* (Sec. 1), in the *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (2) ; also *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 25 (for the names).

have reference²⁷ to the existence in Seringapatam of horse stables (containing horses captured from the hostile chiefs of Madura, Belur and Narasimhapura), elephant stables (with elephants captured from the Nāyaka of Madura, the Changalva, the Telugu chieftains, and those sent as tribute by the chiefs of Koḍagu, Koṅkaṇa, Kongu and Maleyāḷa) and streets wherein resided drummers, trumpeters, buglers, torch-bearers, expert mahouts, camel riders, foot soldiers (infantry) and horsemen (cavalry), during the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar I. The hale-paika warriors, an important military class from Rāja Waḍeyar's time, constituted an element in Kanṭhīrava's army, and so too the spies and news-carriers (*Chāraru*, *Bēhinavaru*).²⁸ Their service in times of war was remarkable.

The army thus organized continued down to the middle of the eighteenth century playing an important part in preserving the political independence and integrity of the kingdom of Mysore. Its exact numerical strength under the different rulers is not known but enough data is at hand to prove its efficiency and varying degrees of success in the wars of the period. In the middle of the reign of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II, the Mysore army gained a reputation by coming into contact with the English army under Lawrence and Clive during the Carnatic War of succession (1750-52).²⁹ By 1758, the army became the most important factor in the government of Mysore, being ultimately used by Hyder Ali for the subversion of the old regime (1761). There is reference to the enlistment of Europeans (*parangis*) and Kāfirs in the Mysore army, in a record³⁰ of 1758, testifying to the wider outlook of the military and its adaptability to the changing conditions of the times in India.

Details as to the conditions of recruitment, pay and prospects of the forces under the rulers are lacking, though,

²⁷ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 6, vv. 25-31 ; Ch. 7, vv. 57-60. Chariots, the use of which appears to have been rare, are referred to in a record of 1685 (*E.C.* III (1) ML. 61).

²⁸ *Vide* f.n. 26, *supra*.

²⁹ Malleson, *Clive*, pp. 54-68. •

³⁰ *E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 267.

as is natural to expect, the Daḷavoy was held responsible to the King in these matters. It is possible that the details were left to the local heads for being worked out and the commander-in-chief exercised a check or control over them. In the sixties of the eighteenth century we have reference³¹ to the assignment of districts to the commander-in-chief to meet military expenditure out of their revenues. Of the heads of expenditure specified, the following were the most important: adjustments (*tiddu*), final settlements (*tīrpu*), maintenance of the trooper's list (*lāvaṇa*) and pay of horses and men.

In the earlier period under Rāja Waḍeyar and his successors the system of fighting with swords, arrows, lances and sharp knives was much in vogue. Swordsmanship was an important subject of military training. Lathies were freely employed in war, especially by the local militia. Recourse was also had to the use of crackers and slings and burning oil. Convoys to the enemy's camp were frequently cut off, and 'fierce oxen carrying bundles of grass' were used to plunder their baggage.³²

The use of guns³³ (*Śataghni*, *Pirangi*) and gunpowder (*Maddu*) was well known in Mysore as early as the forties of the seventeenth century. We have an interesting list of names³⁴ of guns in the time of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar. Similarly, we have names³⁵ of weapons and crackers—all stored near the ramparts of the capital in readiness for war. The armoury (*Aluginachāvaḍi*, *Āyudhaśūle*) was an important

³¹ *Vide f.n.* 30.

³² *Ibid.*, 25.

³³ *Ibid.*, *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 6, vv. 15-12; also *Pirangi Maṭha* (institution for storing cannons) (*vide E.C.*, V (1) CN. 160 of 1648).

³⁴ *Vide* 33 *supra* *Rāmabāṇa*, *Bhūtanāṭha*, *Laukeya nirdhāma dhūma*, *Hanumanta*, *Chāmuṇḍi*, *Siḍḍila jaṅguli*, *Mēghanāḍa*, *Kōṭe kōlāhala*, *Kalivīrabhadra*, *Lūtiya Rāya Bhairava*, *Miṭṭina Ranganāṭha*, etc. The names are significant based as they are on the idea of invoking the mighty powers for success in war. They are also in keeping with the traditions of the country.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Tridents (*Triśula*), slings (*Kavane*), saws, sharp stones, springed, sharp steel weapons; *Chēḷubāṇa*, *Uripōṭṭana*, *Gundugal*, etc. The use of poisonous crackers was general throughout the seventeenth century wars in Mysore.

institution brought into being by Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1617-37), and was enlarged and well equipped under Kanṭhīrava and his successors. It is said to have contained in it varieties of weapons used in warfare and particularly those captured from the enemies. Special attention was paid to the maintenance and repair of forts on efficient lines under the rulers.

A peculiar feature of warfare was the mutilation of noses of the enemies.³⁶ Its origin is traced to the time of Rāja Waḍeyar who early in his reign is said to have taught a lesson to the chief of Kārugaḥalli (a neighbouring Pallegar who proceeded against him) by removing his nose and curbing his power³⁷. The custom was freely made use of by the Mysore army throughout the wars of the seventeenth century. It was apparently based on a notion that in offensive and defensive warfare the opponents were to be taught a bitter experience with a view to prevent them from opposing again the Mysore army. Another important feature of warfare was³⁸ the use of torches tied to the horns of oxen (of the transport service) in night times to scare away the enemy in abrupt action. We have one such instance in 1697 when the Maratha auxiliaries under Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat were repulsed with great slaughter and loss by Doddāyya, son of Daḷavoy Komārāyya of the Mysore army.³⁹

³⁶ Vide the writer's note in his article on *Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar* (Sec. 1), *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (2).

³⁷ Timmakavi, *Patchimarangakshetra Māhātmya*, Introduction, v. 32 (MS. in the Mysore Oriental Library).

Rājanyāpam Kārugaḥalli yāymana nīradāhavadol bhangisi mūgam tavakade chammatike voḷḷinim khaṇḍisidam.

Vide also: *Yādavagiri Māhātmya*, (Introduction), etc., (17th Century Works) for similar statements.

It is curious that later inscriptions refer only to the curbing of the power of Kārugaḥalli Chief by Rāja Waḍeyar who is stated to have 'horse-whipped him' (vide *M. A. R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7, Inscr., dated 1674; *SR.*, 14 of 1686 etc.). And it is interesting to note, according to *Mysūru Rājara Charitre* by Venkaṭaramaṇayya, that the custom of mutilation of noses was followed as a matter of policy by the Mysore army since Rāja Waḍeyar's time (vide fol. 42).

³⁸ *Palace History*, pp. 128-132.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, also Wilks' *Mysore I*, pp. 95-96.

Prayers were offered for⁴⁰ success in war, which was, again, accompanied by religious ceremonies and offerings forming the occasion for public rejoicings.⁴¹ Belief in the efficacy of dying a soldier's death on the battle field was universal.

Certain features of warfare depicted above, however repugnant to modern notions, were justified by the conditions of the times. The end justified the means and the end in view was the emergence and evolution of an independent and powerful kingdom and the maintenance of the same as a relic of the Hindu traditions of Vijayanagar. Even apart from those features, the Mysore army of the period has an abiding claim to the gratitude of posterity for its energy and whole-hearted devotion to its leader and its excellent discipline which left their mark on every action of the time and attracted the attention of contemporary powers.

Civil Officers.—The details of civil administration were carried out by officers under the control of the executive head. Under Rāja Wāḍeyar, the Karaṇika⁴² (revenue accountant) was an important officer and he appears to have been in charge of temple administration also. The treasury (*Kōśa*, *Bokkasa*) was acquired by Rāja Wāḍeyar from Tirumala and its existence in Seringapatam is further borne out by a record of 1623.⁴³ A similar official appears to have been in charge of it. Tax collectors for the collection of land revenue and other dues under the Pallegar system, and accountants for keeping regular accounts were appointed under Rāja Wāḍeyar and strict regulations are recorded to have been made for the peaceful administration of the country which was entrusted to thāṇādārs (officers in charge of civil and military administration of divisions), hōbaḷidārs (chiefs of armed peons in local areas), ōlekārs (letter carriers) and other officials.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *E. C.*, XII, Kg. 46.

⁴¹ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 15; *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 198; SR. 103, etc.

⁴² *Mackenzie Collections* (Inscr. of 1609), (Madras Oriental MSS. Library) MS., 18-15-20, fol. 23-24 (*vide: Source Book*, Sec. III.)

⁴³ *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 62,

⁴⁴ *Palace History*, p. 54,

Under Kanthirava I we have an interesting array of officers—civil and military, serving him. The military officers were mostly chieftains of several places under the control of the King. Of the civil officers, the following were the most important.⁴⁵ Linge Gowḍa, the Mayor of Seringapatam (*Paṭṭanada adhikāri*), Basaviah, the treasury officer (*Bokkasada Basaviah*), Viranṇa, the head of the avasarada hōbli department (dealing with urgent calls of the Palace), Venkaṭappa Jeṭṭi, the officer in charge of ornaments (*Ābharana*), Lappavarāsa, the King's accountant or financier (*Rājya lēkka baredōduva Lappavarasa*), Narasimha Upādhyāya, the expert scribe (*Rāyasa jāṇa*). Besides the Karaṇika and the councillors there was an officer in charge of the mint also, since Kanthirava was the first to establish it in his capital, in proof of his independence. Under Chikkadevarāja, Anṇiah, son of Javana Seṭṭi, a Jaina, was the officer in charge of the mint and treasury. It is said that he performed his duties conscientiously and was favoured by his master being allowed to construct a pond in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. He remained in office as late as the reign of Krishṇarāja I and is said to have worked well for him and attained glory. He too like Viśālāksha Pandit took much interest in the advancement of his religion.⁴⁶

The officers were directly responsible to the King and their position and importance increased with the reforms introduced by Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar in the administration of Mysore.

Local Government.—The most important centre of local government was the gaḍi (corresponding to a modern Taluk), the village being a unit thereof. Each gaḍi was at first in charge of a chieftain or Pallegar who was the military and civil head of the division responsible to the central government.

⁴⁵ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 25, vv. 56, 74, 76, 77, 82 and 85.

⁴⁶ *Beḷagoḷada Gommatēsvara Charitre*, op. cit. ..Anṇiah jīnapadabhakta tenkasāle ..ādhipatyava ..Chikkadevarāyana bokkasagaḷanu | āyāsagoḷade tumbisi avanogaṭiṭṭipriyamānasānāgiralu..beḷagoḷadim..eradu giriya madhyadi kalyāṇiya virachisi..

He had to pay tribute, attend the King's durbar and help him with his quota of men and horse in times of war.⁴⁷ Later the Subādār, Thāṇādār, Gurikārs, Senabhovas and Gauḍas were appointed and distributed over the local units, being made responsible for collection of taxes and preservation of local peace. These officials were subject to the control of the central government through the head of the Gaḍi. A record⁴⁸ of 1677 relates to the re-instatement in office of a shānubhog by name Venkaṭapathiah, son of Baira Hebbāruva after an enquiry into an allegation made against him by his enemy. The order is conveyed to him through Hampayya, the head of the Gaḍi of Arakalgud. The importance of local officers and their duties underwent changes under the reforms introduced by Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar.

In important places in the interior of the country and in newly acquired tracts or in frontier posts, the administration was entrusted to an agent (*kārya-karta*), responsible to the central government. Thus under Chāmarāja Wāḍeyar, Basava Linganna,⁴⁹ son of Kempa Wāḍeyar, was agent for the King's affairs at Talkād. Doḍḍayya, lord of Kānikārana-halli (Kankanhalli) was an agent⁵⁰ of Kanthirava I, at Channarāyapaṭṭāṇa. Koṭṭūrayya⁵¹ was his agent at Sāligrāma. Under Chikkadevarāja, Siddarājayya of Talkad was the King's agent in Kuṇigal⁵², and there is reference in an inscription to the construction by him of a large gate named 'Mysore Gate' (1674). In Krishnarāja Wāḍeyar II's reign we have

⁴⁷ *Vide*, f.n. 44 *supra*. The *subādār* was the civil and military head of the local unit of a *Gaḍi*. The *Thāṇādār* was his subordinate. *Gurikārs* were headmen of local establishment of armed retainers. *Senabhovas* were village accountants (*cf.* *Shānubhog*). *Gauḍas* were heads of villages. The import of the first two official designations (*Subādār* and *Thāṇādār*) appears to have taken place in the time of Kanthirava I, who first came into contact with the Muhammadans of Bijapur and the Marathas in their service (1638-59).

⁴⁸ *E.C.*, V (1), Ag. 2.

⁴⁹ *E.C.*, III (1), TN. 13 of 1633.

⁵⁰ *E.C.*, V (1), CN. 160 of 1648.

⁵¹ *E.C.*, V (1), CN. 185 of 1650.

⁵² *E.C.*, XII, KG. 7 of 1674.

another instance. Rāmappa was the agent⁵³ for the affairs of the King in Kaṇimbala (in Bowringpet hobli). It is interesting to note that he made a grant independently 'with a request to future kings for the maintenance' of the same. We may also note that Hyder Ali himself was an important agent⁵⁴ of Krishṇarāja Wāḍeyar II, from 1758 onwards, and retained the title (*Kārya karta*) even ⁵⁵after his assumption of supremacy over the administration of Mysore.

Administrative Measures.—The Palḷegar system was the distinct feature of administration in Mysore under Rāja Wāḍeyar and his successors down to Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar since conquest and annexation of territories formed the main activities of the rulers. As *de facto* Viceroys (*Kārya karta*) of Seringapatam they followed the Vijayanagar traditions with modifications to suit the needs of a growing kingdom. Rāja Wāḍeyar reorganized the system of administration by appointing new officers and laying down rules and regulations for the collection of taxes and for the peaceful administration of the country, as already referred to. His successor Chāmarāja Wāḍeyar went a step further in carefully grouping villages under the respective hoblis (sub-divisions) of the gaḍi. Kanṭhīrava I settled the land revenue in the territories annexed by him from the Palḷegars, according to the status and condition of each territory or locality; and appointed officers to safeguard local interests and facilitate the remittance of revenue collections from the country parts to the central exchequer at Seringapatam. He also paid particular attention to the organization of the treasury and the maintenance of correct accounts of finance.⁵⁶ He reorganized the currency, being the first to establish an independent mint and strike coins (*Kanṭhirāya haṇams*) in 1645.⁵⁷

⁵³ *M.A.R.* 1925, p. 64 (Record of 1741).

⁵⁴ *E.C.*, IV (2), Nj. p. 267.

⁵⁵ *M.A.R.*, 1924, pp. 56-57 (1764); 1921, pp. 57-58 (1764).

⁵⁶ *Palace History*, pp. 54, 70-72, 102-103.

⁵⁷ *Mackenzie Collections*, Madras Oriental MSS. Library, (*kaḍitam*) MS. 18, 15-20, ff. 36-37 (*Vide, Source Book*, Sec. III).

Devarāja continued the previous system with slight modifications. He studied thoroughly the character and conduct of the Pallegars and regulated his relations with them. To some he gave jahagirs (rent-free lands), to others jodi (Inam lands with quit-rent) villages, and from others he arranged to get tribute regularly.⁵⁸ An important feature of his reign was that there was already contact with some elements of the Maratha polity prevailing in the conquered tracts. Thus the reference⁵⁹ among others to Sunka Kārunkonas (Octroi clerks), rāvutas (troopers) and rānuves (armed force looking after civil establishment) as being required to make contributions to the treasury of the gaḍi of Kāṇikāranaḥalli (Kankanhalli) for the service of the God of Moḷagāla, is significant indicating as it does the tendency towards the absorption of the foreign elements of polity in the indigenous system.

The administrative measures for which Chikkadevarāja Waḍēyar has been so famous were the outcome of the following circumstances: the complete severance of the Vijayanagar yoke by the Mysore Royal House towards the close of Devarāja's reign; the conquest and settlement of most of the local Pallegars; the favourable atmosphere in the country at the time of Chikkadevarāja's accession; and the increasing contact of Mysore with the Marathas, the Deccani Muhammadans and the Moghuls.⁶⁰ The old system of administration which was devised to hold at bay the turbulent Pallegars required thorough overhauling and re-adjustment to meet the problems arising out of the complex conditions of the times. Accordingly, the first fourteen years of Chikkadevarāja's reign were devoted to the establishment of the administrative system on a sound basis.

⁵⁸ Vide: f.n. 56, *supra*, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵⁹ E.C., IX. KN., 94 of 1662.

⁶⁰ Vide the writer's article *Chikkadevarāja and his successors* in the *Q.J.M.S.*, XXIII (July 1932) (1), pp. 26-27.

⁶¹ The first important step taken by Chikkadevarāja was the grouping together of all the territories conquered and annexed by the rulers of Mysore since Rāja Wāḍeyar's time and the splitting up of the State into 84 administrative divisions after granting jahagirs to some persons and settling the tribute paid by others and absorbing the smaller administrative units in bigger ones. The administration of each division (*gaḍi*) was organized as follows: ⁶² A subādār, one mānager, three aṭṭavaṇe (revenue accountants) officials, one scribe (*rāyasadaṇu*), one post man (*anchekāra*) whose business was to despatch letters and write about news, formed the chief administrative officers; and under them were placed petty officials such as daffedār (head peon), menials, mace-bearer (*talavār*), golla (treasurer's assistant), chāvāḍi guards, and torch-bearer—their number varying according to the status of each division. The kandāchār officials (native militia), such as ṭhāṇādār (military assistant to the subādār), gurikār (head of armed peons), śīrastadār (head of the divisional establishment), clerks (*gumastas*), hōblidār, ōlekār, bugler and drummer were also appointed to arrange for the regular patrol of localities, to maintain law and order and minimise crime. Their number varied according to localities. The ōlekars, daffedars and hōblidārs were required to be ready with arms and ammunition to meet exigencies of public service. Thus was organized a sort of local militia, useful alike in times of peace and war, analogous to that of the Moghul and Marātha systems.

A special subādār was appointed to be in charge of demesne (royal estates) lands. It was his duty to look after the produce of those lands. Under him was maintained an

⁶¹ The account is based on extracts from *Palace History* (pp. 133-152; 164-170), supplemented by original sources.

⁶² Also called *Amildār* (Civil and Military Officer at first); *Subādār*, a Canarese form of *Subhādār* of the Moghul Polity. With the acquisition of Marātha possessions in the north by Hyder in 1758, the head of the *gaḍi* was designated *Amildār* in those parts, in keeping with the local practice. However, both the terms *Subādār* and *Amildār* existed side by side in Mysore. (*Palace History*, pp. 205-20.)

accounts establishment consisting of śīrastadār, clerks, killedār and ṭhāṇādār drawn mainly from the kandāchār service. Intelligence, honesty and efficiency were the criteria of appointments. The pay of the higher officials (like subādār, killedār, etc.) was fixed in proportion to the relative responsibilities of the appointments, half being paid in cash and the other half in kind. The subordinate officials (ōlekārs, etc.) were paid at rates varying from half-varaha and one haṇa to one varaha per month, half in cash and half in kind being met out of the produce of lands granted to them. To make service attractive, all the officials were exempt from taxes, such as, kāṇike (presents), kaḍḍāya (compulsory dues) and manederige (house tax).⁶³

Special attention was bestowed on the maintenance of law and order. A regular system of espionage was established. Arrangements were made for the report of the character and conduct of people in several parts of the country and for the prompt communication of occurrences in the interior of the country. In the different localities and headquarters of the gaḍis, a kotwal (local police officer), shānubhogs (their number varying according to the nature of the locality), menials, ⁶⁴peṭe seṭṭi, yajamān, chalavāḍi, drummer, bugler and detectives (*chāraru*) were entrusted with important duties. They were required to see that the different classes of people in the localities such as, Baṇajigas, Vaiśyas, Pāṇchāḷas and others did not transgress their caste rules and regulations, involving breach of public peace. They had to prevent theft in streets, to see that the merchants from different parts of the country carried on their transactions according to rules and regulations of government and to bring the offenders to book. During night the kotwal, spies, buglers and drummers

⁶³ Cf. Inscriptions of Chikkadevarāja's reign, referring to the items of taxes (*M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-57, 1922; pp. 122-123), etc.

⁶⁴ The reference to *peṭe seṭṭi* (a prominent citizen merchant) and *yajamān* (a communal head) is significant. It indicates the inclusion of non-official elements in town administration, corresponding more or less to modern municipal organization.

had to patrol the streets regularly and prevent commission of crimes. It was further laid down that the kotwal, peṭe seṭṭi and yajamān should inquire into cases and fine those whose guilt was comparatively trifling, and that as regards serious offences the offenders should be sent to the King who was to inflict punishment on them. The King was thus the supreme authority in executive, legislative and judicial matters and his autocracy was tempered by regard for corporate life in towns under his control.

The economic system⁶⁵ of the country was reorganized to suit the needs of the growing kingdom, and the reforms bore the impress of the King's personality in every practical detail.

Further developments in the administrative machinery are said to have been brought about by Chikkadevarāja in 1700 shortly after the return of his famous embassy to the Court of Aurangzeb. It is said that these developments were based on the existing Moghul practice and procedure of the time. There is, however, enough data to hold that they were modifications of the old system tempered by the Rāja's desire to make the system more definite, up-to-date and lasting. The following eighteen departments (*chāvaḍi*) were the result of this reforming tendency:—

(1) Nirūpada chāvaḍi: department dealing with petitions from the public and official orders and reports; (2) Āyakaṭṭina chāvaḍi: department of finance dealing with the maintenance of civil, military and palace budgets, and treasury accounts; (3) Mysore Hōbaḷi Vichārada chāvaḍi: enquiry department with jurisdiction over districts south of the Kāveri; (4) Paṭṭana Hōbaḷi Vichārada chāvaḍi: enquiry department with jurisdiction over districts north of the Kāveri; (5) Simekandāchāra chāvaḍi: department maintaining accounts relating to local executive staff of the administration, and to arms, ammunitions and stores of the divisional units; (6) Bāgila Kandāchāra chāvaḍi: department dealing with accounts relating to Huzur officials, and Pallegars; (7) Sunkada chāvaḍi: customs

⁶⁵ *Vide* Next Section of the article.

department dealing with maintenance of accounts of customs on imports and exports; (8) Pommina chāvaḍi: a special customs department dealing with collection of customs on certain specified heads, from specified classes; (9) Toḍāyada chāvaḍi: a similar department dealing with collection of customs in Seringapatam only; (10) Ashṭagrāma chāvaḍi of Paṭṭaṇa Hōbaḷi: a department having jurisdiction over eight hōbaḷis (sub-divisions of Gaḍi) under Chikkadeva-rājasāgara (a revenue unit); (11) Mysore Hōbaḷi Ashṭagrāma chāvaḍi: a department having jurisdiction over eight hōbaḷis under the Devarāya channel (another revenue unit); (12) Beṇṇeya chāvaḍi: department dealing with palace cattle and dairy products (butter, etc.); (13) Paṭṭaṇada chāvaḍi: department dealing with the maintenance of the fort and government buildings in Seringapatam and law and order in the capital; (14) Bēhina chāvaḍi: news department dealing with transmission of news of events in local parts, conveyance of official orders, etc.; (15) Samukhada chāvaḍi: department dealing with matters going direct to the King's notice, and with the accounts relating to members of the Royal Family, palace officials, etc.; (16) Devasthānada chāvaḍi: department dealing with the maintenance and supervision of accounts of income and expenditure of temples; (17) Kabbiṇada chāvaḍi: department dealing with maintenance of accounts of iron mines, and manufacture and sale of iron implements, etc., under the direction of officers; (18) Hogesoppina chāvaḍi: department dealing with the purchase and sale of tobacco by the government.

Over each department thus organized the following officials were appointed: One chief officer, three record keepers, clerks, scribes, daffedār, menials, golla, watchman and torch-bearer. Their pay was fixed, usually half in cash and half in kind. It was further laid down that these officials should report to the King every morning the previous day's occurrences in their chāvaḍi (department). An establishment of spies was also specially maintained to keep the King informed of confidential matters of the eighteen

departments, to enable him to set right any defect or disorder. Particular care was also taken to see that bribery and corruption in service were not fostered and to ensure the honesty and efficiency of officials.

The changes described thus far reflect the mature political and administrative outlook of the ruler rather than a mere imitation of prevailing standards. The idea of eighteen departments (*aḥhārācucherry*) has its origin in Moghul practice and procedure but the details of departments as worked out by Chikkadevarāja are essentially indigenous. He thus systematized the governmental machinery, the respective elements of which had only existed in a fragmentary form before his time. It is significant to note that the system thus established by Chikkadevarāja continued unimpaired down to 1761 and even later,⁶⁶ with modifications under Tipu Sultan ; and formed the basis for further developments in the nineteenth century.

(To be continued.)

⁶⁶ *Vide* Ch. 81, Nj. 7, Yl. 63, KG. 36 and *M.A.K.*, 1924, pp. 56-57. These records invariably refer to the continuance of the institutions inaugurated by Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar.

SRI VIDYĀ

Part II—Upasana

BY K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER

1. Motherhood of God.

THE motherhood of God has been fully developed in the Tantras. Every manifestation of strength, power and activity springs from Her. Devī Bhāgavata says:—

एषा भगवती देवी सर्वेषां कारणं हि नः ।

महाविद्या महामाया पूर्णा प्रकृतिरव्यया ॥

As both good and evil come from Her, She is worshipped as Vidyā (Divine Wisdom) and Avidyā (Cause of Bondage). Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa says:—

राम, माया द्विधा भाति विद्याऽविद्येते सदा ।

2. Upasana.

Upāsana is a bhāva (mental attitude) and is the vehicle through which the upāsaka is carried to higher and higher spiritual altitudes and finally attains that height where all differentiation of thought is merged in the Highest Truth, *i.e.*, Unity. It is the safest and surest way to realization as the upāsaka does not require any extraneous thing but has only to know the true nature of the Self.

Upāsana is based on two fundamental principles—first, that one becomes what one thinks and, second, that like alone can know like. It is a truism that the more one thinks of God, the more Godlike one becomes; and, likewise, the more one thinks of worldly things, the more worldly one becomes. Equally true it is that a person can really know another only in so far as that person becomes like the other and that, therefore, he can understand the nature of God only in so far as he becomes like Him. Upāsana is, therefore, the union of the upāsaka and the upāsya.

There are three principal Schools (ācāra) of Śakti Upāsana, *viz.*, the Samaya, the Mīśra and the Kaula. The tenets of the Samayas are contained in five āgamas known as

Subhagāgama Pāncaka which are regarded as interpretations of the Veda by Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Vasiṣṭha and Śuka. The Samayas ignore karma. The Miśras perform all nitya-karmas and worship Devī. Miśra literature is contained in eight āgamas, *viz.*, Chandra Kalā, Jyotsnavatī, Kalānidhi, Kulārṇava, Kuleśvarī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bārhaspatya and Durvāsas. The Kaulas worship the Devī in all her varied forms. There are various āgamas regarding this school.

3. Adhikara.

To select a suitable upāsana for an upāsaka, one should assess properly the adhikāra (inherent and acquired competence) for it according to the caste—Brahma, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya—to which he belongs and the āśrama—Brahmachārī, Gṛhastha, Vānaprasta or Sannyāsī—in which he is. That the adhikāra is important will be seen from Lord Kṛṣṇa's dictum :—

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ।

For, each has his own dharma. Speaking of dharma of each caste, Śrī Kṛṣṇa says :—

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।

कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥

It is equally necessary to know the saṁskāras—garbhādāna, pūṁsavana, sīmantonayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākarāṇa, upanayana and udvāha—which have purified the important events of his life.

4. Upasana Margas.

There are five paths of upāsana—Karma, Bhakti, Jñāna, Yoga and Miśra mārgas. Each leads to the same goal, *i.e.* the Identity of the Individual Self with the Supreme Self through Niṣkāmya Karma, Avyabhicārī Bhakti, Sōham Jñāna, Yogic Samādhi and Jñāna-cum-Yoga respectively. As Śrī Kṛṣṇa says, in his Immortal Gīta, all paths lead to Him :—

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

(a) KARMA MARGA.—The world is bound by actions other than those done for sacrifice. Therefore, a sādhaḥa is asked to do all acts free from attachment. Says Lord Kṛṣṇa :

यज्ञार्थात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबन्धनः ।

तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसंगस्समाचर ॥

(i) *The Daily Routine of a Sādhaḥa*.—In common with the Vaidiks, the Śākta has a long round of daily routine. He awakens in brahma-muhūrta and makes salutation to his guru reciting appropriate mantras. On touching ground after leaving the bed, he salutes the Earth as a manifestation of God. He then cleanses his teeth and bathes to the accompaniment of mantras and makes tarpaṇa (oblations of water) to Devās, Ṛṣis and Pitṛs. After doing Sandhyā and meditating on Gāyatrī Devī, he does Agnihotra and then Pūja. Thereupon, he attends to his work. After return, he bathes, does mid-day Sandhyā, performs Panca-mahā-yajña and Vaiśvadeva as also study of the Vedas. He then takes his meal after which he reads Purāṇas, Itihāsas and Dharma Śāstras thereby avoiding idle talk and discussion. He then attends to his work and returns, in the evening, to do Sandhyā and Agnihotra. Afterwards, he takes his meal and rests.

(ii) *Nitya Karmas*.—In addition to Sandhyāvandana, Gāyatrī Japam and Pūja, the Sādhaḥa has to perform, daily, the Panca-mahā-yajña—sacrifices to Brahma, Devas, Pitṛs, Bhūtas and Manuṣyas—and thereby repay the five-fold ṛṇa (debt) to nature—for initial energy received from parents; for food; for sympathy and help from fellow-beings; for magnetic tendencies and for knowledge and illumination. By these, he is made to regard himself as part of a connected whole whose parts are interdependent each aiding and supporting the other. Teaching is Brahma-Yajña; Tarpaṇa is Pitṛ Yajña; Homa is Deva Yajña; Bali is Bhūta Yajña and Hospitality to Guests is Manuṣya Yajña. It is said :

अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् ।

होमो देवो बलिर्भूतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥

Agnihotra is a Havir Yajña and is offered both morning and evening.

(iii) *Naimittika Karmas*.—Of the fourteen śrauta yajñas all but one, *viz.*, Agnihotra, are naimittika (occasional). Seven of them are havir-yajñas and seven others are soma yajñas. The havir-yajñas (except Agnihotra explained *supra*) are offered as follows:—Darśa and Pūrṇimāsa at the end of each fortnight; Āgrayaṇa, when grain is newly got and before it is used; Cāturmāsya at the end of the three seasons and Nirūḍha-paṣubandha at the solstices. At the seven soma sacrifices, *viz.*, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthi, Śodaśī, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Āptoryama, the Brahmins officiate as priests and the person on whose behalf the sacrifices are offered is called yajamāna. Husband and wife light three sacred fires:—Āhavanīya to the East, for offering to Devas; Dakṣiṇa to the South, for offering to Pitṛs and Gārhapatya to the West, household fire. These are not allowed to go out. All śrauta sacrifices are offered in these and are in the form of milk, ghee and grains of various kinds.

There is another class of yajñas called pāka-yajñas which are offered in Vaivāhika fire, *viz.*, Pitṛ-śrāddham, Parvaṇa-śrāddham, Aṣṭakā, Śrāvaṇī, Aśvayujī, Āgrahāyaṇī and Caitrī. Of these, the first two are ceremonies in honour of the Pitṛs.

(iv) *Vratas*.—Under the naimittika category come the vratas which are voluntary devotional rites performed at specified times in honour of particular devatās, such as, Durgā Pūja, Kṛṣṇa's Birthday, etc. Each vrata has its own peculiarities but there are certain features common to all—continence, fasting, bathing and taking pure food.

(v) *Tapas*.—These form a variety of vratas and are three-fold—Śārīraka (bodily), Vācikā (by speech) and Mānasa (by mind). Lord Kṛṣṇa explains them thus:—

देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञपूजनं शौचमार्जवम् ।

ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शरीरं तप उच्यते ॥

अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।

स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते ॥

मनः प्रसादः सौम्यत्वं सत्यमात्मविनिग्रहः ।

भाव संशुद्धिरित्येतत् तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥

Each of these three classes of tapas has three divisions—sātvic, rājasic and tāmasic—according as it is done (1) with faith and without regard to its fruit; (2) for fruit or out of pride or for gaining honour, respect or power to the doer; (3) through ignorance or with a view to injure or destroy others (abhicāra). Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the Gītā:—

श्रद्धया परया तप्तं तपस्तत् त्रिविधं नरैः ।

अफला कांक्षिभिर्युक्तैः सात्त्विकं परिचक्षते ॥

सत्कार मानपूजार्थं तपो दंभेन चैव यत् ।

क्रियते तदिह प्रोक्तम् राजसं चलमध्रुवम् ॥

मूढग्राहेणात्मनो यत्पीडया क्रियते तपः ।

परस्योत्सादनार्थं वा तत् तामसं मुदाहृतम् ॥

The karma or ācāra mārṅga is said to be quite necessary to obtain siddhi (perfection). Vasiṣṭha Smṛti says:—

आचारहीनं न पुनन्ति वेदाः ।

(b) BHAKTI MARGA.—As Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the Gītā, God takes care of those who seek refuge in Him:—

सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि माशुचः ॥

Three kinds of sādhanā are prescribed—the svarūpa upāsana, the sampad upāsana and the pratika upāsana—according to the adhikāra (competence) of the upāsaka.

(i) *Svarūpa Upāsana*.—This is the divya or sātvic bhāva which prescribes practices of truth, forgiveness, compassion and contentment. The upāsakas of this bhāva have to avoid all objects of temptation. Discrimination and renunciation are the twin helpmates in this.

(ii) *Sampad Upāsana*.—Those who are not endowed with sufficient serenity of mind choose, necessarily, the path which is vīra or rājasic bhāva. In this, devotion supersedes the cravings of the senses and the devotee meditates upon God unshaken by the jarring elements of the world in which he

is obliged to live. This class of sādhakas use symbols of the Deity in so far as they resemble and reflect the divine qualities. The Ṛṣis, finding certain resemblance to correspondence between Brahman, *i.e.*, Highest Truth and the Sun, Mind, Vital Breath, etc., in respect of luminosity, motion-sustaining power, etc., have prescribed meditation upon these perceptible objects as a means to realize the Imperceptible. The apotheosis of the Incarnation and of the Guru can also be understood from this standpoint.

(iii) *Pratīka Upāsana*.—This is the paśu or tāmasic bhāva prescribed for the lowest class of sādhakas. These have to avoid objects of temptation and, superimposing upon a thing such as a kalaśa or śila the attributes of God, worship them though there may be no resemblance whatsoever between them. Pratīkōpāsana is based on the principle that the whole Cosmos is Brahman (अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयान्) and so any part (vyaṣṭi) of the whole (samaṣṭi) being but His part is fit for worship. The pratimā or image is but a kind of pratīka. The conception of images came originally from the siddhas who had realized Brahman and seen His divine forms in meditation. They gave out these secrets for the benefit of the sādhakas and they were embodied in external images to make them visible to the eye. Even a word used for God is an idol or pratīka as it is perceived by the ear, another sense-organ. An idea, likewise, is an idol being perceived by the mind.

But even the ordinary meaning—not to speak of the esoteric one—of the mantras will show that the worship is not to the material emblem wherein the Divinity is conceived but to the Divinity Itself. This is beautifully brought out by sage Vyāsa in the following :—

रूपं रूपविवर्जितस्य भवतो ध्यानेन यत् कल्पितम् ।

स्तुत्यानिर्वचनीयताखिलगुरोः दूरीकृता यन्मया ॥

व्यापित्वं च निराकृतं भगवतो यत्तीर्थयात्रादिना ।

क्षन्तव्यं जगदीश तद्विकलता दोषत्रयं सत् कृतम् ॥

In fact, the sādḥaka converts every act of his into worship as all disinterested works are acts of worship. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya admirably expresses this in the following hymn :—

जपो जल्पः शिल्पं सकलमपि मुद्रा विरचना ।

गतिः प्रादक्षिण्यक्रमणं अशनाद्याहुतिविधिः ॥

प्रणामः संवेशः सुखमखिलमात्मार्पणदशा ।

सपर्याऽपर्यायः तव भवतु यन्मे विलसितम् ॥

(c) JNANA MARGA.—It is said that there is nothing as holy as Jñāna (न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते). According to the Tantras, each act of worship necessitates some sort of meditation on the unity of the aspirant with God. In fact, Tāntrism is the sādhanā or practical counterpart of the Advaitism or Monism and Śrī Śaṅkarācārya himself is a great Tāntrist. A Śākta begins his day by meditating "I am the Creative Power. I am the Male Principle who is beyond grief. I am Existence, Knowledge, Bliss, Absolute, the One who is eternally free." At noon, the upāsaka mentally raises, during Japa, the Kuṇḍalinī (identified with Jīvātma) to the Sahasrārā where he unites it with Paramātmā. While at worship and performing Bhūta śuddhi or dissolution of categories, he merges his individuality and becomes one with the Absolute by declaring "I am She" (साऽहं) a counterpart of the Upaniṣadic "I am He" (सोऽहं). In the evening, after doing the day's performances, he again realizes his oneness with the Absolute. By losing his limited individuality in Reality (आत्मानं भगवन्तीं भावयेत्), the upāsaka is enabled to transcend the barrier between the Highest Personal Aspect (सगुणब्रह्म) and the Absolute Impersonal Aspect (निर्गुणब्रह्म) through the three modes of hearing about God (श्रवण), understanding what he has heard (मनन) and meditating upon what he has understood (निदिध्यासन).

Thus, the sādḥaka casts off the veil of Avidyā from self and attains Ātma-Svarūpa (ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मैव भवति).

This knowledge of "I am Brahman" (अहं ब्रह्मास्मि) does not produce mōkṣa but is mōkṣa itself. The siddha enters

into Brahman like the stream into the ocean and leaves behind him nāma and rūpa. It is, therefore, said :—

यथा नद्यः समुद्रे अस्तंगच्छन्ति नामरूपे विहाय ।

तथा विद्वान् नामरूपादिमुक्तः परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥

(d) *YOGA-MARGA*.—Yoga is the process by which the union of Jīvātma and Paramātma is realized (जीवात्मनोरतन्यत्वं अभेदेन प्रशस्यते—Māndūkyopaniṣat). There are different kinds of yoga—the Aṣṭāṅga yoga ; Haṭha yoga ; Laya yoga and Mantra yoga.

(i) *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga*.—The mind (चित्त) always exists in the form of its states (वृत्ति) and their suppression (निरोध) is the means of attaining final release (योगः). Therefore, Patañjali says :—

योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः.

Chitta has five states—Kṣīpa, Mūḍha, Vikṣīpa, Ēkāgra and Samādhī. Kṣīpa, being due to action and of rajo-guṇa, is a restless state in which mind roams in all directions. It is antagonistic to yoga and, therefore, to upāsana.

Mūḍha is of tamo-guṇa in which state wicked acts prompted by lust and anger appear right in the mind.

Vikṣīpa, though of satva-guṇa, is equally unsuited to yoga since in it the mind inclines towards delights of the Heaven and other pure forms of enjoyment.

Ēkāgra is the best suited for yoga and upāsana, as in it the mind is withdrawn from all other objects than the one in which it is centred.

Samādhī comes of itself when mind is made Ēkāgra, leaves hold of external objects and becomes dissolved in Supreme Brahman.

The Samādhī state of mind is said to be its prakāśa aspect and the other states constitute its vimarśa aspect. When mind perceives external objects, it is in vimarśa or savikalpa state and when there arises vicāra in it, it is in prakāśa or nirvikalpa state. Mind is equally the cause of bondage and liberation, according as it is in savikalpa or nirvikalpa condition. Amṛtabindu Upaniṣat says :—

मनो हि द्विविधं प्रोक्तं शुद्धं चाशुद्धमेव च ।

अशुद्धं कामसंकल्पं शुद्धं कामविवर्जितम् ॥

Patañjali prescribes eight means of attaining Yoga, *viz.*, Restraint (यम), Observances (नियम), Posture (आसन), Regulation of Breath (प्राणायाम), Abstraction (प्रत्याहार), Concentration (धारण), Meditation (ध्यान) and Trance (समाधि).

Yama comprises abstinence from injury, veracity, abstinence from theft, continence and abstinence from avariciousness.

Niyama includes cleanliness, contentment, purificatory action, study and making God motive of all action.

Āsana constitutes posture and easy position.

Prāṇāyāma is the regulation of breath, that is, the stoppage of inspiratory and expiratory movements of breath which may be practised when steadiness of posture has been secured.

Pratyāhāra is that by which the senses do not come in contact with their objects and follow, as it were, the nature of the mind.

Dhāraṇa is the steadfastness of the mind.

Dhyāna is the continuation of the mental effort.

Samādhi is got when shining with the light of the object alone and is devoid, as it were, of itself.

(ii) *Other kinds of Yoga.*—The same goal is reached by the other yogas also. But the means adopted differ with different yogas. In the Mantra Yoga, mantras and śabda are used; in Haṭha Yoga in addition to prāṇāyāma and āsana, bandhas and mudras are made use of; and in Laya Yoga, the dissolution of the categories (तत्त्व) is adopted. Stoppage of cittavritti is mōkṣa, while the contrary is saṁsāra. Yoga-śikhopaniṣat says :—

चित्ते चलति संसारो निश्चलं मोक्ष उच्यते ॥

As Kāthopaniṣat beautifully puts it, the mind is the reins with which the driver (buddhi) pulls in and controls the horses (senses) and prevents their bolting away with the

car (body) and the owner (Jīvātma) in it. The intelligent driver takes the Jīvātma to the Highest Abode.

आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव च ।
 बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेव च ॥
 इन्द्रियाणि हयानाहुः विषयांस्तेषु गोचरान् ।
 आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तृत्याहुः मनीषिणः ॥
 यस्तु अविज्ञानवान् भवति अयुक्तेन मनसा सदा ।
 तस्येन्द्रियाणि अवश्यानि दुष्टाश्वा इव सारथेः ॥
 यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति युक्तेन मनसा सदा ।
 तस्येन्द्रियाणि वश्यानि सदश्वा इव सारथेः ॥
 विज्ञानसारथिर्यस्तु मनः प्रग्रहवान्नरः ।
 सोऽध्वनः पारमाप्नोति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥

(e) MISRA-MARGA.—The greatest siddhas have adopted a Miśra Upāsana which is a combination of the Jñāna and Yoga Mārgas and have, thereby, attained Mōkṣa, the *summum bonum* of all upāsanas. Regarding this type, I may quote the following :—

कामादयो विलीयन्ते ज्ञानादेव न चान्यथा ।
 अभावे सत्त्वानां स्वयं तत्त्वं प्रकाशते ॥
 योगेन योगो जातव्यो योगाद्योगः प्रवर्तते ।
 योऽग्रमत्तस्तु योगेन सयोगी रमते चिरम् ॥
 जन्मान्तर शताभ्यस्ता मिथ्या संसारवासना ।
 सा चिराभ्यासयोगेन विना न क्षीयते क्वचित् ॥

5. Conclusion.

Perform whatever upāsana you like. If you are pure and patient and worship in the right way, you will surely see light. Upāsana will culminate in Jñāna and worship will result in Realization. You will then see that the Universe, with all its diversity, is Brahman Itself (सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म); that there is no duality but only One without second (एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म) and that you are That (तत्त्वमसि).

This indissoluble union with Brahman may be realized in this or another life according to the quality of the upāsana.

By proper sādhanā, the Jivātma which goes through a countless series of incarnations is freed from the fetters of physical embodiment and is blessed with conscious union with God. These fetters are the five Kośas (Annamaya, Prāṇamaya, Manomaya, Vijñānamaya and Ānandamaya) which hide from the soul, in its avidyā state, its true spiritual essence. When the soul ceases to identify itself with one or another of these kośas, it gets the highest enlightenment (vidyā) and realizes its identity with Brahman.

I shall deal with some typical upāsana-karmas in the succeeding articles and illustrate the principles enunciated in these papers, and conclude this article with a well-known prayer to Devī given in the Devī Bhāgavata :

अनन्तकोटि ब्रह्माण्ड नायिके ते नमो नमः ।

नमः कूटस्थरूपायै चिद्रूपायै नमो नमः ।

नमोवेदान्तवेद्यायै भुवनेश्वर्यै नमो नमः ॥

नेति नेतीति वाक्यैर्या बोध्यते सकलागमैः ।

तां सर्व कारणां देवीं सर्वभावेन सन्नताः ॥

MANDOOKYA UPANISHAD

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(Continued from Vol. XXII, No. 4)

TAITTIRIYA Upanishad describes five sheaths, which cover the Ātman like the sheath of a sword. The outer ones form the sheaths of the inner ones, that is, the sheath of Anna covers that of Prāna, this again Manas, this Vijnāna, which in turn covers the Ānanda. The Ātman, which is the innermost confers on each sheath self-hood or Ātmatva. As he makes each of these sheaths living, he is known as Jīva. This Jīva is really that same Brahman who is of the nature of Be-ness, or existence, consciousness and endlessness.

The first or karma kānda portion of the Vedas, describing the various rituals, makes a distinction between Jīva and Paramātman and also refers to creation. The rituals are karmas or actions in which there must necessarily be differences between the sacrificer, the sacrifice and the deities to whom the sacrifices are offered. Beings immersed in rituals will have to reap the reward of their actions and have no chance of final liberation. Therefore, the later portions of the Vedas, the Upanishads dealing with Jñāna, describe the identity of Jīva and Paramātman. The statement of distinction in the portion dealing with the rituals must, therefore, be treated as metaphorical and preparatory to the attainment of a higher knowledge leading to Mōksha. The Upanishads are intended for those who have passed through the preparatory stages of offering sacrifices. Therefore, being later, they are more authoritative than the earlier portions of the Vedas.

The Vedic seers clearly recognized that all people are not of the same intellectual calibre. According to their power of understanding, they classified them into three grades, inferior, middling and superior. Worship and rituals were prescribed for those whose breadth of view is either inferior or middling. Out of kindness and with the intention of leading such men

into the right path and of enabling them ultimately to reach the identity of Jīva and Brahman, the Vedas enjoined on them rituals and worship. These, however, are not necessary for those of a high order of intellect, who have come to the conclusion that Ātman is one without a second.

Dualists or rather Pluralists, such as Kapila, Kanāda, Buddha, Arhat and others, are quite certain that their own opinions have proper basis, that they only have arrived at truth, that their methods only are correct and that others are wrong. They become so enamoured of what they consider to be the truth that they come to hate those who differ from them. Being thus imbued with love and hatred, they quarrel with their opponents in defence of their own doctrines. The Vedic view of non-dual Ātman is not opposed to any of their mutually conflicting opinions and the knowledge of non-dual Ātman is the correct one, as it gives no room for feelings of love and hatred.

Advaita is the true Reality and duality, which is variety, is other than non-duality. That is, it is the effect of non-duality. Reason tells us that in the absence of any activity of the mind, as in Samādhi or enlightened reflection, swoon and in deep sleep, there is no duality. Therefore, duality is said to be the effect of non-duality, like the appearance of the snake on a rope due to superimposition.

From the point of view of reality or of unreality, to the dualist there is duality in both cases. As the dualist is under the influence of superimposition, he sees duality; while the Advaitin, being free from the influence of superimposition, realizes non-duality. Therefore, the position of an Advaitin is not in conflict with that of the dualists.

It may be thought that if duality is the effect of non-duality, it must be quite as real as non-duality. Such thinking is incorrect. Just as to one who has errors of refraction in his eyes one moon appears to be many, the really existent non-dual Brahman only appears as many and various, through wrong knowledge giving rise to superimposition. This appearance is unreal, as Ātman has no parts.

That which has parts can show variety, when its parts become differentiated. The partless, unborn Brahman nowhere, at no time and in no way whatever, can become differentiated. If differentiation were real, Brahman who by nature is 'sat' or be-ness, deathless, unborn and non-dual, would become subject to death. This will be as likely as fire changing its nature and becoming cold. Such a thing will be inconsistent with nature and against all evidence and authority. Therefore, the unborn, non-dual and real nature of Ātman is to be considered as undergoing differentiation through Māya or wrong knowledge causing superimposition and not in reality. Therefore also, duality is never real.

Some commentators on Upanishads are said to admit real birth to the Ātman who by his very nature is devoid of both birth and death. If, according to them, anything is born, it must of necessity be subject to death. How can the unborn and deathless Ātman of the very nature of Be-ness become subject to death, that is, become nothing? Death can never accrue to Ātman, it being opposed to its very nature of Be-ness.

One may note here what John Dewey says in his "The Quest for Certainty". "The realm of the practical is the region of change and change is always contingent; it has an element of chance that cannot be eliminated. If a thing changes, its alteration is convincing evidence of its lack of true or complete being. What *is*, in the full and pregnant sense of the world, is always eternal. It is self-contradictory for that which *is*, to alter. If it had no defect or imperfection in it, how could it change? That which becomes, merely *comes* to be, never truly *is*. It is infected with non-being: with privation of being in the perfect sense. The world of generation is the world of decay and destruction. Wherever one thing comes into being, something else passes out of being."

In our experience in this world, the immortal never becomes mortal and so also the mortal never becomes immortal. Just as the heat-giving property of fire never

undergoes change, a thing is never and in no way seen to give up its original nature and acquire another nature quite opposed to it.

Some may hold that before birth, Brahman is of the nature of immortality and is immutable and yet Brahman may become mortal by being born. But this assertion of the natural immortality of Brahman is futile; for, when born, he cannot remain immutable, as birth means undergoing change.

Some dualists credit the deity with the function of creating fresh souls each time that a human child is born. If this creation is out of nothing, the souls ought to end in nothing. Immortality of souls thus becomes an illusion, as everything which has an origin must come to an end. This is all the more so, when death occurs in infancy and childhood, the souls become extinct, that is, end in nothing.

To those who argue that Ātman is born, there can never be such a thing as being unborn. Everything is mortal. This means that, according to this view, there can be no liberation from Samsāra.

The Brihadāranyaka Upanishad uses the terms "not this" and "not that" in describing Ātman. In doing so, the Sruti wishes us to understand that Ātman cannot be grasped by the senses or words. It points out that all that appeals to one's intelligence, bound by the law of cause and effect, cannot really be Ātman. One may mistake the means employed for the end in view and to prevent one from wrongly understanding the means to be the substance intended to be properly understood, the scripture insists on the incomprehensibility of Ātman. But to one who understands that, the means employed are mere indications of Ātman, the Ātman remains always one and unchanging and the unborn reality of Ātman is self-luminous inside and outside, in fact everywhere. One may say that, if the reality of Ātman can never be grasped by the senses, it comes to be altogether non-existent. This, however, is not true; for, we see the effects superimposed on Ātman. When we see the hypnotic effects produced by a hypnotist, we

know that there is a real hypnotist who gives rise to them. Similarly, when we see the world spread out before us in our waking and dreaming states and disappearing in deep sleep, we are justified in saying that there must be, like the real hypnotist, a real Ātman forming a basis for the superimposition of the world. It is only on a real basis of the nature of Be-ness or existence, that the world can be superimposed, that is, be born. It is inappropriate to say that any superimposition or birth can occur without a real basis. It is also inappropriate to say that a real birth of the world occurs in Ātman. Just as a real rope may be said to give rise to a snake and other things, so the real Ātman incomprehensible to the senses may be said to give birth to the phenomenal world which is like the snake superimposed on or born of a rope. A real birth cannot be attributed to the unborn Ātman. If one holds that the unborn reality Ātman becomes evolved into the phenomenal world, he would contradict himself by saying that the unborn becomes born. Therefore, by holding such an opinion, he would be saying that what is born is born again which ends in infinite regress. If we apply the law of causation, in describing the cause of the origin of the universe, we find no trace of a cause that was not itself the result of antecedent causes. As M. Clemenceau says "All we need do is to accept phenomena, no matter at what point in the order in which they happen to present themselves." Therefore, it must be held that the Ātman Reality is One and unborn.

Vaisheshikas and Bouddhas hold that non-existence gives birth to everything. It is sufficient to show from our experience that 'nothing' cannot give rise to something either really or through Māya. For instance, a barren woman's son is not born either really or through Māya. Hence, this theory of something arising out of nothing is untenable.

Just as a superimposed snake, considered from the point of view of the rope, is of the nature of Be-ness or existence, so the mind, when considered from the point of view of Ātman

of the nature of reality or consciousness, is of the nature of Be-ness or existence. In a dream, the mind assumes the dual form of the cognizer and the cognizable through its own activity. In the waking state also, through its Māyic activity the mind assumes the appearance of duality.

From the real point of view, the mind is non-different from Ātman and gives rise to the appearance of duality in dream. This is because objects of perception, such as an elephant in a dream, and the perceiving senses, such as the eye, etc., do not both exist independent of consciousness. It is exactly the same in the waking state, as the perceiving consciousness is the same in both.

To establish the point that all the phenomena are fictitiously created by the mind and appear only to the mind; we make use of the principle of the determination of the variable and the invariable. When the mind is present, the phenomenal world is present. When there is no mind, there is no duality. When by the light of discriminative knowledge, discipline and non-attachment, the mind ceases to be mind, that is, when it is controlled and withdrawn into the Ātman, or when the mind by itself becomes latent in Ātman as in deep sleep, the duality ceases to be manifested. Therefore, as it ceases to be, duality cannot have a real existence.

The knowledge that Ātman is the only reality or Be-ness can arise only from the instruction given by the scriptures and by the teachers. In the absence of fuel, fire remains without burning. Similarly, in the absence of the functioning of the mind, it ceases to be mind. When there are no objects to be cognized, that is, when the mind does not create objects, it ceases to function as the cognizing agent and becomes one with Ātman.

Various scriptural texts and knowers of Brahman say that knowledge devoid of all differentiations, such as the knower and the known and therefore unborn and of the nature of pure consciousness, is non-different from the real Brahman to be known. Just as the sun of the nature of eternal light is known by its own luminosity, Brahman who is of the

essence of consciousness requires no other consciousness to know it.

It is not to be supposed that the subdued and controlled mind, free from all kinds of activities and their objects, is exactly like the mind in the state of deep sleep in which also there is no duality. In deep sleep, the state of the mind is different being under the influence of illusory darkness of wrong knowledge of Avidya. There will still be latent in the mind the impressions and root-causes of the activities giving rise to undesirable things. In the fire of realization of the Reality Ātman will be burnt up all wrong knowledge or Avidya and the root-causes of activities giving rise to appearances in the wakeful state. The state of the controlled mind is thus quite different, activity or Rajoguna and sources of sorrow having become quiescent. Therefore, it is not like the state of mind in deep sleep.

In deep sleep, the mind becomes latent being covered by Tamoguna. But in the state of realization of Ātman, the mind does not become latent and there is no Tamoguna or Avidya to cover it. When the two evils of the cognized and the cognizer due to Avidya or wrong knowledge disappear, then it becomes one with the non-dual supreme Brahman. That is the Fearless as there is no reason to fear in the absence of duality. Brahman, being of the nature of Eternity, Purity, Consciousness and Freedom, never requires any kind of action after the destruction of Avidya or wrong knowledge.

The absence of Avidya is what is known as Samādhi. As Brahman rests in Samādhi, he is known as Samādhi. As Brahman is Samādhi, immovable and fearless, there can be in Brahman no such action as grasping anything or giving up anything.

Yogins, seeking to know Brahman and not well-grounded in the teachings of Vedānta find it very difficult to understand Brahman. Though Brahman has been described as fearless, the Yogins are afraid of seeking Brahman thinking that it would lead to their own destruction. As such people are devoid of discrimination, there can be no freedom from

misery and fear while the mind, which is related to Ātman, is active. * To them, a true knowledge of Ātman and eternal peace known as Mōksha are dependent on the control of the mind.

Control of the mind may be effected with determination, perseverance and without discouragement. The mind, which is engaged in forming desires and enjoyment of the fruits of action, should be turned back from them with proper means and care. Though the mind may be at perfect ease in sleep, it must be controlled even there, that is, it must be brought back to Ātman. Allowing the mind to remain latent in sleep is the same as encouraging it to indulge in the miseries attendant on Avidya. Therefore, the mind must be controlled even in the matter of sleep in which Vasanas or impressions of waking experience persist.

The mind should be brought to a state of equilibrium. One should not indulge in any happiness that may result from this state, as this also takes its source in Avidya. Through knowledge one should practise non-attachment to external objects. When the inactive mind shows signs of forming any attachment to external objects, it should be forcibly brought back into union with Ātman.

When the mind does not become latent in sleep nor active as in external experience but is absolutely quiescent and nothing appears before it, it is Brahman.

This Ātman is centred in itself, is ever at peace, as there is no evil in it. It is indescribable in words, as it is entirely unlike anything and unconnected with any external object.

All that has been described till now is to enable us to understand that the only reality or truth is Brahman or Ātman. No Jīva or actor or enjoyer is ever born in any way. Nor is any relation of cause and effect ever known about him. As Ātman is non-dual, there can be no cause of birth of a Jīva. When there is not the least thing like birth, that is the supreme Being or Existence.

Advaita has been proved to be real on the authority of Scriptures or Srutis and of reasoning. There are schools

of thought other than Advaita, such as dualists and nihilists whose doctrines are false and opposed to each other and give rise to desire, anger, misery, etc. What follows is intended to show that, in the absence of contradictions characteristic of dualists and nihilists, Advaita is the only true philosophy.

The Sāmkhyas among the dualists maintain that perceived objects, that is effects, were previously in existence but as causes. Others such as Vaiseshikas and Naiyayikas, being bolder and thinking themselves to be very wise, hold that the existing world came out of nothing, non-existence. Holding such opposite views, they are bound to quarrel with each other hoping to gain victory over the opponent.

As the result of these disputations and attempts to overthrow each other's doctrines, what tends to be established is Advaita. The Sāmkhya doctrine of the birth of an existing thing is overthrown by the holders of the theory of 'asat' or non-existence by saying that that which is does not need any production or birth. The Sāmkhyas, in turn, overthrow the theory of 'asat' or non-existence giving birth to an existing thing, by saying that an unperceived non-existence, like the unknown horn of a hare, cannot possibly give rise to any object. If something can come out of nothing, then since nothing has no distinctive nature, the whole world may result from the non-existence of anything, say a jar. Overthrowing by their disputations the mutually antagonistic theories of birth from existence and birth from non-existence, they tend to approach the non-dual position of the Advaitins and proclaim that, in truth, there is no such thing as birth.

What their arguments tend to establish non-birth or Ajāti of anything, the Advaitins gladly accept and do not care to engage in any more disputes.

Some disputants predicate birth to that which is unborn and has no birth. How can that which has no birth and consequently immortal come to be mortal? The immortal cannot become mortal; nor can the mortal become immortal.

A thing of a certain nature cannot change into something just the opposite. Believing that a thing naturally immortal can achieve mortality, how can one maintain that a thing can remain immortal and unchanged while passing through birth?

Heraclitus believed in incessant change without any underlying permanent identity or unity. Plato conceived of two worlds, one real and unchanging and the other consisting of change, confusion and instability, though the connection between the two is not clearly stated. Parmenides and his Eleatic successors held that change being impossible in a permanent, homogeneous substance, the reality of the world including our own bodies must be a mere illusion of our deceptive senses. Bergson is the apostle of the reality of incessant change and appeals to our ordinary experience, though it never gives us mere change without persistence. All change must be a change of or in something. If there is no underlying identity, there is nothing to change. It may appear paradoxical, but only what is permanent can change. The Self which changes with the flux of time and circumstance is still at the bottom the same old Self. If each change meant a quite new self, there would be no reason for joy in a transition to a better or sorrow in a change for the worse.

The Buddhists believe in the momentariness of sensations and knowledge. There is no self to feel them, compare them or experience joy or sorrow. If everything is momentary, why should one continue in a course of right conduct or feel responsibility for one's actions? A. E. Taylor in his "Elements of Metaphysics" defines change "as succession within an identity, the identity being as essential to the character of the process as the succession." He also thinks that a single coherent end welds the series of changes into a unity which underlies permanent identity of character. One may ask, how can that which is subject to a succession of changes have a permanent identity? What about the series of events forming a connected dream? Is there a permanent underlying identity of character peculiar

to dream and separate from that of the waking state? The only way out of these difficulties is to assume that the changes are merely superimposed on an unchanging and eternal Brahman. This perception of the so-called changes and considering them real is Māya.

Many theologians seem to be at a loss to account for the immortality of the soul. It is one of the Christian tenets that God confers immortality on the souls he creates. But since the doctrine of the evolution of man from the lower animals came to be generally accepted, many religiously-minded persons are perplexed to believe in the immortality of the soul. They began to ask, at what stage of man's evolution from the ape did the soul in man become worthy of eternal life? An answer is furnished by Bishop Barnes. While preaching in Manchester Cathedral in March 1930, he gave out his discovery that when in the developing ape there appeared the first understanding of moral law, there arose a state of things in which immortality for the first time came into being. "Then the process of soul-making began and the animal began to put on humanity." "Belief in personal immortality has its basis on man's loyalty to goodness and truth. Man claims eternal life as a reward of righteousness which has a survival value. Otherwise, the universe would cease to be rational and the creator will be only capricious making useless experiments. Obedience to the moral law was man's gift to his maker." So, mortal man in the course of his evolution from the ape and the lower animals claimed immortality achieving it by his own exertions and transmitting it to all his successors. Bishop Barnes must be well aware that for every one man that obeys the moral law, there are ninety-nine who deliberately disobey it. What is the reward for such unrighteousness? Is it also immortality but only in hell? Having thus announced his discovery of the origin of immortality, Bishop Barnes declares that he does not believe in a static future but looks forward to development, achievement and enrichment. But as to where all this development, etc.,

is to take place, the Bishop is discreetly silent. He is satisfied with vaguely speaking of "a realm of God where nothing of value was ever wasted". The above is a fair sample of the way in which even educated, thinking men flounder in trying to account for the immortality of the soul.

Even in Vyavahāra or worldly experience, the nature of a thing is not known to change. The natural property of fire is to give out heat and light. This never changes at any time or place. The natural property of water is to flow from a higher to lower level and always remain constant. In all objects of worldly experience, which are merely objects superimposed on Brahman, this is recognized to be the meaning of the nature of a thing. So in the case of the real substance having no birth, immortality forms its very nature.

All the Jīvas whose nature is that of Ātman are, on account of that very nature, free from all changes, such as old age, death, etc. Being of such a nature, if on the Ātman are superimposed old age, death, etc., just as the snake is superimposed on a rope, they will be giving up the very nature of Ātman. The very thought of old age and death in relation to Ātman is committing the error of superimposition, that is, thinking one thing to be another.

The Vaisesika shows how the Sāmkhya theory of an existing thing being born as the world is self-contradictory. The cause which, according to the Sāmkhya, is the material like clay, the cause of the jar is verily the effect. That the cause only becomes transformed into the effect is what they say. The unborn and ever-existing Pradhāna is born in the form of Mahat and other effects, though originally it has been taken to be changeless and permanent. If this is so, how can it be said to be unborn? It is a contradictory thing to say that an unborn thing is born. Moreover, Pradhāna is said to be immutable. When it breaks up in one part into a variety as the world, how can it continue to be immutable? It is not in conformity with experience in this world, that jars which have parts and broken in places

are ever said to be immutable. There is thus a two-fold contradiction in saying that a thing is unborn and born (that is transformed at the same time) and that a thing with parts is capable of being broken up into pieces and at the same time remain unchanged. In other words, if the Sāṃkhyas wish to hold that the effect is non-different from the unborn cause, it would be as good as asserting that the effect is also unborn. This is contradicting the experience that a thing is an effect and yet unborn. Effect and cause being non-different, how can there remain the immutability of the cause in the effect that may be born? For half a hen cannot be cooked, allowing the other half to lay eggs.

Moreover, in support of the assumption that from an unborn substance an effect is born, there is verily no illustration. In the absence of an illustration, it may be taken as settled that from an unborn cause no effect can be born. Again, if a born thing is said to give rise to another the question will be asked, what gave birth to the first? There being no limit to such questions, the whole argument ends in infinite regress. A so-called cause must be preceded by antecedent event, which again must be preceded by others and one can go on infinitely backwards. So, it is absurd to speak of a first cause.

It may be argued that, from merit and demerit as causes, the aggregate of elementals known as the body is produced. From this body again are produced merit and demerit. Those who argue thus attribute to the causes in the form of merit and demerit and to the effects in the form of bodies an interdependence and mutual origin. How can such people predicate birthlessness either to causes or effects? Therefore, the eternal and unchanging Ātman can never become either effect or cause. The saying that from the result born of a cause the cause is reborn is quite as absurd as saying that from the son is born the father. Therefore, to prevent such an absurd conclusion, the order of succession of cause and effect must be first established, the cause being the prior one and the effect the subsequent one.

According to A. E. Taylor, causation means "that the occurrence and the character of every event in the Time series is completely determined by preceding events." In other words, the present depends on the past and the future on the present. Cause is not the whole true logical ground but the ground so far as it can be discovered in the train of temporarily antecedent circumstances. Thus, cause is incomplete ground and the principle of causation is not, like the principle of sufficient reason, axiomatic. Actual experience cannot prove the principle of causation. Cause is assumed, as it is practically useful. So, cause is a postulate which experience may confirm but cannot prove. The conception of cause is anthropomorphic in origin and owes its existence to practical needs.

If the cause and effect are said to arise simultaneously, they cannot bear the relation of cause and effect but will be like the right and left horns of a cow growing at the same time. Two things, each depending on the other for its production, can never come to bear the relation of cause and effect, nor indeed any other relation.

The illustration of seed and the sprout is sometimes brought forward as showing the relation of cause and effect. But, it does not serve the purpose; for, the relation between the seed and the sprout is not beginningless at all, as we see that all the previous ones had a beginning and all the succeeding ones likewise. At any moment, a sprout arises from a seed and sprout later on gives rise to seeds. The succession of seeds and sprouts shows always a beginning and nothing can be said to be without a beginning. This also applies to cause and effect.

There is no such thing as a series of seeds and sprouts without a beginning; for, apart from individual seeds and sprouts, there can be no such independent thing as a series of seeds and sprouts without a beginning. Similarly, a series of causes and effects cannot be maintained as apart from individual antecedent causes and subsequent effects.

To the scientific mind, causes and effects are alike events. Causation, in the scientific sense, means sequence of events under definitely known conditions. But, as popularly conceived, a cause is a person or something into which we can mentally project a conscious life akin to our own. A cause is never thought of as merely preceding the effect but it is supposed to *make* the effect occur, that is to say, to bring it about by an exercise of activity. So, a cause is conceived as being active and the effect passive.

The mere absence of knowledge of the antecedence and consequence, as regards cause and effect, is itself enough to bring into prominence the doctrine of non-birth. If the properties of a thing born are perceived, how can its preceding cause not be grasped? The perceiver of a thing born must needs perceive that from which it is born; for, the thing born and that from which it is born must be in a closely intimate relation with each other.

The birth of anything cannot be established by any manner of means. Nothing can be born from its own form. Nothing can reproduce itself, as one jar does not form another jar. Nor is anything produced from anything else, as a cloth is not produced from a jar. In the same way, two different things cannot together produce a new thing, as it is opposed to experience. A jar and a cloth together do not give rise to a new jar or cloth or a third thing.

In Vyavahara, we speak of a jar being produced from clay and of a son being born to the parents. But these are mere ideas and words. When properly examined, the basis of ideas and words and the corresponding attributes of objects such as a jar, a son, etc., are found to be nothing more than mere words. As the Sruti says, "All effects are mere words and names."

If effects like a jar, a son, etc., are supposed to be present in clay, parents, etc., birth need not be predicated of them, as they are already existing. Effects cannot be said to be born from 'asat', non-being, as like the horns of a hare, they have no existence whatever. No effects can

be produced from 'sadasat', being and non-being, as such a combination is contradictory and destructive in its very nature. Therefore, no object whatever is ever born or produced.

According to J. S. Mill, cause and effect are not distinct events or phenomena but the earlier and later stages in a continuous process. This, in fact, does away with the principle of causation. You cannot say where a cause ends and an effect begins or where one stage ends and the next begins.

Plurality of causes is ultimately a logical contradiction but, in any form in which the causal postulate is of practical use, it must recognize plurality. The causal postulate, according to, which events are completely determined by antecedent events; leads to the belief that the stream of events is discontinuous. This belief is inherently self-contradictory and so ultimately untrue.

When the relation between cause and effect is said to be a necessity, it simply means that if you assert the existence of the conditions, you are logically bound to assert the existence of the result. It was Hume that first brought out this subjective character of the "necessity" of causal relation.

Some maintain that an object is produced by the union of action, actor and result; and that it is of a transitory nature. This is contrary to reason and experience. For, as the objects produced disappear immediately after their production and before their cognition and determination, they cannot at all be experienced and thus memory is rendered impossible.

Admitting the beginninglessness of causes, such as merit and demerit and of effects such as bodies is equivalent to accepting their non-production or non-birth, no effect can arise of itself without an external cause or from a cause having no beginning and therefore no birth. Worldly experience also supports the view that, where the cause is not known in the beginning, its birth also cannot

be known. Only that which has a cause has a beginning and not that which has none.

Ordinary people may consider that external objects apart from the perceiving subject are necessary for giving rise to sensation, to percepts, and feelings of joy, sorrow, etc. But thinkers know that, independent of consciousness, there can be no perceiving subject or perceived objects or perceptions. In dreams, we know that there are no external objects and yet the dreamer experiences sensations, percepts, etc. In deep sleep, we are not aware of a perceiving subject nor of any objects. This is also true of persons in the state of Samādhi or enlightened reflection and of Muktas or persons released from Avidya. Therefore, the so-called external objects of the waking state are as much causes of cognition as a rope is a cause of the appearance of a snake. The appearance of objects is due to Māya or Avidya and even a cause may not be a cause, as it disappears when the illusion goes.

(To be continued.)

SUMERO-DRAVIDIAN AFFINITIES

BY A. S. THYAGARAJU, M.A.

THE discovery of a large number of seals at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro has set scholars on the interesting track of deciphering them and discovering the origin of the mysterious people who have been termed 'Sumerians'. It is now found out that the Indus valley civilization was substantially the same as the civilization of the Mesopotamian plateau; but the writings on the seals have baffled scholars.¹ Nevertheless Professor Waddell claims to have been able to read the script. He says how he discovered "that the 'Sumerian' language with its writing was the early Aryan speech and script and the parent of the Aryan family of languages, ancient and modern, with their writing, and in particular the parent of the English, Anglo-Saxon, 'Celtic', Gothic, Norse, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and all unsuspectedly also, of the ancient Egyptian languages and writing; that this Aryan speech with its writing was spread over the ancient world by the Phœnicians, who were not Semites, as hitherto supposed, but the leading sea-faring branch of the Sumerians or Early Aryans."² He says in an earlier publication of his: "That the writing on these seals was 'Sumerian' and of an archaic type I recognized on the first glance at their photographs. . . . Having in my search for Aryan origins been led by various clues to the conclusion that the Sumerians were Aryans, . . . the problem of the Indus Valley script was to me a comparatively easy one."³ Professor Waddell has carried his study so deeply into the origins that

¹ *Illustrated London News*, December 19, 1931. Review of Sir John Marshall's "Mohenjodaro", by Sir Arthur Keith.

² *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*. L. A. Waddell. Part I, A—F, 1927, Introduction, pp. ix-x.

³ *The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*. L. A. Waddell, 1925, Preface, pp. v-vi.

he has been able to publish a dictionary of Sumer-Aryan terms.

But some other scholars have arrived at a conclusion which tries to equate Sumerian with Dravidian, it was Caldwell who first drew the attention of students of philology to certain affinities between Dravidian and Indo-European, and suggested that these must have been very early borrowings into the Indo-European of Dravidic terms. The discovery of the existence of an unknown people in the Indus Valley naturally had led some to suppose that these were the ancestors of the Dravidians, the dark race of South India. Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar has an interesting article on 'Sumero-Dravidian and Hittite-Aryan Origins'.⁴ That there are affinities between the Dravidian language and many branches of the Indo-European family is being proved by many Indian scholars. Some claim a Sanskritic origin for Dravidian while others give it a contemporary development with Indo-European from a common mother-tongue, which is variously termed 'Sumerian', 'Scythian', etc. Some others⁵ claim for it a close family connection with the eastern and northern branches of the Germanic family, i.e., with Gothic and Old Icelandic.

A German Professor⁶ considers that the Dravidians were the predecessors of the Aryans of Mesopotamia. Basing his conclusion on the study of place-names he says "where history is silent place-names might speak". Mr. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar in a notice of this book speaks as follows about the professor's conclusion: "He is inclined to think that the original Dravidian peoples must have inhabited the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris and that from thence, pressed outwards by other races like the Semites, the Sumerians and the Aryans, they must have

⁴ *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1929.

⁵ *South Indian Research*, July 1920, p. 178. cf. the issues of August 1919 p. 7 ff. and February 1920, p. 54 ff.

⁶ *Alt-dravidisches—Eine namenkundliche Untersuchung*. Von A. Clemens Schoener. Partenkirchen, Germany.

spread over the plateaux of Persia and thence penetrated into India . . . In his book he traces a large number of ancient place-names in Afghanistan, the highlands of Persia, the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris and Mesopotamia generally, to Dravidian forms . . . He also suggests that Dravidian words like *ār*: river, are discoverable in pre-Indo-Germanic names of places and of rivers, in Central Europe also."⁷ Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyar quotes some very interesting parallels from Herr Schöener's brochure. Such, for example, are the name of the King, Sargon (*cf.* Drav. *sari*: straight, *kon*: king) the just king; Chinnaran, the name of a small fort (*cf.* Drav. *chinna*: small, *aram*: fort); Talar, the name of a spot where two small streams originate (*cf.* Drav. *talai*: head, *ār*: stream.); Chinnar; Bambur (*cf.* Drav. *pāmbu*: snake, *ūr*: town; Ur of the Chaldees, etc.

Professor Waddell has not thought of a possible connection of Dravidian with the ancient Sumerian. While studying his *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*, it struck me that many of the Sumerian roots that he had listed had cognates or derivatives in the Dravidian languages. I cannot make bold to draw conclusions from these affinities, for there is every possibility of such resemblances being merely accidental; but perhaps it will be possible one day, after a thorough and systematic study of the grammar and syntax of Sumerian is made, to equate Aryan—Sumerian—Dravidian, especially when researches from other vistas of approach seem to point to the same end.

I give below a list of what seem to me to be Sumero-Dravidic Affinities. I follow the word order of Professor Waddell's *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*. The Sumerian, Egyptian and Akkad roots are taken from the same book. The most striking English cognates, selected from Professor Waddell's list, are given in brackets, along with each root that is considered. I have used the "Āndhra Pada

⁷ *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XX, No. 1, July 1929, pp. 49-53.

Pārijātamū⁸ for deciding whether a word is Dravidic or of Sanskrit origin. I have selected only words from the Telugu language, though I have also added a few Tamil cognates here and there.

A

- Su. *a*: interjection. *cf.* Dr. *āh*: *abba*, *ayya*, *amma*, *arē*. (ah).
- Su. *ab*, *aḥ*, *abba*: father. *cf.* Tel. *aḥḥa*, *abba*: father. (abbot).
- Su. *ab*, *aḥ*: beget, cattle, create. *cf.* Tel. *aḥḥa*, *abba*: father; *abbāyi*: boy; *ammāyi*: girl; *āvu*: cow (have, heifer).
- Su. *aba*: off, after, behind. *cf.* Tel. *avatala*: afterwards. Tam. *aḥḥaram*: afterwards (after, apology).
- Su. *ad*, *at*, *adda*: father, mother. *cf.* Tel. *atta*: aunt (Dad, atavism).
- Su. *aka*, *ang*: cry, howl, pain. *cf.* Tel. *ayyo*: cry of pain, *ēḍuḥu*: cry. Tam. *aḥei*: cry. (ache, agony, awe).
- Su. *al*: high, lofty, hill. *cf.* Tam. *āḥam*: deep (altar, altitude).
- Su. *ala*, *alal*: all, full, totality. *cf.* Tel. *ella*: everything. Tam. *ellām*, *alla*: all (all, almost).
- Su. *ame*, *eme*: mother, love, grace. *cf.* Tel. *amma*: mother, *ammi*: woman (mamma, mammalia).
- Su. *ama*: womb, wide, hold. +Egy. *am*: to swallow. *cf.* Tel. *ummi*: spittle; *ubbu*: to swell (womb, ample).
- Su. *ana*: one. +Sans. *ani*: a pin. *cf.* Tel. *āṇi*: axle pin (an, one, unit).
- Su. *ar*, *ar*, *ara*: plough, bond uplift. *cf.* Tel. *eddu*: ox; *enumu*: male buffalo; *eru*: to plough. Tam. *arisi*: rice (ear, arable, harrow).
- Su. *ara*: copper, bronze. *cf.* Tel. *eṛa*, *eṛṛa*: red (ore).
- Su. *arata*, *aratta*: earth, land, massive, heavy. *cf.* Tel. *ārāṭamu*: sadness; *araṭi-cheṭṭu*: plantain tree; the village name 'Araṭla-kaṭṭa' (earth, arduous, orthodox).

⁸ *Āndhrapadapārijātamū anu Suddhāndhranighaṇṭuvu*, by Ogirala Jagadnadhakavigaru and Gurujada Sree Ramamurthygaru, 1888.

B

- Su. *bad, bat* : stave, wooden tool. *cf.* Tel. *badda* : bamboo splinter ; *bettamu* : rattan, cane (bat, battledore).
- Su. *bad, bat* : strike, destroy, kill. *cf.* Tel. *bādu* : to strike ; *poḍu* : to poke ; *paṭṭu* : to hold. Tam. *puḍi* : hold (beat batter, butt, pat).
- Su. *bad, bat* : deep, dark. *cf.* Tel. *bottiga* : totality (bottom, buttock, fathom, pathos, pedal).
- Su. *bal* : to turn. *cf.* Tel. *malupu* : bend. Tam. *vaḷi, vaḷ* : to bend (ball, bowler, voluble).
- Su. *ban, pan* : bow. *cf.* Tel. *baṇḍi* : bullock cart, 'bandy', *banti* : ball ; *voṅgu* : to bend ; *vonkara* : crooked. Tam. *vanḍi* : cart (bandy, bent, banjo).
- Su. *bar* : city. *cf.* Tel. *vūru* : town ; *prōlu* : city (borough).
- Su. *bar* : see, look, inspect. *cf.* Tel. *pāruva* : sight ; *pāruvamu* : pigeon. Tam. *pāru* : see (peer, pry, pore).
- Su. *biḷ, pil, bi* : blaze, flame, fire. *cf.* Tel. *vella* : white. Tam. *velli* : silver ; *veḷichem* : light (blaze, bliss).
- Su. *bir* : break, tear, cut off. *cf.* Tel. *viruchu* : to break ; *piruchu* : to tear ; *puruḍu* : child-birth (break).
- Su. *bir* : offspring, child, brood. *cf.* Tel. *puruḍu* : child-birth ; *biḍḍa* : child ; *pillā* : child, girl ; *piṭṭa* : bird (breed, brood, bred, bird, birth, brat).
- Su. *bur, buru* : bore, open, dig. *cf.* Tel. *purugu* : worm. Tam. *pūru* : to enter (bore, perforate, burrow, prick).
- Su. *bur, bu, buru* : worm, serpent. *cf.* Tel. *purugu* : worm. Tam. *puruvu* : worm (worm, vermin, vermicelli, Ormes-head).
- Su. *buru* : fruit, berry, many-fold. *cf.* Tel. *palu* : many. Tam. *paṛam* : fruit (berry, fruit).

D

- Su. *dab, dib, tab* : dwelling, surround, tent. *cf.* Tel. *dibba* : mound ; *dāba* : terrace. Tam. *teppa* : raft (tabar, tapis, tavern, tabernacle.)

- Su. *dag, tak*: spread out, extend, cover. *cf.* Tel. *tāku*: touch; *dāgu*: hide (deck, decorate, detect, thatch, toga, protect).
- Su. *dam*: consort, wife, husband. *cf.* Tel. *tammuḍu*: brother. Tam. *tambi*: brother (dam, dame, damsel).
- Su. *dar, tar*: wound, cut open, tear. *cf.* Tel. *tera*: weapon. *tora*: danger, *toragu*: to fall (tear, torn, thorn).
- Su. *dar, tar, dara*: weave, cloth, colour. *cf.* Tel. *dēra*: tent (drape, trap, drab).
- Su. *dar, dir, tar*: look up, shut, door. *cf.* Tel. *talupu*: door (door).
- Su. *dara, daru*: fetter, band, net. *cf.* Tel. *dāramu*: thread; *trāḍu*: rope (draught, draft, draw, drag, dragon).
- Su. *de, di*: shine, destroy. *cf.* Tam. *tīy*: fire (devil, demon, diabolic).
- Su. *del*: cutting. *cf.* Tel. *tēlu*: scorpion (dale, delve, dell, dole, doll, idol, tool).
- Su. *dib*: enclose, hold, retain. *cf.* Tel. *dibba*: mound; *tippa*: hill (dwell).
- Su. *dim*: pillar, post, bar, log. *cf.* Tel. *dimma*: log, bar (timber).
- Su. *dim*: erect, build of houses, etc. *cf.* Tel. *dimma*: a platform, 'payal', a support. *tinne*: a payal; *diinne*: a mound as in the village name 'Dipal-dinne' (dome, domestic).
- Su. *dim*: overwhelm, crush down, cut. *cf.* Tel. *dimmiṣa*: an instrument for levelling the ground; *dimpu*: to put down; *tinu*: to eat (doom, damn, timid, damage, condemn).
- Su. *dim, dimma*: weak in body and mind. *cf.* Tel. *dimhari*: an unconscious person; *dimma*: to be stunned (dim, bedim).
- Su. *dirig*: bend, bow down, dark. *cf.* Tel. *tirugu*: turn back (dwarf).
- Su. *du*: go, come. *cf.* Tel. *dūku, dumuku*: to cross (dawdle).

- Su. *dub, tub*: tablet, platform, table. *cf.* Tel. *tapēlā*: brass, utensil; *tabuku*: plate (table, tableau, tablet).
 Su. *dur, tur*: prince, king, the great, lofty. *cf.* Tel. *dora*: lord, great man, rich person (Tyrant, Thor).

E

- Su. *edin, etin*: plain, field, desert. *cf.* Tel. *edāru, edāri*: desert (Garden of Eden, Aden).
 Su. *ega, egura*: black-water, high tide. *cf.* Tam. *ēri*: lake. (aqua, ocean, Euxine, Ægean).
 Su. *edir*: backwards, after, walking away. *cf.* Tel. *eguru*: to fly. Tam. *ēru*: to ascend (vagary, vague, vagrant, extravagant).
 Su. *ela-mu*: mount, rise up, hill. *cf.* Tel. *ettu*: high. Tam. *ēru*; to ascend (Alp, Elam).
 Su. *elim, ilim*: ram, leader of the herd. *cf.* Tel. *ēlu*: to rule (billy, William, Elk. eland).
 Su. *eme*: tongue, language, mouth. *cf.* Tel. *ummi*: spittle; *mu, mūti*: mouth. Tam. *mudal*: first, mouth (ahem, hem, amen, yammer).
 Su. *er, eri, ir*: hurry, hasten. *cf.* Tel. *ēru*: river; *āru*: river. Tam. *ēri, ār*: river (hurry, hurricane, hurl, urge, whirl).
 Su. *er, eri, uru*: fortified city. *cf.* Tel. *ūru*: city. Tam. *ūr*: city. (—)
 Su. *erim*: army, warrior. Pictured by the Lightning sign. *cf.* Tel. *uṣumu*: thunder (army, armada).

F

- Su. *fī, pi*: serpent, bite, afflict. *cf.* Tel. *usuru*: life, agony. Tam. *virian*: asp. (viper, vile, virus).
 Su. *firiq, piriq*: frightful, kill, grief. *cf.* Tel. *piriki*: coward (fright, fierce, ferocity, brigand, prig).

GAUTAMIPUTRA, RUDRADĀMA AND KĀNIṢKA.

BY S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.

IN a previous issue of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Vol. XVII, p. 334), I pointed out that the evidence of the Purāṇas leads us to believe that Hāla-Śālivāhana is the founder of the era named after him. That Hāla was also a powerful monarch who extended his power as far as Ceylon is proved by other literary evidences (*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, Pt. I, July 1927). If we push this point to its logical conclusion, it leads us to the fact that Gautamīputra must be placed in 108 to 130 A.D. and Puṣamāvi from 130 to 158 A.D. This means that Puṣamāvi, Rudradāman who must certainly be placed in 130 to 150 A.D. and Kāniṣka (accession in 128-29 A.D. according to Sten Konow and Wijk) were contemporaries.

Several objections are urged against this theory. The first is that Chaṣṭana or Tiasenes is mentioned with a Puṣamāvi by Ptolemy as contemporaries. Ptolemy relied upon inaccurate reports of sailors from whom he drew his information for his works which he wrote between 104-147 A.D. Therefore it is possible that Ptolemy was recording facts of history forty or fifty years old. Thus there is no sufficient basis for the conclusion that Ptolemy, Chaṣṭana and Puṣamāvi were living in c. 110 A.D.

There are three Puṣamāvis mentioned in the Purāṇas. According to my chronology given in connection with the discussion of Śālivāhana era, the list of kings from the beginning of the Christian era is as follows :—

No. 11	Skandasvāti	...	2 B.C. to 5 A.D.
„ 12	Mṛgēndra	...	5 A.D. to 8 „
„ 13	Kuṇṭala	...	8 „ to 16 „
„ 14	Svātikarṇa	...	16 „ to 17 „
„ 15	Puṣamāvi I	...	17 „ to 53 „

Chaṣṭana was most probably the contemporary of this

Puḷomāvi about the year 50 A.D. There is no evidence to prove that Katch was ever under the Śātavāhanas. Ujjaini was probably captured by Chaṣṭaṇa which enabled him to call himself a Mahākṣatrapa whereas in his early days he was merely a Kṣatrapa. But under Jayadāman, who was merely a Kṣatrapa, Ākara or Eastern Mālva was once again taken by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and was held in his grasp as is evident from the inscription of Balaśrī. This reconquest of Ujjaini by Gautamīputra must have been after his eighteenth year, for till then he was staying at Benakaṭaka near Vaijayanti in the south of the Kṛṣṇa.

It is agreed that Jayadāman who succeeded Chaṣṭaṇa must have reigned for at least fifteen or twenty years before the accession of Rudradāman some years before 130 A.D. Mr. R. D. Banerjee is most probably right in holding that the Andhau inscription of the year 52 is that of Rudradāman himself and there is nothing to prove the joint rulership of Chaṣṭaṇa and Rudradāman. I believe that most probably more than half a century was covered by the closing years of Chaṣṭaṇa, the rule of Jayadāman and some years of Rudradāman before 130 A.D.

The *Periplus* mentions Mambarus (identified with Nahapāṇa) and an elder Saraganes (probably Skand Svātikarṇa). If we assign the Junnar inscription of the 46th year to the Vikrama era, Nahapāṇa should be placed in the last decade of the first century B.C. and probably in the beginning of the first century A.C. The evidence of the Joglethembi hoard has conclusively proved that more than a century must have elapsed, during which time the successors of Nahapāṇa impressed their own figures on the coins and passed them into circulation, before the coins were restruck by Gautamīputra (*Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXII). Therefore there is no difficulty in placing Gautamīputra in c. 110 A.D. Rudradāman cannot have wrested Ākara from Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi who was a very powerful ruler. He is assigned a rule of nearly thirty years in the Purāṇas and his coins bearing the figure of

a ship speak of his naval power also. Yajña Śrī seems to have retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family after the comparatively weak rule of Puḷomāvi the successor of Goutamīputra, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda, as his coins are found in Kathiawar and Gujarat.

The vicissitudes of Śātavāhana power in the north must have been as follows. Chaṣṭaṇa during the closing years of Puḷomāvi I was probably deputed by Kuzula Kadphises to rule Kutch and Eastern Mālava. He conquered Ujjaini and called himself a Mahākṣatrapa during the rule of Maṇḍalaka, Purikasēna, Sundara Śāta, Chakora and Śivasvāti who seem to have been merely nominal kings soon deposed, as very brief reigns are assigned to them. Gautamīputra, however, determined to root out foreign rule. During these dark days, the Śātavāhana capital was removed to Benakaṭaka which was probably the earliest home of the Śātavāhanas. Gautamīputra's inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, Nasik Inscriptions, No. 4) refers to him (as the lord of Benakaṭaka in Gōvardhana) and to the camp of the Vaijayanti army. To interpret both *Vējayantiye* and *Vijaya* before *Skandhāvāra* as meaning victorious, would mean that the word has been repeated by the composer of the inscription merely to emphasize the success of the army, whereas a single word would have been more than enough. Therefore *Vējayantiye Senaye* undoubtedly refers to Banavāsi. Banavāsi was a place of importance long before the rise of the Kadambas, under the rule of Haratīputra Viṣṇukaḍa Chūṭu Kadānanda and Haritīputra Śivaskandavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, XLVI, p. 156 ff.) who certainly belonged to the Śātavāhana and Chūṭu families. Therefore we must look for Gōvardhanagiri and Benakaṭaka round about Banavāsi. It is interesting to note in this connection that the word *Vijaya* is connected with Vaijayanti or Banavāsi in early Kadamba inscriptions "*Svasti, Vijaya Vaijayantīyām Swāmi Mahāsēna mātṛganānudhyātābhishiktānam*" etc. (*Ep. Car.*, Shimoga, Vol. II, SB. 33). Similarly Jināsēna in his Mahāpurāṇa while describing the conquests of Bharata, speaks of Vaijayanti and its sea-port *Vaijayanti Mahādvara*,

In the Kadamba inscription of Mṛgēśavarman referred to above, there is mention of a Venṇā river, obviously the stream Yenṇe which joins the Śarāvati, and here also is found Gōvardhanagiri on the borders of the Shimoga district just below the place where the Śarāvati joins the sea. Therefore I believe that Gautamīputra called himself the lord of Bena-kaṭaka and Gōvardhanagiri and with his army from Banavāsi marched on the Khakarātas and other rulers and regained the other capital Pratiṣṭhana. Gautamīputra put an end to the line of Khakarātas and wrested back the provinces that had been lost. The provinces mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman and Nasik inscription of Balasrī are as follows (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII):—

Gautamīputra (c. 106—130 A.D.)	Rudradāman (130—150 A.D.)
(1) Ākara	(1) Pūrvāparākara
(2) Avanti	(2) Avanti
(3) Anūpa	(3) Anupa
(4) Ānarta	(4) Anarta
(5) Surāṭha	(5) Surāṣṭra
(6) Kukara	(6) Kukura
(7) Aparānta	(7) Aparānta

Other provinces mentioned by Gautamīputra are Asika, Asaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha. Those mentioned by Rudradāma are Maru, Kachha, Sindhu, Sōvīra, Nishāda and Youdheya. The provinces, Rudradāma says, were taken by himself unaided (*Svavīryārjita*). Evidently all the western provinces even as far as Aparānta were wrested from Puṣamāvi who was driven back to the ancient capital Benakaṭaka where he stayed till his 19th year (No. 3, Nasik Inscriptions), when having rebuilt Pratiṣṭhāna he called it Navanagara or new town. Therefore it is apparent that while Aparānta was in the possession of the Kṣatrapas, Puṣamāvi could not have been at Paiṭhan. Indeed Rudradāma seems to have harried the Śātakarni into the Dakṣiṇāpatha twice without any provocation (*nirvyāja*) but left him alone because of his relationship.

In arriving at the above reconstruction of history of the Kṣatrapas and Śātavāhanas we have taken for granted first that Nahapaṇa lived before Sodāsa; secondly, that though a century elapsed between Nahapaṇa and Gautamīputra, the successors of Nahapaṇa were content with merely changing the figures on the coins without changing the legends; and thirdly, that Chaṣṭaṇa and Jayadāman had probably very long reigns. Each one of these points can be disputed, but thereby the dates here assigned to Goutamīputra are not much affected (*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 230).

As soon as the powerful hand of Goutamīputra was removed by death in 129-30 A.D., Rudradāman became aggressive in Sindh and Gujarat and sought to extend his sovereignty at the expense of Puḷamōvi II. He took Ākara from the Śātavāhanas some time before 150 A.D.; but in his old age or perhaps in the time of his weak successor, Eastern Mālva was lost to the Kṣatrapas. Kāniṣka I who started his own era in 128-29 A.D. grew in power; and in the 28th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in 126 A.D. we find Vasiṣka ruling there. The Śātavāhana power suffered an eclipse during the reigns of Puḷmāvi II, Śiva Śrī and Śiva Skanda and they had to retire south of the Kṛshṇa to their original home near Benakaṭaka and Vaijayanti. It was only under Goutamīputra Yajña Śrī, who taking advantage of the weak rule of Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas, managed to reconquer all the old Śātavāhana possessions—Ākara, Sourāṣṭra, Aparānta, etc., that the Śātavāhana power revived. Aśmaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha were too far from the centre of Kṣatrapa, Khakarāṭa and Kuṣāṇa activities and were never subject to these foreign powers with the occasional exception of Pratiṣṭhāna which was the capital of the Mulaka country from the earliest times.

The *Jātakas*, *Mahābhārata*, etc., refer to Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of Mulaka country as contrasted with Pouḍana, the capital of the Aśmaka country (*Jātakas* III, 3-3 & 4). Kaniṣka's power never extended into Sindh or Ākara or Eastern Mālva during his own time. But the real bone of contention between Kaniṣka and Rudradāman seems to have been Sōvīra.

According to Sue Vihāra record of the year 11 (140 A.D.), Bhāvalpur on the Sutlej must have been in possession of Kaniṣka. This was in the country of Sōvīra in which, according to Al-Beruni, was included Multan. In the year 150 A.D. we find Rudradāman claiming it. In 156 A.D. we find Vasiṣka extending the Kuṣāṇa power as far as Ākara (Eastern Mālva). Therefore we have to conclude that some time after 140 A.D. and before 150 A.D. Sōvīra was taken from Kaniṣka, but later, before 156 A.D. Vasiṣka repulsed the Kṣatrapas and took possession of Ākara. If on the other hand accepting the statement of Yuvan Chwang, we say that Sōvīra was a part of the kingdom of Takka with its capital at Sakala near Jalandhar on the Bias, we will be forced to conclude that Rudradāman's dominions extended even into the Punjab. This is manifestly impossible. Therefore the river Sutlej was most probabaly the northern limit of his territory beyond which Kaniṣka held sway. Rudradāman held Sōvīra in the north and Aparānta in the south only for a short time with the might of his power. These frontier provinces, however, were taken by Vasiṣka and Pulomāvi, respectively, probably after his death.

PRATIJÑĀ-YAUGANDHARĀYAṆA : A CRITIQUE

BY H. L. HARIYAPPA, M.A.

I. Introduction

Bhāsa and his Plays.—Bhāsa was only a name two decades ago. We are indebted to Prāktana Vimarśa Vicakṣaṇa Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar and Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri for unearthing Bhāsa and securing for him and his works their deserved position in Sanskrit literature¹. Searching enquiry has been made and divergent theories have been put forth by scholars these two and twenty years regarding the age and authenticity of the plays. It cannot be denied, however, that they form an excellent and sumptuous addition to the Sanskrit drama. It is proposed to consider here one of Bhāsa's thirteen plays—Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa.

The great epics of India, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have, from time immemorial, been the perennial source of Indian poetry. Poets have vied with one another in working upon incidents and anecdotes selected from these vast store-houses. Some have gone to other sources and even to real life for their theme. Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, for instance, draw from *Kathā* literature, while Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭīka* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* picture from life. Some works like Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* have also given us history.

The Theme of the Plays.—Bhāsa has drawn from all these sources. Six of his plays are based on the Mahābhārata, two on the Rāmāyaṇa, three on the *Kathā*, one on the Kṛṣṇa legend and one on social life. Some historical facts are also met with in these plays, notably in *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* and

¹ Vide Mysore Archaeological Report for 1909-10, paragraph 116. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 40, pp. 87-89. *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, edited by T. G. Sastri, Tripaṇḍrum, 1924, Introduction,

Svapna-Vāsavadatta. The subject-matter of *Pratiññā-Yaugandharāyana* is from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*², which is said to be in *Paiśācī* Prākṛt and appears to be as interesting as it is voluminous. Says Bāṇa in the introduction to his *Harṣacarita*—

समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।

हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥

“For whose wonderment will not the *Bṛhatkathā* be—the Great Story which kindles the (sense of the) Beautiful and embellishes the *Gaurī Vidyā*³ (so called), even as God Śiva's sport which burns Kandarpa (Cupid) and (yet) decorates Pārvatī?”

The Legend of Udayana.—The legend of Udayana Vatsarāja seems to have been very popular in early Sanskrit and Pāli literatures. References to him or to incidents in his life are found in technical works like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, as well as in literary works like *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Meghadūta*, not to speak of whole works on the subject like *Pratiññā-Yaugandharāyana*, *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*. Udayana, besides, figures in history as having ruled at Kauśāmbī just after the decease of the Buddha and as having been a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Magadha and Pradyota of Ujjayinī. Buddhist and Jain works relating to the period, as well as the Purāṇas, refer to this aspect in great detail.⁴

² The Great Story is handed down through three adaptations or abridgements thereof, viz., Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (composed between 1063-87 A.D.), Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (slightly earlier than the former) and Budhaswamin's *Bṛhatkathaslokaśaṅgraha* (earlier than 1000 A.D.). The last-named work was brought to light and its relative merits thoroughly discussed by Felix Lacôte in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, translated into English by Rājasabhābhūṣaṇa the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E., and published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore (1923).

³ Cf., Com. Śaṅkara—कृतं गौर्या विद्याभैदस्याराधनं यस्याम् । On the interpretation of the stanza compare also foot-note on p. 17, *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkathā* (Father Tabard's Translation).

⁴ For fuller information see *Priyadarśikā* of Śrī Harṣa, edited and translated by G. K. Nariman, A. V. W. Jackson and C. J. Ogden. (Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Series.) Introduction, pp. lxii-lxxvi.

II. The Play

The Plot.—Vatsarāja was an accomplished person and an expert in the art of music, able to entice the elephant with the mysterious viṇā known as *Ghoṣavatī*. He was a formidable king and the country prospered under his rule supported as it was by the able minister Yaugandharāyaṇa. His neighbour, King Pradyota, also known as Mahāsena owing to his possessing a large army, was anxious to give in marriage to Vatsarāja his fair daughter Vāsavadattā. But Vatsarāja, out of sheer self-esteem (Act II, pp. 60-61), would not even regard him. Pradyota had, therefore, recourse to stratagem and enticed Vatsarāja to the borders of the kingdom, unaware and unsupported, by means of a blue elephant, which in the imagination of the royal hunter, corresponded to the type of elephants (नीलकुवलयतनुः) described in the śāstras. He was easily drawn to it and overwhelmed by the enemies lying in wait. Yaugandharāyaṇa, his minister, learnt through his spies about the intended ruse but he was late in warning the king of the danger. The capture of Vatsarāja was, therefore, inevitable. Once while he was in prison, he accidentally saw the princess and fell in love with her.⁵ Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, who excelled his contemporaries in stratagem and statesmanship, entered Pradyota's capital with his friends and servants, all in disguise, and won over, by liberal presents, all the guards of his master's prison. Secret communication was thus established between the minister, disguised as a mad man, and Vatsarāja through the Vidūṣaka disguised as a buffoon. Vāsavadattā, in her love⁶ for Vatsarāja, consented to run away with him and the escape was effected

⁵ The Vidūṣaka's reference to the romance is not without humour—यौ—ततस्ततः । वि—किं ततस्तत इति ? बन्धनमिदानीं प्रमद्वनं सम्भाव्य प्रवृत्तो रागलीलां कर्तुम् । Act III, pp. 94 (Text edited with commentary by T. G. Sastri, Trivandrum).

⁶ So ardent was it that she denied herself later on all comfort in order to help Yaugandharāyaṇa in redeeming her noble lord's suzerainty. The whole of the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*—a companion play to this—is devoted to celebrate the triumph of this love.

at the earliest opportunity. In their attempt to recapture Vatsarāja, Mahāsena's guards could only take away as prisoner Yaugandharāyaṇa, who, with the small party of his soldiers, engaged them in severe fight. Bharatarohaka, the minister of Mahāsena, wished to take revenge on the prisoner, but Mahāsena, being pleased to find that Yaugandharāyaṇa employed the trick not to harm him but to save his master, acquitted him with honour. Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā lived happily as king and queen.

First Act.—The play is short enough and the dramatist nowhere indulges in elaborating any single sentiment with the result that the interest of the audience or the reader is never allowed to flag. The first act, besides giving a clear idea of the relative position of Vatsarāja and Mahāsena through the conversation between Yaugandharāyaṇa and Hamsaka, also indicates the conclusion through the oath taken by Yaugandharāyaṇa. The graphic narrative of the fall of Vatsarāja fully arrests attention.

Second Act.—In the second act, Pradyota's position is further revealed and the dénouement rendered hopeful by the equitable treatment afforded to the royal prisoner and by the fact that Mahāsena and his queen desire to make him their son-in-law. Mahāsena's discussion of the marriage problem with his chamberlain, Bādarāyaṇa, and then with the queen, her enthusiasm regarding musical instruction being given to the princess and her assumed indifference regarding the choice of a suitable bridegroom after Vatsarāja was brought a captive are presented in a homely way and are characteristically modern. The whole act is pleasantly realistic.

Third Act.—The third act, called the *mantrāṅka* (consulting scene), describes, by *suggestion*,⁷ how the goal is within reach, clear of all obstacles. Its attainment is further assured

⁷ The learned translators of the Punjab have ignored altogether the suggestive aspect of this act in their translation. Though it could be well regarded that the Vidūṣaka's prattle and the Unmattaka's outbursts meant only fun and nothing more, yet the force of *dhvani* underlying it cannot be resisted. Compare Pandit T. G. Sastri's commentary.

by the final instructions given by Yaugandharāyaṇa (p. 90). The first part of the act is at once humorous and suggestive. First enters the Vidūṣaka, disguised as a buffoon, complaining of the loss of his pudding bowl (मोदकमल्लक), suggesting thereby his not having found Yaugandharāyaṇa, to whom he is anxious to deliver the king's message. Yaugandharāyaṇa, on the other hand, having laid out his plan by that time, seems to take matters easy. The Vidūṣaka holds within himself a catechismal inquiry as to what might have happened to the pudding bowl. Yaugandharāyaṇa enters as a mad man and in their dialogue, which is strictly in keeping with their assumed rôles, a private conference is suggested as urgent to consider the situation. Rumaṇvān is also cleverly introduced as Śramaṇaka. They all adjourn to the secret Fire Chamber (अग्निगृह) where they confer. The king's message that the escape can be only with Vāsavadattā is delivered; and though at first the conferrers despair, their loyalty asserts itself and Yaugandharāyaṇa takes his second oath to see that Vāsavadattā also escapes with Vatsarāja. They disperse and the act fittingly closes by the resumption of the mad man's rôle by Yaugandharāyaṇa.

The dramatist has skilfully managed the scene in all its details, though sometimes, as in the opening speech of the buffoon, the humour is rendered heavy by the suggestion involved. Also there is no consistency in the words used for particular hidden ideas. मोदकमल्लक (pudding-bowl) is intended to refer to Vatsarāja or Yaugandharāyaṇa or even the intended conference; and मोदकः point to the king's message or the secret soldiers. It may render the passage very difficult for ready comprehension and may even mean a failure on the stage. But this disadvantage is more than compensated by the suggestion involved and the skill exhibited. Further, the success of any piece, easy or difficult, depends on the actor as well. Let alone the Vidūṣaka's soliloquy. How natural is the ensuing dialogue between the Vidūṣaka and the Unmattaka (Yaugandharāyaṇa), full of fun and transparently suggestive of the secret purpose! The double rôle gets more

and more interesting and every line bears testimony to the masterly mind that conceived it.

Fourth Act.—In the last act also the action is rapid. Vatsarāja has escaped and is doubly happy with his love ; Yaugandharāyaṇa's efforts are crowned with success though he falls a captive and is brought for trial. Happily the chamberlain announces that Mahāsenā is pleased to recognize his merit and requests him to accept the king's present. Mahāsenā's queen desires to die for the loss of her dear daughter but the king consoles her by proposing to celebrate the marriage of the run-away couple in a painting.

Characteristics of the Play.—The story is plainly one of love as the ultimate result is the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Vatsarāja. The play primarily celebrates the greatness of Yaugandharāyaṇa as a diplomat and incidentally the marriage, though behind the screen. Neither the prominence of the minister nor the love between Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā is anywhere lost sight of. Yaugandharāyaṇa himself countenances the love affair and aids it. How interesting again is the fact that King Mahāsenā and party have the same end as the enemies themselves and how the effect of the romance is very much heightened by the harmonious blending of the *Vīra* and *Śṛṅgāra rasas* consequent on the heroic activities of the minister and the romantic relationship between Vatsarāja and the princess !⁸

Unlike an ordinary story depicting a conflict between two parties where one triumphs and the other loses, here there is something more ; while the one has triumphed, the other has by no means lost as both achieved their object—the marriage between Vasavadattā and Vatsarāja. Besides,

⁸ Cf. Com. (Tri. Edn., 1920) Act IV, p. 128.

यदस्य कार्यस्य कुक्षिगतं कार्यान्तरं—वत्सराजाय वासवदत्ताप्रदानं नाम, तत्तु महासेनस्य साध्यम् । वत्सराजस्याविधेयस्य सतो विधेयत्वापादनार्थं छलयित्वापग्रहणं वासवदत्तावीणोपदेशाचार्याकरणं च तस्य साध्यस्य साधनोपायः, वासवदत्तावत्सराजयोगान्धर्वविधिना विवाहनिष्पत्तेश्च तत्सिद्धिरिति महासेनकार्यसिद्धिगर्भाकरणात् कामपि विच्छित्तिं यौगन्धरायणकार्यसिद्धिरस्यां नाटिकायां नीयत इति वेदितव्यम् ।

Mahāsena employs stratagem to capture Vatsarāja not to humiliate him but to secure him as his son-in-law. He means it unmistakably when he says—

भोः । काशिराजदूतसंप्रेषणेन वत्सराजग्रहणार्थं गतं शालङ्कायनं प्रति गता मे बुद्धिः । किन्तु खल्वद्यापि वृत्तान्तं न प्रेषयति स ब्राह्मणः ॥

(Act II, p. 50.)

“Ay, the king of Benares sending an envoy, my mind turns towards Śālaṅkāyana who has gone to capture Vatsarāja. How is it that the Brahmin sends no information yet?”

While, on the one hand, Mahāsena feels unable to disoblige the king of Benares whose virtues as related by his ambassador, Jaivanti, are enticing, on the other, he feels assured that he cannot secure a better bridegroom than Vatsarāja. The queen's regard for him is noteworthy.⁹

देवी—किन्तु खल्वेनमुत्सेकयति ?

राजा—उत्सेकयत्येनं प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारते वंशः । दर्पयत्येनं दायाद्यागतो गान्धर्वो वेदः । विभ्रमयत्येनं वयस्सहजं रूपम् । विस्त्रंभयत्येनं कथमप्युत्पन्नोऽस्य पौरानुरागः ।

देवी—अभिलषणीया वरगुणाः ॥

(Act II, pp. 60-61.)

Queen—What is it that elates him, I wonder?

King—Well, the Bhārata dynasty (whose scion he is) elates him—a dynasty which is mentioned in the Vedic lore and which counts among its numbers many an esteemed royal sage. A knowledge of music which he inherits invigorates him. A personality well becoming his age deludes him. (More than all) the love of his subjects somehow earned inspires him with confidence.

Queen.—Desirable are these noble qualities.

A young athlete, an accomplished musician, a high-born prince, a beloved ruler, an ardent hunter but a complete stranger to what later makes him the most famous prince of

⁹ Compare the Queen's message of condolence to Vatsarāja on the reported death of Vāsavadattā in the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* (Tri. Edn., 1924), p. 133.—

धात्री—आह भट्टिनी 'उपरता वासवदत्ता । मम वा महासेनस्य वा यादृशौ गोपालकपालकौ तादृश एव त्वं प्रथममेवाभिप्रेतो जामातेति ॥'

romance ; such is Vatsarāja. His capture comes quite opportunely, a blessing in disguise. Likewise, Yaugandharāyaṇa's effort to liberate his master is but a friendly act to Mahāsena. Therefore it is that he honours the minister in these words :—

कारणैर्बहुभिर्युक्तैः कामं नापकृतं त्वया ।

गुणेषु न तु मे द्वेषः शृङ्गारः प्रतिगृह्यताम् ॥

(Act IV, p. 120.)

“ For many reasons worthy, (I consider that) truly no harm was wrought by you ; virtues I despise not ; pray, accept this golden vase.”

Another point of note is that the two lovers, Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā, do not appear on the stage at all though their love is of the essence. Bhāsa could well have allotted a scene to depict their first meeting as teacher and taught. But he rightly realized that it would detract from the adventures of Yaugandharāyaṇa and left the whole picture to the imagination of the audience. Humour, ‘which is one of the greatest endowments of genius and the one which beyond all others should help to keep a work sane and wholesome,’ is richly scattered throughout the play and Yaugandharāyaṇa's ready wit and sarcasm afford an intellectual treat.

The Five-Fold Structure of the Play.—The play is typical of a drama with its five-fold structure of the Initial Incident, Rising Action, Climax, Dénouement and Catastrophe. The attempt to capture Vatsarāja is the Initial Incident. Yaugandharāyaṇa's address to Sālaka—‘सालक ! सजस्त्वम् ?’ indicates the beginning of the Action (आरम्भः). The capture and Yaugandharāyaṇa's determination to liberate his master from the hands of the enemy, as embodied in his declaration—

यदि शत्रुबलग्रस्तो राहुणा चन्द्रमा इव ।

मोचयामि न राजानं नास्मि यौगन्धरायणः ॥

(I, 16.)

represent the Rising Action (यत्नः). The minister and his assistants, Rumaṇvān and the Vidūṣaka, entering the enemy's capital and making an elaborate plan of escape leading to the second oath taken by the minister mark the Climax of the play (प्राप्त्याशा), inspiring the hope that the party will

attain its object. The *pravesaka* (Introductory Scene) of the fourth act assures us of the success of the minister's plans, as a result of which the whole of Ujjayinī (the capital of Pradyota) became Kauśāmbī (the capital of Vatsarāja) except the rampart and the gates. This forms the Dénouement or Resolution of Action (नियताप्तिः). Finally, the Catastrophe or the Conclusion of the play (फलागमः) is stated in the announcement of the escape of Vatsarāja with Vāsavadattā—एष भर्ता वत्सराजो वासवदत्तां गृहीत्वा निर्गतः—and in the consolation offered by Mahāsena to his queen in proposing the celebration of the marriage in an effigy—क्षत्रधर्मेणोद्दिष्टे दुहितुर्विवाहः । किमिदानीं हर्षकाले सन्तप्यसे ? तच्चित्रफलकस्थयोर्वत्सराजवासवदत्तयोर्विवाहोऽनुष्ठीयताम्—इति ॥

Criticism of the Plot.—The plot of the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* is not accepted by all critics as perfect. Witness the charge levelled by Bhāmaha in his *Kāvya-lankāra* (Ch. IV) where he cites the incident of the blue elephant trick as an instance of a literary defect called *Nyāyavirōdha*.¹⁰ Prof. A. B. Keith, though dissociating himself from Bhāmaha, is obliged to remark—“Neither the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* nor the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is construed in so clumsy a manner but in some cases the working of the plot is entirely open to criticism,”¹¹ and proceeds to illustrate the point by discussing some details connected with only the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. Prof. A. C. Woolner, while introducing the translation of the play,¹² notices, however, some defects in plot construction—“Indeed, there seems to be some inconsistency”; for “it is not quite clear what is supposed to have happened between Act ii and Act iii or between Act iii and Act iv.” But it is some satisfaction that a note is added at the end to say that ‘Dr. Sarup will not admit any inconsistency’.

¹⁰ Vide Introduction to *Pratijñā*, Tri. Edn. (1920), pp. 1-3; also A. B. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 102.

¹¹ A. B. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 113.

¹² *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhāsa*. Translated into English by Prof. A. C. Woolner, and Dr. Lakshman Sarup. Published for the University of the Punjab (1930) by the Oxford University Press.

The music lesson (the exact period of whose occurrence is one of the points raised) comes about certainly between the third and the fourth acts. While considering the plot of this play, it is important to keep out of mind the versions contained in other books dealing with the legend. For Bhāsa many a time deviates from the traditional story as found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha*, which are but later versions of the great original. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*,¹³ for instance, tells of Udayana being anxious to marry Vāsavadattā as much as Mahāśena himself was to marry her to him. In the play, the latter aspect is emphasized and the former not even indicated, nay, quite ignored, probably deliberately.¹⁴

At the end of the second act Udayana is a prisoner of war lying wounded in a precarious condition in the palace of Mahāśena who is filled with remorse at the fatal turn his plans have taken. Hence, he orders that the captive should be treated with every consideration. It must have taken a considerable time for the wounds to heal and the patient to recover completely. One day, perhaps when he was yet convalescing, he sees the princess being borne in a palanquin in front of the prison. This is the first sight he ever has of her. It is, of course, a case of love at first sight. Then taking the prison for a pleasure garden he begins to think of making overtures to his lady-love. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka are busy with their scheme. The details of the plan and the gradual success thereof are being reported to the king in prison from time to time through the Vidūṣaka and it is at the very last

¹³ Vide Appendix to *Vasavadatta* translated by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (Ox. Uni. Press, 1923), p. 86. Cf. also *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, II. ii. 5 and 30—
 कन्या वासवदत्तेयं तद्योग्यैव सुता मम । निसर्गशत्रुर्नार्थ्यो मे मानी स च न याचते ॥
 यौगन्धरायणस्येति श्रुत्वा राजसुतां नृपः । प्रदध्यौ मनसा हृष्टः स्मरो हि
 ज्ञानलोचनः ॥

¹⁴ Cf. also Introduction to *Priyadarśika* (Col. Uni. Indo-Iranian Series), p. lxxii—"There had been no previous negotiations by Udayana for Vāsavadattā's hand."

stage of giving effect to the plan that the king, who is mad with love for the princess, refuses to go without his beloved. Yaugandharāyaṇa decides to achieve that end also. He, however, puts the plan into execution as already contemplated with only this change that Udayana need not bolt away on the subdued Nalāgiri.¹⁵ Thus, 'the next day,' Nalāgiri is infuriated. Pradyota seeks Udayana's assistance, restoring to him his *ghoṣavatī* with whose help he tames the beast. In grateful recognition of his services Udayana is granted his freedom¹⁶ but is requested to live in the palace and to instruct the princess in music. The request is made and accepted solemnly before the sacred fire.¹⁷ Then, on a convenient day, the escape is effected.

Prof. Woolner does not seem to be convinced about the perfectness of the plot because he would not give independent consideration to it. He hastens to think of the 'usual account' too often;¹⁸ and the result is 'inconsistency'. Again, there is the question—'When did Udayana recover his famous lute?' Prof. Woolner seems to think that he was in possession of it even before Yaugandharāyaṇa sent the final message to the king regarding the execution of the plan the following day, whereas in strictness of fact it could be that the instrument was restored at the time when Nalāgiri ran amuck. The supposition that the king was in possession of the lute even before makes it, no doubt, probable that the music lesson was already a reality. But it is to be noted

¹⁵ Not a female elephant as mentioned in the introduction under review. It is evidently an error (see p. 2, para 4).

¹⁶ Suggested in Act IV, p. 122—न पुनर्बद्धस्ते स्वामी.

¹⁷ यदग्निसाक्षिकं महासेनस्य दुहितरं शिष्यां प्रतिगृह्य

(*Ibid.*, p. 121.)

¹⁸ P. 3, lines 6-8. 'Lead up to the well-known incident of the music lesson—in which Udayana introduced behind a curtain as a teacher of the lute is taunted by his pupil and lifts the curtain'. P. 4, lines 6-7, 'Indeed the usual account is that Yaugandharāyaṇa arranged it'. *Ibid.*, lines 12-14, 'It involves a modification of the usual account of the music lesson as the occasion of the first meeting of the lovers.'

that this supposition is based apparently on the misunderstanding of the expression—‘सहव्यापन्नां घोषवतीं हस्तगतां कृत्वा’ which Prof. Woolner translates ‘grasping the lute, which shares his sorrows’. But a more accurate translation would be ‘taking possession of the lute which suffered calamity simultaneously with him’,¹⁹ meaning that it was taken away as booty just when he was taken away as captive. There is no doubt, therefore, that Vatsarāja continued to be a prisoner until his services were required to tame the elephant; that, as a return, he earned his freedom and that the music lesson came about only after that. In the interval between Acts II and III, Udayana is supposed to be recovering under the tender care of Mahāsena, and Yaugandharāyaṇa with his assistants has established secret communication with their king and has been planning for his escape. Between Acts III and IV Nalāgiri is infuriated and tamed; Vatsarāja, freed from prison, agrees to be tutor to the princess and finally comes the elopement.²⁰

Prof. Woolner would have us speculate on another point—‘Is it possible that Act II is by a different hand?’ How this question arises one is at a loss to know. The question is sufficiently answered when the Professor himself observes, “At the same time, it must be admitted that the Court Scene is clever and if it be by a second hand that second hand was skilful and reminds us of the delicate handling of several scenes in *The Vision of Vasavadatta*’. If the several scenes in *The Vision of Vasavadatta* be from the pen of Bhāsa, then there is no doubt that the second act of our play is also from the

¹⁹ Knowing fully that the wronged elephant could be subdued only by means of the lute, Pradyota has but to make it over to Udayana at the time. Cf. T. G. Sastri's Com.—‘सहव्यापन्नां स्वामिना सह ग्रहणविपत्तिं प्राप्ताम्’

²⁰ Cf. Commentary by Pandit T. G. Sastri, Tri. Edn., pp. 102-103. Compare also Introduction to the *Priyadarśika* (Col. Un. Indo-Iranian Series), p. lxii, “It is through an accident that the prisoner sees Vāsavadattā and falls in love with her; and he apparently obtains his position as her music teacher only after he has tamed the royal elephant Nalāgiri in consequence of a scheme devised by Yaugandharāyaṇa.”

same source. Truly, as Dr. Sarup has thought, "Acts III and IV form a harmonious whole with Act II and give a logical development of the course of events in continuation of Act II." The nature of the first two acts is one of exposition. The first act acquaints the audience with the position of Vatsarāja and the second with that of Mahāsena. Each party has its own fate to suffer; its own plans to achieve. For the logical development of the plot and the happy resolution thereof, as we witness in the last act, the second is as indispensable as the first. And an act which has so much in common—too patent to need mention—with the rest not only of the play itself but of the whole group in thought, style and diction; an act which displays remarkable subtlety in the construction of the plot and striking realism in the portraiture of life; an act, again, which reveals the dramatist's conception of an ideal man,²¹ nay, which reveals the very personality of the dramatist,²² can hardly be the work of a person other than Bhāsa.

(To be continued.)

²¹ Cf. II, 4.

²² Consider, for example, the nobility and benevolence (अनुकोश) infused into the character of Mahāsena who, according to the originals, is rather a cruel monarch. He is referred to, for instance, in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, as कूरविजयी (II, ii, 45), i.e., a conqueror who deprives the enemy of his kingdom as well as his wealth. *Vide* Commentary on Raghu, IV, 43.

TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

I. The Druta Classification in Literary Telugu.

To the student of comparative Dravidian linguistics, no topic of Telugu phonology is more full of historical significance than the one which deals with what is known as the *druta* category of words in the literary dialect. The uniqueness of this category lies in the fact that all words belonging thereto possess a final consonantal *n* which in sentence-constructions may itself undergo, and bring about, assimilative changes. Into this category have been brought together words with final *n* belonging to different morphological types. The rules relating to this category have formed the subject of classification and discussion in all Telugu grammatical studies from the time of *Āndhra-sabda-cintāmaṇi* the earliest grammar of Telugu, attributed to Nannaya) downwards; and these rules have received meticulous application in all Telugu compositions wherever the literary dialect is employed. These rules had already developed into something in the nature of a linguistico-stylistic convention or *cliché* in the period of the earliest extant literary inscriptions and compositions, and we know of no linguistic stage in Telugu anterior to this. The conventionalization of these rules by scholars and literary men may, in some instances, have resulted in a rigidity foreign to the actual conditions of the living speech; but we shall see below that in quite a large number of instances the *druta n* was not of artificial origin but was a part of the heritage of Telugu either directly handed down to it from the parent speech or modified by it in accordance with its own particular "genius".

The question of the origin of the *druta n* in the words concerned has so far not been enquired into by any scholar, Indian or European. Investigations into this question have primarily to depend upon the comparison of the Telugu instances with cognates of other Dravidian speeches, in as much

as the available material in Telugu offers little internal historical evidence of the development of the *druta n*. In a few cases the comparison of the literary forms with those of the popular dialect (as used in the living speech and in some of the inscriptions) may be helpful in clarifying ideas; but a proper consideration of the question of the nature of the *druta n* would become possible only through comparisons with other Dravidian speeches.

The historical and comparative standpoint was foreign to the outlook of old Telugu grammarians; and their treatment of this problem has been confined exclusively to the interpretative and classificatory aspects. Among European students of Telugu, C. P. Brown, whose valuable pioneer work in the field of Telugu lexicology deserves to be recognized with gratitude, was not a comparativist; further, he was too little interested in the literary dialect to bestow adequate attention on the *rationale* of the *druta* problem. Caldwell grievously misunderstood the nature and the significance of *druta n* when he described it as a hiatus-filler (*Comp. Gr.*, p. 175), and dismissed the entire problem in a few sentences. Arden's work, excellent in its own way, is purely a descriptive treatise and is mainly concerned with the popular dialect of Telugu.

The Druta Prakrtamulu

The following groups evidence the *druta n* :—

(a) Inflexional particles:

- (i) Accusative ending *-an*.
- (ii) Locative-instrumental ending *-an*.
- (iii) Dative-instrumental ending *-kin*, *-kun*.

(b) Certain post-positional terminations, some of the more important among which are given below:

- (i) *cêtan*, *cên* used with an instrumental force.
- (ii) *tōḍan*, *tôn*, used with an instrumental force.
- (iii) *mayan*, *main*, used with an instrumental force.
- (iv) *korakun*, used with a dative signification.
- (v) *valanan*, *valnan*, *vallan*, used ablatively.
- (vi) *lōnan*, *lôn*, *lōpalar*, used locatively.

(c) Pronouns :

(i) First person singular *ên* and *nên*.(ii) Reflexive *tân*.

(d) Tense endings :

(i) First person singular past *-tin*.(ii) Third person past, singular and plural *-ên*.(iii) First person singular indefinite *-edan, -udun*.(iv) Third person indefinite *-un, -edun, -edin*.(v) First person singular negative *-an*.

(e) Other verb-endings :

(i) Present adverbial participle *-cun*.(ii) Infinitive participle *-an*.(iii) Conditional *-inan*.(iv) Optative *-tan, -edun*.(v) Sequential *-dun*.(f) The *samuccaya* or conjunctive particle *-un*.

(g) A number of *avyayas* or particles which are case-modified nouns, or old infinitives of verbs, or old words with a *samuccaya* ending : all these are used with fixed and well-defined meanings in the literary dialect.

(h) The *druta* features are also associated with compounds formed with Telugu literary bases, like *prā-* (old), *lē-* (young), etc. Similar *druta* characteristics appear in certain other compounds like *mun-goṅgu, kañ-jikūṭi*, etc.

Druta Sandhi

In combinative positions of sentence-constructions, the *druta n*, as a rule, combines with the initial vowel of the immediately following word, wherever such a vowel appears. In the following instances, however, the *druta n* is optionally dropped in such circumstances :—

(i) Dative *-kin* and *-kun*.(ii) Post-position *-koṛakun*.(iii) Present adverbial participle ending *-cun*.(iv) A few *avyayas* like *ikan*.

When followed by words with initial consonants, the *druta n* may

- (i) be dropped before voiced plosives and sounds other than plosives ;
- (ii) be represented by the *ara-sunna* or by the *niṇḍu-sunna* before plosives (according to certain circumstances, for which, see below) which plosives (if surds) become voiced in the process ;
- (iii) become *samsleṣa* (in script) before original surd plosives (which become voiced in the process), except in the case of the personal pronouns *én*, *nén* and *tân* ;
- (iv) become *svatvamu* in comparatively recent stages of the evolution of the language by incorporating an enunciative, whenever followed by consonants ; and
- (v) in poetry, be dropped sometimes in final positions characterized by pauses.

(a) Inflexional Particles

(i) The accusative ending in Telugu is formed of a particle with final *n*, the initial vocalic portion of which appears to vary with the character of the final vowel of the noun-base. The exact value of the original particle may have been *-an*. The history of this particle goes back to a very remote past in Dravidian in as much as cognate accusative particles appear in different Dravidian dialects separated by wide cultural and chronological divergences among themselves.

Kannaḍa : old *-am*, *-an*, mediæval *-an*, modern *-an(nu)*,
 Tuḷu *-n(u)*, *-n(u)*, as in *maronu* (tree), *gellunnu*
 (branch), etc.

Gōṇḍi *-(u)n*, *-n*, as in *mars-t-un* (axe), *marri-n* (son).
 Kurukh *-n*, as in *kukkosiṇ*, the accusative form of
kukkosi (boy).

The Telugu accusative particle is obviously related to this pan-Dravidian ending.

The *druta n* of the accusative ending of Telugu is thus seen to be an organic part of the old heritage of Telugu.

(ii) The locative particle (as distinguished from locative post-positions with which we shall deal later on in the course

of this essay) appears to be *-an*, represented in instances like the following :

(a) *cûtamunan* (at the game of dice)

grihamunan (at the house)

The grammars usually describe *-nan* as the locative particle for "inanimate" singular nouns (with final *-u*) of this type. The examination of inflexional particles and increments from a general Dravidic point of view reveals to us that the actual locative particle here is *-an* and that the *-n-* preceding it stands for the inflexional increment¹ which appears in other case-forms of this Telugu type and in words of other Dravidian speeches.

(b) The Telugu *aupa-vibhakti* verbs which embody very ancient assimilative changes in the structure of their inflexional endings show *-an* in the locative (and in the instrumental) :

ûr-an (at the village) from the noun-base *ûr* ;

kâl-an (at the leg) from *kâl* ;

kaṇṭan (at the eye) from the base *kaṇ* with which the old neuter inflexional increment *-t-* and the locative *-an* have been combined ;

iṇṭan (at the house) from *il* (house).

We know that the inflexional increment does not appear in all cases and that in instances like *ûr-an*, the locative particle directly appears after the noun-base.

(c) Further, the old locative *-an* appears in a number of other instances in old texts, e.g.,

puramu veli-n² (outside the town)—Bhârata, Nalôpâkhyâna.

madi-n (in the mind)—Bhârata, Nalôpâkhyâna.

¹ Vide my "Post-positions in Dravidian".

² The ending in these instances is usually described as *saptamyârtham-iccu dvitîyântamu* (Accusative ending with a locative meaning) but a particle of this kind with a locative force is so frequent and common in the old texts in such instances and in *avyayas* (where the locative signification has suffered discoloration) that one cannot help conceding to it the individuality which its structural resemblance to the locative particle of *ûr-an*, etc., warrants,

... ..*Kuruvibhuṇḍu kâryacinta munigi*.....(the Lord of the Kurus, having become immersed in thought.....) Bhârata, Udyogaparvam, § 16) where *kâryacinta[n]* shows the locative *-an*.

.....*mrânan jiguru voḍayunu* (shoots sprout from the tree) (Udyogaparvam, § 61) where *mrânan* contains the old locative.

(d) The same ending *-an* with a locative force exists in a number of *avyayas* like *eḍan*, *tôḍan*, *mîdan*, etc.

All these instances demonstrate the existence of an old Telugu particle *-an*.

I would suggest the following analogies for this particle from other Dravidian dialects :

(1) Kannaḍa *-al* used as a locative particle in very old inscriptional forms like *sthaladal*, *artha-d-al*, etc. (cited by Kittel in his *Gr.*).

(2) Kannaḍa *-al* with a definite "local" signification in words of direction like *mûḍal* (east), *teṅkal* (south), *paḍuval* (west), *attal* (there), *ittal* (here), etc.

(3) Kannaḍa locative particle *-al(i)* connected with (1) above.

(4) Cf. also the old affix *-al* which in the southern speeches is employed to form verbal nouns: Tamil *śey-al* (the act of doing), *kâval* (protecting or protection, etc.), Kann. *uḷal* (ploughing), *paḍal* (lying down), *aḷal* (grieving), etc.

As a change of *l* to *n* in such contexts is not impossible in Dravidian (cf. the alternative third case endings of Tamil: *-âl* and *-ân*), and as a very probable change of *-al* to *-an* (see below, for discussion) could be postulated for the *tumainnar-thaka* ending of literary Telugu itself, it might not be unjustified to envisage the view that the Telugu locative particle *-an* is related to, if not actually derived from, an older *-al* appearing with a locative or "local" signification in the different Dravidian speeches mentioned above.

(iii) In the Telugu datival *-kin* and *-kun* (where the variation in the character of the vowel *-i-* or *-u-* depends upon vocalic harmony with the final vowel of the noun-base), the

final *-n* appears to be something unique in Telugu, in as much as none of the cognates in the other dialects show a nasal in organic positions. The datival ending with the consonant *-k-* (or its voiced counterpart *-g-*) exists in most Dravidian dialects :

Tamil *-kk(u)*.

Kannāḍa *-ku, -gu, -ke, -ge*.

Tulu *-ku, -gu, -ku, gu*

Kûi *-ki*

Kurukh *-ge*

Brāhûi *-ki* (for the sake of) (Sir Denys Bray's *Gr.*, p. 53).

In none of these cases we find *-n* as an organic part of the dative ending.

The *druta -n* of the Telugu ending should therefore be a unique feature of this dialect.

That this *-n* was probably not a permanent part of the datival ending originally, is indicated by the *sandhi* rule that it may optionally be dropped before the initial vowels of the words that follow it in combinative positions. (See *supra*.)

Though the origin of this *druta n* cannot be traced with any precision, one may suggest that here we have to do with an old *samuccaya* particle. We shall see below that the *samuccaya* particle *-un* of Telugu does form part of words like *īkan* (yet), *ellan* (all) and also of the present adverbial participle with *-cun*; and it is very significant that these are also cases where *-n* may be dropped before vowels in *druta sandhi* (see *supra*) exactly like the *n* of the datival ending. In view of this, the final *n* of the Telugu datival ending probably stands for an old *samuccaya* particle.

The inherent idea of association implied in the datival case-relationship might very well have justified the original introduction of the *samuccaya* particle; subsequently the distinctive *samuccaya* meaning was probably lost sight of. Though similar instances of the permanent incorporation of the *samuccaya* particle in the *datival* ending are not available from other dialects, we do have parallels in the

ablative instrumental *indam* of old Kannaḍa and in the ablative *irundum* of middle and new Tamil :

Old Kannaḍa *ind-am*, appearing as *inda*, *inde* in later Kannaḍa.

Tamil *viṭṭil-irund-um vandân* (he came from the house), where *irund-um* may alternatively appear without the *samuc-caya um*.

(b) Post-positions¹

Some of the more important post-positions are case-modified forms of nouns.

Both *cētan* and *cēn* are found in the oldest texts and both are employed to denote the idea of "agency", e.g.,—

Hanumantani-cēta sīta cūda[n] baḍēnu (Sita was seen by Hanumant) ;

Rāmuḍu bāṇamu-cēta vālini gūlcēnu (Rama slew Vāli with a *bāṇa*).

In *Bhārata* occur forms like *damayanti-cēn* (by Dama-yanti,) *kriṣṇu-cēn*, etc.

The difference in usage between *cētan* and *cēn* on the one hand, and *tōḍan* and *tōn* on the other (for the latter group also used in the so-called "third case," see below), corresponds more or less to that between the use in Tamil of *-āl* (or *-ān*) and *-ōḍu*; Tamil *-āl* or *-ān* generally expresses "instrumentality" or "agency" and Tamil *-ōḍu* denotes "associative-ness" (*sahārthamu*, or in Tamil grammatical terminology *uḍanigaḷci*, see Nannūl, Sūtra 297).

(i) *Cēta[n]* is the old *aupā-vibhakti* locative of the noun *cēy* 'hand', where *-t-* is the characteristic inflexional increment and *-an* is the old locative termination with which we have dealt with above.

The shorter form *cēn* may have been a modified locative case-form of *cēy* without the inflexional increment; this matter

¹ Some of these post-positions appear as "independent inflected words" in old texts; this would show that the "hardened" post-positional significations must have gradually cropped up in the course of the evolution of the language.

could not be made clearer because both *cētan* and *cēn* already occur in the oldest extant texts.

(ii) *tôḍan* and *tôn* generally express *sahârthamu* or "associativeness", and they occur with this force in the old texts :

vilāsambu-tôn.

nija rūpambu-tôn (with his own form).

veḍka-tôḍan (with joy).

tôḍu (aid, help) is a noun in old and new Telugu; it is also employed as a constituent of compound verbs like *tôḍu-kôn-*, *tôḍu-paḍ-*, *tôḍu-tecc-* on the one hand, and as a part of old *samāsas* like *tôḍa[n]* - *buttu* (brother or sister) on the other. For the use of compounds with *tôḍu* in *Bhârata*, cf. *tôḍu-técc-* in stanza 16 of Viduranîti: *vāḍunu satvarambuga[n] jani-y-atani[n] dōḍ-tecci kânpiñcinan* (and when immediately he produced Vidura, having gone and fetched him); *tôḍ-koni teccen dana-talli satyavatini* (fetched his mother Satyavati).

-tôn is as ancient as *-tôḍan* in the extant material, so far as we know; probably it is a contraction of *tôḍan*.¹

As for the post-positional form *tôḍan* of Telugu, it is an old locative (with *-an*) of the noun *tôḍu* (help, aid).

Another form connected with *tôḍu* and occasionally employed in similar contexts in the old texts is *tôḍutan* :

ōriyaṇākuva tôḍutan-unikiyaridi

I would consider this form to be the locative (with *-an*) of an old *tôḍuta* formed of *tôḍu* and the affix *-ta*; one may compare *tolutan* (at the beginning) for a similar formation.

¹ It is remarkable that Brâhûi, the Dravidian dialect of North-West India possesses a "conjunctive" affix *-to* denoting "associativeness" as in *î nâ mâra-to kâva* (I your son-with shall go);

kanâ tûfak na ilum-to-n e (my gun my brother-with is).

Sir Denys Bray has already pointed out the remarkable similarity of the Brâhûi and the Telugu post-positions; he observes (p. 12, *Brâhûi Grammar*): "Not only is *-tô*, the abbreviated form of the Telugu conjunctive identical with the suffix in Brâhûi, the longer form of *tôḍu* seems to be preserved in the Brâhûi full word *tud* 'accompanying', 'in company with'."

(iii) *main* and *meyan* are post-positions employed after 'inanimate' nouns, with the force of *tôḍan*, *tôn*. These occur in old texts:

nêṛpu-main (with cleverness).

bhakti-main (with devotion).

i-m-meyyan (in this manner).

samprîti-meyan-unnavârê ? (do they live happily ?)

mey and *mênu* are old Telugu nouns meaning 'body' [cf. §19 of Viduranîti in *Bhārata*: *mênun nippula[n] boralinayaḷḷayu*]. I have tried to show elsewhere that this Telugu word is a cognate of Tamil *mey*, Kann. *mey* 'body', the nasal -n- in *mênu* having had its origin in Telugu as in *cênu* 'field' beside Tamil *śey*.

I would regard the Telugu post-positions *mey-an* and *mai-n* as old locatives of *may*, *mey* with the signification 'body'. The meanings of the post-positions are derivable from the primary meaning 'body,' exactly as the power of forming abstract nouns has become associated with the particles -*mi*,-*me* connected with the word *mey*.

(iv) *koṛa-kun* (for the sake of) is the dative case-form of the Telugu noun *koṛa* with the meanings of 'use', 'profit'. *koṛa-kun* is used in the literary speech in the sense of 'for the benefit of', etc., as in *janakuḍu rāmuni-koṛakun sitan-iccenu*.

(v) *valan-an* (by, on account of) [*>valnan >vallan*] could be explained as an old locative of the noun *valanu* 'side', 'manner', 'grace'.

(vi) *lôn* and *lônān* appear with a locative force in the earliest extant texts.

Though it cannot be doubted that these forms are locatives of old Telugu bases allied to Tamil *uḷ*, Kann. *oḷ* (inside, etc.), it is not easy to determine precisely the lines of development along which *lôn* and *lônān* have been formed.

I would suggest that *lônān* is a locative with -*an*, of Telugu *lôn* (inside, mind), the aphæresized, accent-modified cognate of Tamil *uḷḷam* (mind, inside). *lô* with the meaning 'mind' also occurs in Telugu: cf. *taga[n] nî lô[n] âhîmpumu* (consider well in your mind), §95 of Viduranîti, *Bhārata*.

The post-position *lô-n* may itself have been derived as the locative of *lô*.

Lôpalan is another connected form with the meaning 'amongst': *i-k-koṛa gâmula-lôpalan okkaṭi nī citta-vrittin-ôndenô?* (Has any one among these evil qualities gained possession of your mind?); *talâcen hridayambu lôpalan* (reflected within the mind).

(c) Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns old *ên*, new *nên* (both of which mean 'I') and *tân* have direct cognates with final *-n* in most Dravidian dialects:

Telugu	<i>ên, nên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Tamil	<i>yân, nân</i>	<i>tân</i>
Kannāḍa	<i>ân, nân</i>	<i>tân</i>
Tuḷu	<i>yên(u), yân(u)</i>	<i>tân(u)</i>
Kûi	<i>ân(u)</i>	<i>tân(u)</i>
Kurukh	<i>ên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Malto	<i>ên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Brahûi	—	<i>tên</i>

The Telugu pronouns *ên*, *nên* and *tân* are directly allied to the widespread Dravidian forms given above.

(d) Tense-Endings

(i) The first person singular past ending in old Telugu is *-tin*¹ of which the more modern representative is *-tini* appearing as *svatvamu* with *-i* following, instead of *-u* on account of vocalic harmony characteristic of Telugu in this and similar contexts. That *-t(i)-* of this ending represents the past-denoting particle and that *-n* is a part of the pronominal

¹ In this connection, it may be noted that Nannaya's *Bhârata* shows the ending *-tin-in* (*druta*, of course, as in *aṇṭinin*) beside *-tin*. Similarly, we have an accusative ending *-nan* (instead of *-an*) as in *satyaṇṭinin*, *sîtanun*, and a *samuccaya* ending *unun* (instead of *-un*) as in *adityun-un-gâka*. The evolution and the origin of the *druta* endings in general, discussed in this essay, would tend to show that these peculiar cases employed in the *Bhârata* have a *druta* super-added to the original *druta* (in its *svatvamu* form). The pronominal portion of the cognate past ending of the other dialects, and the *samuccaya* *-um* of other South Dravidian speeches clearly indicate that the original forms in Telugu should have been *-tin* (for the past ending of the first person singular) and *-un* (for the *samuccaya*).

ending would be clear when we compare the similar past terminations of other Dravidian speeches:

Tamil *śey-d.én* (I did).

Kannada *gey-d-en(u)* (I did).

Kûi *ta-k-(i)t-ẽ* (I walked), where the nasal of the pronominal ending is reduced to the mere nasalization of the vowel.

Gõṇḍi *vank-t-an* (I spoke).

Kurukh *kam-c-k-an* (I made) where *-c-* (< old *t*?) and *-k-* appear to be the affixes conferring the past signification.

(ii) The third person singular (for *mahat* and *amahat* nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) of the old literary past, show the ending *-én* annexed to the base directly, as in *kott-én* (struck), *cepp-én* (said), etc. For *kon-* (to bring), *an-* (to say) and *paḍ-* (to fall), the third person forms show *-i-* before the ending *-én*: *koni-y-én* (brought), *ani-y-én* (said), *paḍi-y-én* (fell). The affiliations of these forms to those of other speeches are not clear; the past affix *-t-* appearing in the other 'persons' of this tense is conspicuous by its absence in the third personal forms. It is difficult to find out if *-i-* of *ani-y-én*, etc., is really a past affix.

The appearance of the same ending *-én* for the singular (of all nouns) and the plural (of *amahat* nouns) would tend to indicate that *-én* may not have been pronominal in origin.

(iii) There are two different sets of forms in literary Telugu denoting what is described as the "Indefinite" tense (or *taddharmakârtha* in the terminology of Telugu grammars).

One set¹ uses *-ud-* (as the past affix annexed to the base) and pronominal terminations for all forms except the third person singular (for all nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) where neither *-ud-* nor pronominal endings are found but *-un-*

¹ These two sets of the indefinite are used in the classics with different tense-significations. The *-ud-* set is frequently used with a present-future signification and occasionally with a past meaning. The other set (with *-ed-*) is described as a present form in *Bhāṣābhāṣaṇa*; it is often also employed to denote the future idea of 'will' and 'would' with an implication of condition in it.

is found annexed immediately to the base (cf. *koṭṭ-ud-un*, the first person singular form with *koṭṭ-un*, the third person form); while the other set shows *-ed-* with pronominal endings for all forms except the third person singular (all nouns) and plural (*amahat* nouns) in which latter we find *-ed-un*¹ or *-ed-in*.

α. The first person singular endings of the forms belonging to these two past types are *-d-un* and *-ed-an*. The final *-n* (*druta*) of these endings very probably represents the first personal singular pronominal termination appearing in other Telugu tense forms. We are led to think so because these endings are characteristically limited to the singular of the first person; and further some of the other persons (first person plural, second person singular, second person plural) are marked off from the first person singular by characteristic pronominal endings of undoubted Dravidic origin.

β. The third person endings of the two types are respectively *-un* and *edun*, *edin*. These endings are used in the singular in connection with all nouns, *mahat* and *amahat*, and in the plural in connection with all *amahat* nouns.

The use of these forms in both the singular and the plural (even though it be confined to *amahat* nouns in the latter) is peculiar; this fact would imply that the endings may not contain a pronominal element; for, if they did, the plural ending should have been different.

Caldwell may be correct in connecting Telugu *-un* here with Tamil *-um* appearing in the Tamil tense with *-um*. The similarity in the functions of the Telugu and the Tamil forms and the very plausible phonetic correspondence of Telugu *-n* here to Tamil *-m* have been relied upon by Caldwell in postulating the relationship.

¹ The future-aoristic meanings of *-edun*, *-edin*, and the fact that these endings appear in the singular and the plural (in the latter for *amahat* nouns) are features parallel to those of *-un*, the third personal ending of the other indefinite tense-type. As we have noted, *-un* is cognate with Tamil *-um* (of the Tamil aoristic tense) and ultimately related (as suggested by Caldwell, p. 484, Gr.) to the *samuccaya*; is it possible that *-ed-un*, *-ed-in* contain an element similar to *-un*?

As for Telugu *ed-un* and *ed-in*, no cognates are available in the other Dravidian speeches (so far as I can see), and no definitive suggestions can be made about the character or origin of final *-un* and *-in* in these endings.

(iv) The negative aorist first person singular of Telugu with final *-an*, has cognates with final *-n* in other dialects :

Tam. *seyy-ê-n* (I do not, or did not, do)

Kann. *gey-a-n* („ „)

Kûi *tak-ä-n(u)* („ „)

The final *-n* in all these cases is a part of the old first personal pronominal ending ; and the *druta n* of the Telugu ending has obviously had the same origin.

(e) Other verb-endings

(i) The present adverbial participle of old Telugu *śatrar-thaka* is marked by the ending *-cun*, the corresponding ending in the popular dialect of Telugu being *-tu* or *-tû*. This participle is employed to denote either ' contemporaneous action ' or ' continuity of action ', as in the following :—

Literary Telugu *cûcu-cun bôvucunnâvâdu* (he proceeds observing) ; *pâdu-cun bôyen* (he went singing).

nâku rép-accaṭi panulu ceppuvâṇan-anucu[n] janiye (he went away saying " I shall communicate to you to-morrow the news from over there ") [Viduranîti §18].

Popular Telugu *céstû unnâdu* (he is going on doing it) ; *âyana bhôjanamu céstu, nâto maḷlâḍinâdu* (he spoke to me whilst taking food).

(To be continued.)

HEAVENLY MANSIONS OF THE HINDUS

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 1)

AN introductory account of the heavenly mansions, more particularly with reference to the mythology of stars and the Zodiac has been given in the previous pages and it is now proposed to deal with the constellations generally referred to therein.

To the denizens of the Earth, the starry heavens appear to revolve round the axis of the Earth, which when produced in a straight line meets the Pole Star in the north. This is perhaps responsible for the ancient notion that the Sun moved round the Earth. In the course of its motion through space, each star describes somewhat of a circle, a path which is smaller or greater in proportion to its distance from the axis round which it revolves. At or near the poles, the stars always appear at the horizon or overhead and rarely appear to change their position appreciably. This is due to the elevation of the polar axis. Consequently, stars at or near the poles never appear to rise or to set, situated constantly in visible parts of the sky and outside the limits of the Earth's curvature. These stars are, therefore, known as circumpolar stars, and to this class belong Canopus in the Argo Navis, the Great Bear, Little Bear, Cassiopeia and Perseus, amongst others. With regard to the stars near the celestial equator, these imaginary circles, however, sometimes get below the horizon and hence disappear from view.

The changes in the position of stars as we observe them are not due to actual motions in the groups of stars themselves but are merely apparent and are mainly explainable with reference to the motion of the Earth round its axis and its revolution round the Sun. The motion of the solar system and the movement of the stars in space would not considerably add to the difference in our observation, except

for the Earth's motion, to such an appreciable extent as at present.

The various heavenly constellations as we know them are grouped and dealt with, with reference to the principal star in each constellation and are arranged for purposes of convenience, beginning from those overhead and going to the several directions, east, west, north or south. The ecliptic is the apparent path of the Sun in the sky and called the zodiac from the names of animals given to the twelve solar mansions comprised in this circle. And the 27 (or 28) lunar mansions are distributed in practically equal proportions amongst these twelve. In the course of the account of the solar and lunar mansions that follows will also be found discussed several well-known non-zodiacal constellations.

Mesha (Aries)

The solar sign of Aries (Mesha) represents the male goat, is reddish yellow, lustreless, Lord of the east and of Vysya caste. It is between the well-known constellations of Andromeda and the Pleiades (Krittika). Delphinus or the Dolphin is also observed in this sign, in the shape of a kite with a tail. The sign is marked by two first magnitude stars. The lunar mansion of Āśvini consisting of three stars and having the appearance of a horse's face is in this sign. Its presiding deities are Āśvins. A nymph, considered as the mother of the Āśvins and the wife of the Sun, who concealed herself in the form of a mare, is also said to have been represented here. Hindu mythology also regards Āśvini as an earth goddess, as a mare into which the Sun breathed producing Āśvinī Kumāras, the Twins of the Hindu Zodiac, the physicians of the Gods, and seemingly corresponding to Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. This mansion succeeded Krittika (Pleiades) as leader about 400 B.C. Āśvini is the first month of the Hindu lunar year and the sixth solar Hindu month and the Sun is then in Kanyā (Tam. Purattāṣi). α , β , γ Arietis are associated with Āśvinī, being Hamal, Sheratan and Mesartin respectively. Hamal or α Arietis is a

yellow star situate in the forehead of Aries called ram's following horn, from Al Hamal which means sheep. β Arietis is a pearl white star on the horn of the ram and γ Arietis is a double star, one of the earliest double stars discovered.

Above the sign Aries is the Triangulum, one of the ancient 48 constellations and a group of three stars below the triangle which once formed a separate constellation known as Musca or the fly and which now represents the Ram's head are α , β and γ Arietis. That is how the second lunar mansion of Bharaṇī came to be identified with α Muscæ. It is variously regarded as 35 Arietis, 35, 39 and 41 Arietis, or 35 with 41, 33, 39 Arietis. Bharaṇī is, however, so called because it protects. It is triangular in shape and has three stars, its presiding deity being Yama.

Vrishabha (Taurus)

East of Mesha is the second solar sign Vrishabha, Taurus or Bull, Krittika and Rōhiṇī forming the tips of its two horns. Pleiades and Hyades are two conspicuous constellations in this sign. Vrishabha is white in colour, of the Vysya caste, belongs to Agni Tattva and is Lord of the South.

Krittika, the third lunar mansion is in this sign. It is 23, η Tauri or Alcyone who, according to Greek mythology, is said to represent the Pleiad, the daughter of Atlas and Pleione, who became the mother of Hyrieus, by Neptune; it is a greenish yellow star and brightest of the Pleiades group, situated on the shoulders of the bull. In the Pleiades six stars are seen by the naked eye and hundreds through the telescope. Krittika with six stars has the appearance of a flame and it might also mean a group of six stars. Agni is the presiding deity. The six stars are represented as nymphs who acted as nurses to Kārtikēya or god of war.

Pleiades is referred to in ancient and modern literature. Job IX, 9; XXXVIII—31, 32; Amos V 8; Homer etc. It is also associated with the religion of the primitive peoples. Ancient monuments were so constructed as to point to the

Pleiades when rising or setting. The Feast of Isis falls on the 17th November and the Australian aborigines dance in honour of the sylvan deities. The nine bright stars, in order of magnitude, which form a really physical group, including many double stars, are: 1. Alcyone, 2. Electra, 3. Atlas, 4. Maia, close to a double star, 5. Merope, 6. Taygeta, 7. Pleione, 8. Celæno and 9. Asterope, the whole being wrapped in a cloud of nebulous matter. As regards Pleione, it may also be observed that Greek writers refer to it as having disappeared at the time of the Trojan War, disappointed, perhaps, as Ovid says, owing to the circumstance that no God married her as her sister was married.

The junction star between Krittika and Rōhiṇī is frequently called the Hen. Rōhiṇī is the fourth lunar mansion. It means a girl of nine years, by worshipping whom disease is dispelled or got rid of. Prajāpati is the presiding deity. This constellation resembles a kind of fish called Śakula, perhaps a whale. Apte describes Rōhiṇī as having the figure of a cart (Śakata). Rōhiṇī was one of the daughters of Daksha and a favourite consort of Chandra. This is identified with α Tauri or Aldebaran in the Hyades group, a group quite well known though more open and scattered than the Pleiades. It is also called Hindmost or Follower as it follows the Pleiades and Hyades. It is a pale rose double star marking the bull's south or left eye, a brilliant asterism in the heavens of the first magnitude, with Regulus, Antares and Fomalhaut, being of the solar spectrum type. β Tauri is Al Nath or the butting, forming the tip of one of the bull's horns, the star below it and a little to its right being the tip of the other horn. Close to this star is a nebula known as the Crab nebula. γ Tauri is an eclipsing star like Algol in Perseus. Another bull was located in 1777, called Taurus Poniatowski, a small and unimportant one, on the borders of Hercules.

A part of the fifth lunar asterism Mṛgaśīras is in the sign of Taurus. It resembles the head of an antelope and has three stars. Chandra is the presiding deity.

Yōgatāras are junction stars. One of the three small stars in the head of Orion is a junction star; two stars in the shoulders and two in the knees of Orion are said to give us the four feet of the antelope whose head may then be said to correspond with the three stars in the Orion's head, a view from which Tilak dissents (p. 98, Orion) For the whole of the antelope is not in the heavens and if Ārdra be correctly identified with the star in the right shoulder of Orion, we shall also have to include this star in the four feet of the antelope. And the old vedic works seem to lay down that it was the head of the antelope and not the antelope itself that was transplanted into the heavens.

The legend of Rudra severing the head of Prajāpati may be referred to. In Sāyaṇa's commentaries of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1. 2. 8) Mrigaśiras is regarded as the head of Prajāpati. When Rudra cut off Prajāpati's head with an arrow, the arrow and the head both jumped up to the heavens and are there stationed ever since. (Aitarēya version of the legend. III. 33.) In the Rig Vēda, the allusion to this story is contained in X. 61. 5-7. In another legend, Indra is said to have cut off the head of Vritra. (I. 5. 2-10; IV. 18. 9; VIII. 6-7.) But in the Rig Vēda (V. 34. 2 and VIII. 93. 14), Indra's enemy is described as appearing in the form of an antelope. According to Greek myth and legend, Apollo, indignant at his sister's affections for Orion, made her hit, with an arrow, a mark in the distant sea, which turned out to be Orion's head. In the heavens we therefore look for the head of a Mriga or Antelope or even a bull, with an arrow pierced in it. Sanskrit writers also mention a small group called Invākas in Mrigaśiras and Amarasimha places them on the top of the antelope, while Tilak regards them as perhaps identical with the three small stars in the head of Orion.

Orion and Ursa Major are two most prominent and amongst the oldest constellations from the point of view of observation and recognition by the ancients. Orion contains two stars of the first magnitude, five of the second

and one of the third magnitude. On the right shoulder is *Mrigaśiras* (γ Orionis), on the left shoulder is α Orionis, *Bellatrix* or the Female Warrior; its left leg is represented by the brilliant *Rigel* (β Orionis) and the right by a star of the third degree, κ Orionis. *Betelgeuze* (*Betelgeuze* from Arabic *Ibt-al-Jauza*, meaning shoulder of the giant) is an irregularly variable orange star. The three kings of the Hunter forming the belt of Orion are δ , ϵ , ξ , Orionis. The girdle of Orion is *Mintaka* (Arabic *Maintaka-al-Jaiza*, giant's belt), *Al-nilam* and the belt δ Orionis, *Al-nitak*. Near the second of these, *Al-nilam*, a bright white star occupying a central place in Orion's belt, *i.e.*, in the sword or dagger of Orion is the great nebula in which Huyghens discovered twelve stars in the seventeenth century. A small constellation below Orion and to the right of Sirius is called the *Lepus* or the Hare group, the four principal stars of which were called by the Arabs the throne of the giant.

The constellation of Orion is unsurpassed in silent majesty, grandeur, wealth of numbers or interesting pictures.

The three bright stars in Orion forming the belt point downwards to Sirius in *Canis Major*, situated below Orion on the left hand side. Sirius or α *Canis Majoris* is the nearest and to our observation the most brilliant star in the heavens. This bluish white star was classed as red by Ptolemy with *Aldebaran*, *Antares* and others, and perhaps it has since changed its colour. With the Egyptians, it was an object of worship and they commenced their year on the day on which it rose just before the Sun. Arabs worship it and the Koran mentions it. At the Feast of the Floria it was the custom to sacrifice red dogs to the Dog Star. It figures in ancient history and legend and it was regarded as an ill-omened star amongst the Greeks.

In the adjoining constellation of *Canis Minor* is the beautiful binary star of the first magnitude *Procyon* or *Foredog* similar to Sirius. These two constellations containing the double stars of Sirius and *Procyon*, represent the hunting dogs of the great hunter Orion,

Monoceros or Unicorn devoid of any bright stars, occupies the space between the two dog constellations.

α Sirius is a typical white star, famous for its beautiful scintillation of colours. Two dissimilar stars are observed in Sirius and a third suspected; the second star is said to be $\frac{1}{10000}$ -th part of α Sirius.

We have now passed, in the words of Prof. Whitney, the innocent and lovely Rōhiṇī (Aldebaran) and over her the infamous Prajāpati (Orion) in full career, but laid sprawling by the three-jointed arrow (the belt of Orion), which was shot from the hand of the near avenger Sirius, as even now seen sticking in his body.

Mithuna (The Twins)

The third solar sign of the Twins or Castor and Pollux is known as Mithuna amongst the Hindus. Mithuna represents a man with a mace and a woman with a vīṇa, standing in an embrace, of saffron colour, Sudra caste, belonging to Vāyu Tattva and being Lord of the West. Castor and Pollux, the sons of Jupiter, are, according to Greek mythology, named after the two gods who came and fought for Rome in the battle of Lake Regillus. A part of the lunar asterism Mrigaśīras, Ārdra and most of Punarvasu are in this sign. Mrigaśīras has already been dealt with and is severally identified with λ Orionis, 113, 116 and 117 Tauri and λ with ϕ Tauri.

Ārdra the sixth lunar mansion is variously regarded as corresponding to α Orionis, 133 Tauri, etc., but is perhaps γ Geminorum or Alhena, a bright white star in the left foot of the southern twin, often called a bright foot of Gemini. Punarvasu and Punarvasu Dvitiya, β and α Geminorum are the twin spots in the head of Mithuna.

Ārdra is a single star in the form of a lotus whose presiding deity is Rudra, represented by the star in the right shoulder of Orion (α). But Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III. 3) identifies Rudra with Mriga-Vyādha (Sirius). Castor is one of the finest of binaries, accompanied by a faint red star on the head of the northern twin and sometimes called

Apollo. Every one of these is itself a double star and Castor has been known as a colony of six stars. They are spectroscopic binaries, not being visible under the most powerful telescopes. With Castor or β Geminorum is identified Punarvasu which represents Vishnu and is said to reside in the human body again and again. It consists of four stars and its presiding deity is Aditi:

Karkataka (Crab)

Cancer or Karkāṭaka or the Crab is below Gemini containing five stars of the fifth magnitude and the non-luminous cluster of Cancer. It is the smallest and least conspicuous of the zodiacal group except for a cluster of stars called Præsepe but very ancient and important. It was called the Crab by the Chaldeans because when in this part of the zodiac, the Sun's apparent retrograde movement was well typified by the animal which walked backwards or obliquely. According to Greek legends, a giant sea crab came to help when the watersnake seized the foot of Hercules as he was fighting with the Hydra in the Lernean marshes. When he crushed the reptile under his heel and slew it, Juno in gratitude for the proffered service, importuned Jupiter to place the crab among the constellations. According to another, Bacchus on his way to the temple of Jove came to a great marsh over which he was carried by an ass, one of the two asses near by at the time, and as a reward they were transformed into stars. γ and δ Aselli are called Twin Asses with the cluster of Præsepe as the manger. Karkāṭaka is said to be one of the Nagas, of white colour, phlegmatic, belonging to the Brahman caste and to be Lord of the North. This sign is generally regarded as a bad portent. γ and δ Cancrī, Asellus Borealis and Asellus Australis respectively or the North and South Asellus. 44 M Cancrī is the Præsepe or the Bee-hive cluster, representing the manger of the asses ridden by Bacchus and Vulcan. Præsepe is also called the weather-glass or guide. For if it be not visible in a clear sky, it is a presage of a violent stormy sky according to

Pliny. It is a coarse extended star, situated on the head of the Crab, popularly termed the bee-hive manger or crib and known to the Chinese as Tseih-she-ke (exaltation of piled up corpses). With the Aselli, it was a cloudy spot of Cancer, mentioned by Ptolemy as causing blindness.

The eighth lunar mansion asterism of Pushya which is said to correspond to α , γ and δ Cancri, δ Cancri, ϕ , 44 M and η Cancri, has the appearance of an arrow and has three stars. It is so called because it nourishes one born under it. Its presiding deity is Brihaspati.

The next and ninth lunar mansion is that of Āślēṣa which means āliṅgana or embrace, the asterism of the serpent whose presiding deity is also a serpent. It is said to correspond to α Hydræ or Alphard, an orange star in the neck of the hydra or watersnake. By some it is also identified with α and β Cancri and 49 and 50 Cancri.

α Cancri or Acubens is a double star of the fourth magnitude, in the south-eastern claw of the Crab; β Cancri is a fourth magnitude star in its south-western claw between α Cancri and Procyon in the Canis Minoris and ζ Cancri is a fine quadruple star near the hind claws of the Crab and one of the most famous of the stellar systems. It is believed three bright stars in it of $5\frac{1}{2}$, 6 and $6\frac{1}{2}$ magnitudes revolve round a dark body which is apparently the most massive of the four. ι Cancri is a pretty double-formed yellow star of the fourth magnitude and a companion of the sixth magnitude.

Simha (Leo)

The fifth sign of the zodiac is Leo aptly called the Simha, of yellow colour, Kṣātrīya caste, belonging to Agnitattva and is Lord of the East. In the heart of the majestic lion is Regulus or Maghā, a brilliant double star of the first magnitude in the heavens. This sign appears like a trapezium containing four stars.

Maghā or α Leonis, the tenth lunar mansion, resembles a plough and has five stars and is so called because it has the form of a house. Pitris or ṛṇanes are the presiding deity. Regulus or α Leonis is a triple star, flushed white and ultra-

marine, situated on the body of the lion, meaning a little king. It is also called Cor Leonis, or the lion's heart, and symbolically, the crushing foot. A number of stars forming the sickle or plough are said to form the head and mane of the lion. $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta$ Leonis form the sickle of which α as the supposed king of the sky was called Basiliskos whence the present name Regulus; ζ Leonis or Adhafera is a double star in the lion's mane called Alsarpha, the funeral pyre; η or Al Jabhah means the forehead, situated on the lion's mane; θ Leonis is called Deneb from Arabic, Dhanab-al-asad meaning lion's tail. Deneb or Arided in Cygnus and another in Capricorn are also called by this name. ι Leonis or Zosma is derived from a Greek word which means tunic or girdle and is a triple star, pale yellow, blue and violet, on the lion's back.

Pūrva Phalgunī, the eleventh lunar mansion, is identified with it and means giving respect or greatness and it has two stars.

The next *i.e.* the twelfth lunar mansion Uttara Phalgunī or Uttara is identified with ϵ Virginis or Vindematrix, but a part of it is said to lie in the zodiacal sign of Leo. It consists of two stars and looks like the part of a cot. Its presiding deity is Aryaman.

Between Ursa Major and Leo is Leo Minor dating only since 1690. Coma Berenices or the Hair of Berenice, contains a cluster of nebulae with some thousands of millions of stars or the material for their formation in each nebula and up to millions have been photographed, while there are millions of millions beyond the range of the biggest telescope. Between Arcturus of Boötes and Leo there are no bright stars and the space is occupied by a large group of stars looking somewhat like the Pleiades on a much larger space. Leo Minor is not of the forty-eight ancient constellations and was regarded as a part of Leo. It has a large number of nebulae.

Canis Venatici (Hunting Dogs). To the left of Coma Berenices and little higher up just below the southern part

of Ursa Major is a modern group, which consists of two bright stars, one above the other, the brighter being below the other one when the constellation is observed in the east. Cor Caroli or Charles' Heart is the name of the brighter star.

Kanya (Virgo)

In the following *i.e.* the sixth solar sign of Virgo or Kanya, the asterism Spica will appear very bright on the first of May and is helpful to identify the sign. Spica in Virgo, Regulus in Leo and Arcturus in Libra will make an equilateral triangle. Virgo is shaped like a γ the brightest star Spica being at the base. In eastern lands, the Virgin used to be represented as a sunburnt damsel with an ear of corn in each hand; but she is described by the Greeks and Romans as a winged angel holding ears of wheat, signifying the advent of the harvest, for the Greek harvest season coincided with the time when the Sun approached Spica in his yearly course. In modern days, it is represented in the manner of the Greeks. According to the epic mythology of the Hindus, Kanya is represented as a girl seated in a boat on water with a hare (śaśa) and agni in her two hands, of pingala varṇa, controlling the South and belonging to the Vysya caste. The most conspicuous star in this sign is α Virginis to which we shall presently advert.

The lunar mansion after Uttara Phalguni is Hasta, identified with Gamma and Algorab, α and δ Corvi in the Crow. It has the appearance of a hand and consists of five stars and the Sun is the presiding deity. α Corvi once the brightest in the Raven group is now a fourth magnitude star and is called the Tent (Al-Khiba). Algorab or raven's beak is a double star, pale-yellow and purple, situated on the right wing of the Crow.

While Crater the cup, west of Coryus and supposed to be the original goblet out of which Noah first took his wine, has two of its stars in the making up of the figure Hydra or watersnake, the Crow which lies to the south-west of Spica gives one of its brightest stars to the snake. Owing to its shape, the Crow is well known to sailors as Spica's Spanker.

The stars of the Raven representing Noah's Raven, make it stand on the back of the Hydra, its beak to the right pecking the watersnake's back.

Chitra is the fourteenth lunar mansion and it is so called because of its twinkling appearance, being now visible and now again invisible. It is a single star and its presiding deity is Viśvakarma. It is also called Ariṣṭa. Spica with which it is identified, α Virginis, is a brilliant, flushed white binary star, in the right ear of Virgo; β Virginus or Zavijava is a pale yellow star below Virgo's head; μ or η Virginus, Zania is a variable star on the northern wing of Virgo; γ or Caphir is a binary and slightly variable white star on the left arm of Virgo; λ or Khambalia is a small star on her left foot.

Tula (Libra)

In Libra, *i.e.*, Tula or the scales, the seventh solar sign, a little to the east of Spica, are two stars of the second magnitude which suggest the name of the balance given to this sign of the zodiac. It is a small and uninteresting group, lying just outside the milky way, without any bright stars. Tula represents a man holding the scales in his hands, of variegated colour, belonging to the Vāyu Tattva, of Sudra caste and Lord of the West. Of the lunar mansions associated with the zodiacal sign of Libra, Chitra or Spica has already been described. The next, the fifteenth mansion is Svāti or α Boötes in the Herdsman, well known as Arcturus. Svāti has the colour of saffron or kumkuma, a kind of crocus and is one star, with Vāyu as its presiding deity. Arcturus known as the right knee of Boötes, or situated on his left knee according to another account, is a golden yellow star. It is a very bright star, a thousand times brighter than the Sun and is the sixth brightest star in the heavens. It is called the Palace of the Emperors by the Chinese.

Boötes or Herdsman is also called Atlas, and the Herdsman is usually represented as a robust man with the left hand raised, his right hand holding a club. Small stars near the tail of the Bear which, the ancients imagined, Boötes was chasing or driving out, represent the left hand of the

Herdsmen, raised high above his head, holding the hunting dogs in his leash. β Boötes or Nekkar is his head, *i.e.*, the group of stars on the extreme right above the hand holding the leash; γ or Muphris is his left shoulder; δ or Izar, a fine double, called the zone or girdle is the whip in his right hand; ϵ and ρ forming the girdle; ϵ or Alkalrups is the shepherd's crook or the herdsman's staff and is a beautiful binary. Below it are his right leg and foot, those near the sign Virgo representing his left leg and foot. Arcturus, however, represents no part of the body of the herdsman, and it is a principal giant in the heavens, next in brightness only to Sirius, Canopus, Vega and Capella, travelling towards Virgo at the rate of 200 miles a minute. It was called Arctophlax (Bear-keeper) because it means watcher of the Bear or Ursa Major.

The Nebula M 33 in Triangulum is the nearest of all the star nebulae in space, the light from it occupying 850,000 years to reach the earth. The bulk of the sixteenth lunar mansion of Viśākha is in the sign Libra and it represents α Libræ or the southern scale. Viśākha has two branches, having the shape of a *tōraṇa*, arched doorway or ornamental arch, containing five stars presided over by Indra and Agni. α Libræ or Southern Scale is a double star and an eclipsing binary, pale yellow and bright in the Southern Scale of the Balance. β Libræ or Zubenelg or Northern Scale, is a pale emerald star, situated in the Northern Scale of the Balance and symbolically called the full price. According to an old story told by Servius, there were formerly only eleven signs of the zodiac, the stars now forming the Libra being the claws of the Scorpio, the new sign having been a later addition. In so far as the zodiacal signs are all named after animals the story gains credence but modern writers affirm Libra was included as a sign in ancient Chaldean and Egyptian zodiacs. The Libra, again, is credited as testifying the equality of days and nights in the autumn when the Sun is in Libra and as recording uniform temperature of the air in that season.

(To be continued.)

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XL

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Sema Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Black-breasted or Rain Quail's Habit of Not Entering the Forests.]

THE Black-breasted or Rain Quail (*Coturnin coromandelica*, Bonn) is called in Hindi *Chinā Batér*. It is a resident or a partially migratory bird and is found throughout the greater portion of India and in the Irrewaddi Valley in Burma. It is also found in Manipur, in Assam near Dibrugarh, in Sylhet, and around Chittagong. So it is undoubtedly found throughout the country between India and Burma in suitable localities. It is not met with in the extreme southern portion of India.

This quail, like the Grey Quail (*Coturnin communis*, Bonn) is rarely, if ever, found in forests. It remains much upon grassy lands of no great height and under the cover of growing crops. Although it inhabits many parts of India, it shifts its habitat according to the season; and it visits only Northern Bengal, Oudh, Bihar, the N. W. Provinces, the Punjab and Sindh during the 'monsoons. Its call-note is very different from that of the Grey Quail, being dissyllabic only. It is found in pairs from April to October and singly during the rest of the year.

The Sema Nagas are a tribe of the Mongoloid Naga race and dwell in the north-east of the Angami country and, at present, inhabit the valleys of three large rivers together with the mountain ranges and plateaus that separate these waters.

As the Black-breasted or Rain Quail is most likely found in the country occupied by the Sema Nagas, occurring as it does throughout the country between India and Burma, the Sema Nagas are familiar with this bird and must have observed its habits. They have, therefore, fabricated the undermentioned myth to account for the origin of the Black-breasted or Rain Quail's habit of not entering the forests but

of remaining upon grassy lands and under cover of growing crops. It is as follows:—

The Quail and the Squirrel agreed to become friends. "My friend," said the one, "we two will have a look at the snares set by men." The other agreed to this proposal, and they went out to have a look at the snares set by men. As the Quail went along in front, he was caught in the snares. The Squirrel gnawed the snares through with his teeth. The Quail said to the Squirrel, "My friend, my throat is aching." (This was caused by putting his head into nooses.) "You should go in front now in your turn," said he. The Squirrel agreed to this proposal and accordingly, went in front. The Squirrel got caught in the snares of men. The Squirrel said to the Quail, "My friend, my throat is aching me," but the Quail, as he had no teeth, did not gnaw through the snare at all. And so the Squirrel died. It is for this reason that the Quail does not enter the forests, but keeps to the open fields, at least so they say.*

The Quail mentioned in the foregoing myth must be the Black-breasted or Rain Quail which is, no doubt, found in the Sema Naga country. From a careful analysis of the foregoing myth, we find that:—

(1) The Sema Nagas were very careful and keen observers of the habits of beasts and birds.

(2) They observed that the Black-breasted or Rain Quail always remained upon grassy lands of no great height and under cover of the growing crops but did not enter the forests.

(3) As they were ignorant of the laws of biology which govern the formation of the habits of beasts and birds, they could not explain to themselves the process by which the aforesaid habits of the Black-breasted Quail were formed. They, therefore, fabricated the foregoing myth to explain the origin of these habits.

* *Vide The Sema Nagas.* By J. H. Mutton, M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 306-7.

(4) They were further aware of the fact that the Squirrels belong to the order *Rodentia* (or Gnawing Animals) which possess sharp teeth and can gnaw through nooses and snares, and that the Quails, which are birds possessed of beaks, do not possess teeth capable of gnawing through snares.

(5) The foregoing myth also illustrates the belief of the Sema Nagas that in ancient times, beasts and birds could talk with each other like human beings.

(6) It also illustrates the wide-spread belief that, in ancient times, beasts and birds entered into friendly relations with each other, just as human beings did.

(7) It also inculcates the moral that men and beasts should not indulge in idle curiosity about things with which they have no concern. The same moral is also taught by the fable in the *Hitopadesha* which narrates how a monkey who, out of idle curiosity, wanted to handle a wedge which was inserted in a cleft block of wood, got killed by the two bifurcated pieces of the wooden block. The moral is very pithily taught by the Sanskrit verse:—

(१) अव्यापारेषु व्यापारं यो नरः कर्तुमिच्छति ।

(२) स भूमौ निहतः शेते कीलोत्पाटीव वानरः ॥

(i) The man, who wants to interfere in a matter with which he has no concern,

(ii) Gets killed like the monkey who took out the wedge (from the cleft block of wood).

(8) The foregoing myth also inculcates the moral: “Do not rely upon friends who are physically deficient and are, therefore, unable to help you in times of difficulty.”

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XVIII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On Two Dusan Ætiological Myths about the
Evolution of the Cocoanut Palm, the Sugarcane, the
Maize, the Bottle-Gourd Creeper and other Plants]

THE Cocoanut Palm (*Cocos nucifera*), which belongs to the Order *Palmæ*, is one of the most valuable trees growing on the sea-coasts of India, Burma and the Tropical Islands.

The Sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ*, is called in Sanskrit *Ikshu*, in Bengali *Akh*, in Hindi *Ukh* and *Gannā*, in Tamil *Kairambu* and Telugu *Sheruku*. It is cultivated extensively all over India. There are many varieties of it. Some are suitable for the extraction of sugar; while others are sucked raw. The juice is obtained by grinding the cane in a press. This juice, when boiled down over a fire, becomes coagulated into unrefined sugar which is called *gur* or molasses. The sugarcane stalk out of which the juice has been extracted, and the leaves of this plant are suitable for the manufacture of mats and paper. But, at present, they are utilized only as fuel.

The Maize or Indian Corn (*Lea mays*), which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ*, is called in Bengali *Tanār*, in Hindi *Bhuttā* or *Makāri*, in Dakhini *Makhā-Jowari*, in Tamil *Makka Cholum* and in Telugu *Makkā Zonalu*. It is largely cultivated in Upper India and the Himalayas where it is an important article of food to the poorer classes of the people. It is eaten roasted in cobs when the latter are green; or its seeds are ground into flour and made into cakes. It is regarded as a very nutritious food.

The Bottle-Gourd Creeper (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), which belongs to the Order *Cucurbitaceæ* produces a curious kind of fruit which are of the shape of long clubs or flasks. It is extensively cultivated in tropical countries. There are many

varieties of it. It is called in Bengali *Lān* and in Hindi *Kadu*. It is eaten cooked and is, sometimes, made into a sweetmeat.

The Orang Dusans or "People of the Orchards" are a race of the Indonesian people who inhabit British North Borneo. They are the original inhabitants of the country, and the Bajans and Ildanuns, both of whom are Proto-Malayan peoples, and arrived late in the country, drove the former into the interior of the country. The Dusans narrate the two under-mentioned ætiological myths or legends which account for the creation of the world, of men and of the cocoanut palm, the sugarcane, the maize, the bottle-gourd creeper, the paddy and other plants.

When the world was first created, there was only water with a great rock in it. On this rock there lived a man named Kinharingan and a woman who was called Munsu-mundak. (It is stated that the former is the chief god of the Dusans and the latter is his wife.) They created land from the dirt on their bodies. Then they made a figure of stone but it could not speak. Therefore they made a figure of wood which though able to talk, afterwards became worn out and rotten. Last of all, they made a figure of clay from which are descended all the men and women who, at present, dwell upon this earth.

Thereafter both the man and his wife began to think how to provide the dwellers of the earth with food as there was no food to be had. Thereupon the woman gave birth to a child. On this, the man said: "As we have to provide the inhabitants of the earth with food, *let us cut this child to bits and plant the same in the ground.*" This they did accordingly.

- (1) After some time, a rice plant or paddy plant grew from the child's blood.
- (2) A cocoanut palm grew from its head.
- (3) A betel-nut palm grew from its fingers.
- (4) A *sirih* vine or betel creeper grew from its ears.
- (5) Its feet gave rise to the Indian Corn or Maize,

- (6) Its skin produced a bottle-gourd creeper.
- (7) Sugarcane grew from its throat.
- (8) Its knees vegetated into the *kaladi arum* (*coladium esculentum*).
- (9) And the rest of its body produced other good eatable things.

The second myth closely resembles the former one with this much difference only :—Kinharingan and Munsumundak obtained some earth from Bisagit (the spirit of small-pox) and mixing this earth with some pounded rock, created land. Then they created the people of this earth. They had one son and one daughter. As the people cried for want of food, they killed their girl-child and cut her up to bits and planted the same in the ground.

- (1) From her blood grew the paddy plant.
- (2) From her head, grew the cocoanut fruit upon which her eyes and nose can be seen at the present time.
- (3) From her arm-bones grew the sugarcane.
- (4) Her fingers vegetated into bananas.
- (5) Other bits of her body produced all other kinds of animals.*

From a study of the preceding two myths, we find that :—

(1) Like the South-Sea Islanders and the Chinese, the Dusans were also close and keen observers of Nature.

(2) The Dusans also observed the close similarity between the round shape of the shell of the cocoanut fruit and the two socket-like depressions therein and the almost rotund shape of the human skull and the two empty eye-sockets thereof. They have, therefore, very appropriately hit upon the idea of the cocoanut-fruit having grown from the head of the slain child.

(3) The Dusans also noticed the similarity between the jointed stems of the sugarcane and the human arm-bones

* Vide "Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malaya Peninsula". By Ivar H. N. Evans, M.A., Cambridge University Press, 1923, pp. 45-47,

with the shoulder-joints, elbow-joints and wrist-joints. They have, therefore, very appropriately caused the sugarcane to spring from the slain child's arm-bones.

(4) I am inclined to think that if the bones of the toes of the human feet, with their closely-situated joints are tied up in a bundle, the bundle would look pretty nearly like a cob of the Maize or Indian Corn with the grains symmetrically arranged thereupon. Most likely, the Dusans noticed this resemblance and, therefore, caused the Indian Corn or Maize to grow from the feet of the slain child.

(5) The bananas or plantains very much resemble the slim and tapering fingers of the human hand. In fact, a row of plantains arranged upon a bunch bears some sort of similarity to the human hand with the five fingers arranged at the outer edge thereof. The Dusans must have noticed this similarity and have, therefore, fittingly described the bananas as growing from the slain child's fingers.

(6) The leaves of the *Sirih-vine* or Betel creeper (*Piper betle*) bear some sort of resemblance to the human ears. This resemblance must have attracted the notice of the Dusans who have, therefore, caused the Betel creeper to grow from the slain child's ears.

(7) Most likely, the glossy surface of the large leaves of the Bottle-Gourd creeper (*Lagynaria vulgaris*) or of its bottle-shaped fruits bears some sort of similarity to the smooth skin of the human body. I am inclined to think that, on account of this similarity, far-fetched though it may be, the Dusans have described the Bottle-Gourd creeper as growing from the slain child's skin.

(8) The Corns of the *kaladi arum* (*Coladium esculentum*) bear some sort of similarity to the human legs just below the knees. This resemblance must have attracted the notice of the Dusans who have, therefore, described the *kaladi arum* as having grown from the slain child's knees.

(9) Last of all, the Dusans believe in the existence of the Vegetation Spirit in the blood of human beings. They have, therefore, described the rice plant or the paddy plant

as having grown from the slain child's blood. As I have already shown elsewhere* this belief is also common to many other races of savage people.

(10) The two preceding myths illustrate, in a striking manner, the selflessness, the beneficence, and the tender solicitude of the creator spirit for the welfare of mankind.

(11) The two preceding myths bear some sort of resemblance to the cosmogonic myths of other races, in almost all of which the universe is described as having been, first of all, one vast expanse of water and then as having been covered with land created from small quantities of mud lying at the bottom of the water and brought up to the surface of the water by animals or birds. In the two Dusan myths, the land is described as having been created from the dirt on the creator being's body.

* *Vide* my article entitled "On Two Dusan *Ætiological* Myths about the Paddy Plant," which has been published in 'Man in India' (Ranchi) Vol. VI, pp. 140-49.

NOTES

Mythological Studies

"KUMARA-KUJA-KINSHIP"

IN a series of very learned and interesting papers contributed to the *Q.J.M.S.*, Vols. XV, XVI and XVII dealing with "The Seven Dwīpas of the Puranas", the late Mr. V. Venkatachellam Iyer has tried his best—with success apparently—to locate them and identify them with the known lands of our existing globe; and of these Dwīpas, the Krauncha has received an exhaustive treatment at his hands. The conclusion arrived at seems to be that it is Asia Minor which was so called after the mountain Krauncha which again is a portion of the Taurus System, *viz.*, Chimæra, the burning or fire-breathing mountain monster of the Lycian or Cilician Coast; that this was the celebrated scene of the legendary battle between Kumāra, the Son-God and the demon (Asura) Tāraka in which the latter was killed and the former came out victorious; and that this, in essence, is a nature myth describing probably the volcanic activity of that region and personifying and depicting the mountain Chimæra as a demon, and the volcanic eruption and earthquake that set the whole mountain ablaze with all vegetable and animal life therein in conflagration and caused cleavage or holes in it as the divine agency or power that sent it 'asunder from fundament to summit' with his shaft or javelin (Śakti). And to reach this conclusion, Mr. Iyer has explored the mythologies of the ancient races that had inhabited Western Asia and the Mediterranean Coast, and the travellers' accounts and archæological studies of these regions, but seems to have omitted to note and stress one important point, *viz.*, the legendary life-history—the early life-history of the embryonic stage and infancy—of the Son-God, Skanda, which will indicate his igneous origin and nature and thereby will serve to strengthen his argument. This god, according to the legend, was first conceived by Pārvatī (Śiva's consort) and remained in her womb for a while, was thence transferred to the charge of the fire-god (Agni), who bore or kept him next for a while, and was thereafter put in the river Ganges which after carrying him

for a while with great difficulty deposited him at last among the reeds wherefrom the six divine mothers (*Kṛitikas*) picked him up and nursed him in infancy. So he grew up. Hence he is called *Agnibhū* and *Kārtikēya*—the two significant names—the first of which means “one born of fire” and the second “the son of *Kṛitikas*” the six stars that make up the lunar mansion (or constellation) *Kṛittika* of which the ruling or presiding deity is *Agni*—the god of fire. Hence he is also called “*Shāṇmātura*”.

“अग्नेर्भार्यावसोर्धारा पुत्राद्रविणकादयः ।

स्कंदश्च कृत्तिकापुत्रो येविशाखादयस्ततः ॥”

(*Bh. P.*, VI. 6. 13. 14.)

“स्कंदश्च कृत्तिकापुत्रोऽग्नेः पुत्रः षाण्मातुर इति अग्निभूरिति च प्रसिद्धेः ”

(Commentator Sreedharaswamiji.)

This life-history is briefly summarized in the first verse of a modern Stotra “*Skanda-Pañchakam*”, composed by a living writer—Parikshit Rāmavarma Thampuram of the Cochin Royal House (published along with other Stotras of his in Malayalam, Vidyavinodini Press, Trichur.)

“आदौ गर्भे समबहुदुमाशंकरी सा तृतीया

मूर्तिः पश्चात्तदनुदिविषन्निग्रायं कथंचित् ।

यस्योत्पत्तिः किल शरवर्णस्तन्यदाः कृत्तिकाषट्

षड्वक्त्रं तं त्रिभुवनगुरुं नैमिविश्वतिहल्यै ॥”

Another point to be noted about Skanda is that he is a war-god or war-lord famous for his proficiency in the art of war, a divine generalissimo unequalled for his skill in warfare, and hence called *Sēnānī*; and, as such, is regarded as an incarnation of, and to have derived his powers from, Vishṇu or the Supreme God. “स्कंदोऽहं सर्वसेनान्याम्” says Lord Kṛishṇa to his devotee Uddhava (*Bh. P.*, XI. 16. 22). His consort *Dērasēnā** personifies the army of the Devas and his weapon, a javelin or shaft (*Vil*) personifies Śakti. Hence he is known as *Śakti-dhara*.

Many of these important characteristics of Skanda are shared by the planet *Kuja* or *Bhauma*—Mars, who again is a war-god in Roman mythology. This planetary god is also known as *Kumāra*, *Śakti-hasta* and *Āṅgāraka*. He is called *Kumāra* probably because he is the Son-God born of the Mother Goddess

* *Dēvī Bh. P.*, IX. 46. “*Indra-Sēnā*” is her Vedic name as the commentator shows by a Vedic quotation under IX, 46, 5,

Earth and Vishṇu incarnate as Varāha (the Boar) when the latter raised her up from under the sea and enjoyed her pleasant company for a pretty long period. This story of the birth of this planet is given in the *Dēvī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XI. 9). Hence the planet is called *Kuja* and *Bhauma* which means 'one born of the womb of Earth'. The epithet *Śakti-hasta* is synonymous with *Śakti-dhara*, and describes him as the bearer of the weapon *Śakti*, javelin or shaft. The name *Āṅgāraka* in which the suffix *ka* has a diminutive significance only shows that he is in appearance like a spark of fire or red cinder piece. It then seems to be the legendary account of his origin that he is a spark of fire or red cinder shot up from the womb of Earth to the high heaven where he shines as '*Maṅgalagraha*'! There is one more point to be noted in this connection which may serve to make the kinship closer between these two Son-Gods. Hindu astrologers say that when the planet *Kuja* occupies a favourable position—say, the third zodiac sign (Rāsi) from the one assigned to the star of our nativity—we will then enjoy the favours of the other Son-God Skanda or Subrahmanya. These striking similarities and this close relationship would suggest their common origin and nature—volcanic or igneous.

“धरणीगर्भसंभूतं विद्युत्कान्तिसमप्रभम् ।

कुमारं शक्तिहस्तं च मंगलं प्रणमाम्यहम् ॥”

“Navagraha Stotra” and “Mangala Stotra” (*Skanda Purāṇa*), “*Bṛihat Stotra Ratnākara*,” pp. 363-64 and 365-66, Bombay Edition.

There was another *Kuja* or *Bhauma*, viz., the Asura Tyrant Naraka, who was also of the same parentage as gave birth to the planet, viz., the union of the Mother Goddess Earth with Vishṇu as Varāha (the Boar) and who was killed by his own father in Krishṇa incarnation for his oppressive and wicked actions and more especially for having forcibly captured and kept in confinement and custody persons and properties unlawfully—(1) persons numbering sixteen thousand and odd royal maidens whom Krishṇa himself married after their release, and (2) properties, consisting of the valuable ear-rings of the holy mother of gods (Aditi), the royal umbrella of Varuṇa, the god of waters and a peak of the precious stone (*Mani-parvatam*) from the Devas' mountain (*Maṇḍara*); all of which were restored

to the respective owners. Naraka's kingdom was Prāgiyotisha and his capital, a fortified city well protected with intricate defensive works consisting of strategical and military outposts and also with water, fire and wind. This stronghold was stormed, captured and destroyed. This kingdom is now marked a little above Vanga (Lower Bengal) in the sketch map enclosed in the article headed "Earliest Indian Traditional History" contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1914, pp. 267 seq.) by the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter. (See *Vishṇu Purāṇa* V. 29. and *Bhāg. P.*, X, 59-0 for verification of the version given here and for further details.)

Each of the Purāṇas is in itself complete and independent giving a particular version of the ancient mythological history without any reference to any other version contained in another Purāṇa. Thus, for instance, according to *Dēvī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the union of Bhū-Varāh—the Earth Goddess and the Boar God—had given birth to 'Maṅgalagraha', *i.e.*, the planet Kuja whereas "the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*" says that the Asura Kuja or Naraka was born of the same union. Each of these Purāṇas mentions the birth of one son only. Whether there was only one son or whether there were two or more born to them we are unable to say for certain. Anyhow we have to postulate the birth of two, and proceed to explain the myths. And again when we compare these Purāṇas with one another and with other ancient mythologies, striking similarities, differences and discrepancies are met with which have to be explained, accounted for and reconciled. Thus God Kumāra of the *earth* seems to be of volcanic origin bearing a striking resemblance to the planet god Kumāra or Kuja of *heaven* who again is said to be a brother of Asura Kuja or Naraka of the *netherworld*. The Vedic mythology chiefly refers to the atmospheric disturbances and the extraordinary phenomena of the sky and the high heavens (much as the dark cloud banks, lightning, thunder storms, cyclonic winds, and rain, eclipse, etc.) as the conflicts between the gods of light, heat and water and the demons and dragons of darkness, cold and drought in which the former ultimately win; and thereby give us these necessary elements for our maintenance and therefore deserve our thanks which are offered with prayers for continuance of their favours. Here on earth we have geological

disturbances resulting in volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, upheaval or subsidence of lands, engulfing or burial of cities or towns with their people and treasures, etc. Such phenomena are attributed to divine or devilish agencies according as they bring good or evil to us. Thus a volcanic eruption causing cavity, holes or fissures in high mountains that may be the strongholds of our foes may be attributed to the God Skanda ; such activities under the sea resulting in the upheaval of lands with throwing up of red cinder pieces or sparks of fire may be the natural explanation of the battle between the giant (Hiraṇyāksha-Asura) and the God Viṣṇu as Varāha or the Boar during which, it may be imagined, red cinder pieces were shot up to high heaven where a bright one of them shines as the planet Kuja or Mars. Lord Kṛishṇa's fight with, and overthrow of Naraka Asura (Kuja) and the rescue of the royal damsels and treasures may refer to the catastrophe of the subsidence or sinking of the earth to a great depth causing the burial of a great city with its people and wealth as a result of violent geological changes, and the heroic rescue of the persons and things engulfed or buried thereby. These are my imaginative and tentative suggestions for a solution of the problem of " Kumāra-Kuja-Kinship ".

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.

REVIEWS

Rasaratnakara of Salva

MADRAS UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS, KANARESE SERIES,
No. 2.

*Edited by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Pandit H. Sessa
Ayyangar of the University Institute of Oriental Studies and
Research, Madras.*

(Demy 8vo. xxi + xix + 231. Ananda Press, Madras, 1932.
Price Rs. 2-4-0)

IN the long history of Alankāra literature or Indian æsthetics extending over a period of at least one thousand five hundred years there have naturally been several schools of thought. They can be broadly divided into two groups, the Prācīna and the Navīna or the Old and the New. The beautiful in literature is, according to the former, determined by the literary style or expression (Rīti or Vakrōkti) while according to the latter it depends on suggestion and sentiment (Dhvani and Rasa).

The Kannada pandits and poets have been impelled by a love of their language to adapt into Kannada from the earliest times, 'the best that has been thought and said in the world' of Sanskrit culture. We accordingly find, in the field of Alankāra, the ideas of Daṇḍi, Bhāmaha, Ānanda Vardhana, Mammata and other leaders of æsthetic thought, old and new, incorporated in the works of Nṛpatuṅga, Nāgavarma, Udayāditya, Kavikāma Tirumalārya and other Kannada writers on Rhetoric. These were published from time to time either by the Mysore Government or the proprietors of the Kāvya Mañjari Series, Mysore; but we owe the present book to the enterprising Kannada scholars of the Oriental Department of the Madras University.

The author of *Rasaratnākara* is Kavi Sālva (c. 1550), a Jain, who was patronised by Salva Malla, a chief ruling at 'Nagira' in what is now South Canara District. The work is mainly based on *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* of Hemachandra, that versatile Jaina scholar of the twelfth century. But the author has also largely drawn upon other Sanskrit and Kannada rhetoricians such as Amarānandi, Rudra Bhatta, Vidyānātha, Nāgavarma, Kāma and Ganēśvarājñi (-gñi?), the last of whom is probably a Kannada writer and is heard of for the first time.

The text of *Rasaratnākara* consists of 144 verses called sūtras or aphorisms, accompanied by the 'vritti' or gloss and followed by examples from older Kannada writers ; and the whole work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with Śringāra, the second with the other eight sentiments, the third with the heroes and heroines—through whom the Rasās are exhibited—and the fourth with the minor sentiments.

Of the six appendices at the end of the book, the first and the most important is 'Śāradā Vilāsam', a monograph on Dhvani (suggestion) and the classification of literature on the predominance or otherwise of this element therein. It is attributed to the author of *Rasaratnākara* ; but there is no evidence to prove the authorship. The plan of the work is different ; the 'sūtras' are not in verses but aphoristic prose, and they are followed not by 'vritti' (gloss) but 'vivarāṇa' (explanation). The references to Sālva Malla (verses 49-55) indicate that this work was also written by a pandit or poet patronised by Sālva Malla ; but he need not necessarily have been Kavi Sālva. The other five appendices give the Index for the first lines of the text and examples, parallel passages from the Sanskrit and Kannada sources and various kinds of heroes, heroines and sentiments in tabular form—accessories very helpful in the study of the work.

The publication of the present work, which has filled up an important gap, may be said to have almost completed the series of Kannada works embodying the history of Sanskrit æsthetic thought in all its essentials, good,—and let us say—bad and indifferent, because there is not a little that is morbid and unfruitful along with much that is precious and original in the Alāṅkāra literature. The Madras University have undoubtedly laid the Kannada literary world under a debt of gratitude.

The editors have taken all possible care to see the book through the press, but the *errata* extend to two full pages and do not include all the errors. Most of them are, however, only typographical. The work certainly deserves much better printing and paper and the general get-up compares very unfavourably with other books like "The Sphota Siddhi" recently published in the Sanskrit series of the University.

The Mahabharata

ĀDIPARVAN, FASCICULE 6

(Published by The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona)

WE are glad to observe that this scientific edition of the Mahābhārata, which accurately and clearly registers various readings, has made commendable progress and the constituted text of the fascicules so far issued has given complete satisfaction furnishing as it does a true version of the probable original. The Institute in general and Dr. Sukhthankar in particular deserve to be congratulated on the success of this great undertaking.

The fascicule under review contains, besides beautiful coloured illustrations, a facsimile of the Śāradā Codex from which this recension is established.

It behoves all lovers of learning to extend their generous help towards the completion of this monumental work.

S. S.

A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts

VOL. IV—PART 2—TAMIL

(Published by The Government Oriental Manuscripts
Library, Madras)

THIS Second Part of the Fourth Volume of the Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts is on the same plan as that of the Second Part of the Third Volume and has the numbers of the manuscripts and the pages of this part in continuation thereof.

The compiler, Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., has given brief but informing descriptions of the various works listed in this Catalogue. He has considerably enhanced the usefulness of the work by including in it three indices—Subject, Author and General.

The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

N. I.

Life of Emanuel Swedenborg

BY GEORGE TROBRIDGE

(Swedenborg Society, Inc., London)

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG was born in 1688; studied at the University of Upsala; entered the Board of Mines as Assessor; and wrote many treatises on metallurgy and allied subjects. In middle life, he took to the study of philosophy and spent the

remainder of his life in the pursuit of theology and spiritual philosophy.

He has strong claims on the gratitude of the philosophical student by the publication of theological books suited to modern times, wherein he has affirmed Christian truths hitherto dimly perceived and disclosed the facts of the life after death.

He was very learned and universally esteemed for his excellent character. Though of a gentle disposition, he was straightforward and would not betray truth. He died in 1772 and his remains, buried in London, were later taken to Upsala and there deposited in the Cathedral.

The work under review gives a true record of Swedenborg's life and a popular exposition of his teachings. The Swedenborg Society has done a great service in making the writings of the great soul available to the public in cheap but neatly got-up volumes.

N.I.

Indian Literature in China and the Far East

BY PRABHAT K. MOOKARJI

(*Greater India Society, Calcutta*)

THE story of India's cultural conquest is of absorbing interest not only to students of history and Indian culture but to all educated Indians. It ever remains as a high water-mark of the enterprise of the ancient Indians who carried their culture to China, Tibet, Central Asia, Annam, Siam, the Island of Bāli, etc., and converted the people of these lands to their faith by peaceful means. Every Indian is proud of such deeds of his forefathers. While an extensive literature has grown up on the subject in French, not much has been done by Indians in this direction and it is only recently that attempts are being made to render into English and give wide publicity to the researches of several European scholars in this field by Professors R. C. Muzumdar, Bagchi, Dr. Kalidas Nag and others and by institutions like the Greater India Society.

Students of Indian culture must be highly grateful to Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mookarji, Librarian, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, for bringing out in book form the materials he had gathered on the spread of Buddhism in China from some of the well-known Oriental Journals. The book² is, as has been admitted by the

author himself, a compilation but a compilation done with exquisite skill. The contents of the book though dry are yet interesting to those who are earnest to know about the spread of Buddhism in China. From an analysis of the catalogue of works translated into Chinese by scholars like Dharmaratna, Kumarabodhi and especially by Kumarajiva and Parmartha, it is clear that almost all the works on the Triratna of the Buddhists, *viz.*, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, have been long ago rendered into Chinese. Most of the originals of these works are lost in India but preserved in Chinese and Tibetan. Starting from 64 A.D. scholars went to China for the spread of India's culture and just after 600 A.D., Chinese scholars like Hiuentziang, attracted by the culture of India, came here, joined the Buddhist Church and actually sat at the feet of Buddhist scholars to imbibe the spirit of India's culture. A book which narrates such deeds of the patriotic scholars of India and of China deserves to be read by all Indians.

V. R.

EDITORIAL

IN the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona (Vol. III, Parts III-IV), Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., taking stock of all materials attributed to the Kulārṇava Tantra, thinks that it consisted of more materials than what are found in the published version and refers to a complete work called Kulārṇava though in little agreement with the published work. Speaking of the manuscript of the work in the Library of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta and examining its contents, he comes to the conclusion that it belongs to the school of Uttara Kaulas while the published edition pertains to that of Pūrva Kaulas.

* *

Prof. H. D. Velankar concludes his interesting and instructive article on "Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya" of Virahāṅka in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. 8. Nos. 1 and 2). A great service has been rendered in restoring the text of this rare work on Prākṛit metres.

* *

The *Modern Review* (August, 1932) contains an illuminating article on "Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization" by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda under the caption of "Sind Five Thousand Years Ago" in which some original remarks are made.

* *

Mr. Satindra Narayan Roy's paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, Bombay, on "The Early Temples of Orissa" is as interesting as it is comprehensive. One cannot help concurring with his concluding remarks: "The high water-mark of artistic perfection remained for a very short time. The earliest temples were the best from the point of view of art. When the decline came, the structures and the shapes of the temples remained much the same but their artistic finish and decorations degenerated considerably."

* *

Mr. Donald F. Thomson's illustrated article on the "Place of Fire in Primitive Ritual" in *Man* (July, 1932) will greatly interest students of the Fire Cult. Mr. Thomson describes the importance of fire in social life in North Queensland among

the Koka Dai'-Yuri, the Vintjingga, the Koko Ya-o and the Ompela tribes.

* * *

The Vedanta Kesari (August, 1932) contains a short but interesting article on "Was Śaṅkara a Crypto-Buddhist?" by Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar. After minutely discussing the question, Mr. Aiyar sums up his conclusions thus: "One need not rise above common-sense to distinguish between a system that denies essence to things including the soul (nirātmaka) and that which affirms Brahman as the immortal essence of each and all (sadātmaka); between Undiluted Nihilism and Absolute Monism; between the Universal Nay and the Universal Yea."

* * *

The Kalpaka (November, 1932) contains the translation of a minor but celebrated Upaniṣat called "Pāśupata Brahma" wherein the secret of the Ajapa Mantra "Hamsa" is dealt with.

* * *

Prof. A. R. Wadia in an article on "The Inter-University Board of India and its Possibilities" in *India and the World* makes a spirited appeal to every University to make this unity effective by each playing the game and doing all it can.

* * *

The Indian Antiquary (October, 1932) has a very interesting illustrated article on "The Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Southern India" by Mr. A. H. Longhurst. In the inscriptions belonging to the Great Stūpa, the monument is called the "Mahāchetiya" of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, clearly showing that the tomb was consecrated to the Great Teacher and to nobody else. The discovery of the dhātu or bone relic proves that the monument was a dhātugarbha or "tomb containing a relic" and that it was not a mere "dedicatory stūpa".

* * *

Rev. J. F. Pessen, S.J., in an article entitled "High Value of Avidyā" in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (September, 1932) has ably refuted the views of some scholars who contend that Avidyā means only Bija-śakti or only nescience as also Fr. Johann's contention that Bija-śakti, being Avidyākalpita, is utterly non-existent.

* * *

The Journal of the American Oriental Society (September, 1932) contains two thought-provoking articles by Anand K. Coomaraswamy styled "Ābhāsa" and "Reactions to Art in India".

* * *

Principal Kalipada Mitra, in a very instructive article on "The Svastika" in *Man in India* (April-September, 1932), makes these interesting remarks:—"Thus we find that the Svastika represents the male principle. To us of the civilized age, the use of the reproductive symbols as auspicious charms (really evil-scaring) may seem monstrous, but, as a matter of fact, nations of old (such as the Egyptians) used the symbol of the male reproductive principle as an evil-scarer. When we use the horse-shoe, we do it without ever imagining that the symbol of the female principle brings us luck."

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**Books received during the Quarter ending
30th September 1932**

Presented by:—

Government of Travancore—

Travancore Archæological Report: 1106 M.E. (16th August 1931).

Government of Mysore—

(Departmental Reports).

Public Instruction—1930-31.

Agriculture—1930-31.

Police—1930-31.

Criminal Justice—1930-31.

Civil Justice—1930-31.

Jails and Lock-ups—1931.

Horticulture—1930-31.

Season and Crop—1930-31.

Hospitals and Dispensaries—1930-31.

Joint-Stock Companies—1932.

Representative Assembly Proceedings : Dasara Session—
October 1931.

Legislative Council Proceedings: December Session—1931.

Mysore Census Report—1931, Pt. IV.

Mysore Census Report—1931, Pt. V.

Greater India Society—

Indian Literature in China and the Far East—by P. K.
Mukerji.

Bhandarkar Oriental Institute—

Mahabharata (B.O.R.I. Edition): Ādiparvan, Fasc. 6—by
V. S. Sukthankar.

The Authors—

Beginnings of South Indian History.

Early History of Vaishnavism in South India.

Mani-Mekhali in its Historical Setting.

Presidential Address at the First Bombay Historical Congress.

Notes on the Seven Pagodas.

—All by S. Krishnaṣwami Aiyangar,

ಉಪದೇಶ ಸಾಹಸ್ರಿ—by Y. Subba Rao.

Geography of Early Buddhism—by B. C. Law.

Government of India—

Somanatha and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawad
(Arch. Sur. of India, I.S., Vol. XLV).—by H. Cousens.

Karnataka Sangha, Central College—

ಚೀನಾದೇಶದ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಯಾತ್ರಿಕರು—by G. P. Rajaratnam.

ಸೋಕ್ರಟೀಸನ ಮರಣ—by S. G. Sastry.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Seth Eastman: The Master Painter of the North American
Indians (S.M.C., Vol. 87, No. 3)—by David I. Bushnell, Jr.

Madras University—

ರಸರತ್ನಾಕರ (ಶಬ್ದ)—by A. Venkata Rao and H. Sesha Ayyangar.

The Calendar, Vol. I, Part I.

The Calendar, Vol. I, Part II.

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London—

Administration of Mysore under Sir Mark Cubbon—by K. N.
Venkatasubba Sastry.

Purchased—

Indian Annual Register: 1931, Vol. II (July-December)—by
Mitra.

NOTICE

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of members of Associate Societies is published for information :—

“Rule 105.—Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings ; and in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.”

**S. SRIKANTAYA, General Secretary and Treasurer,
Mythic Society.**

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THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

ESSAY COMPETITION

An anonymous donor offers, through the Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City, a prize of Rs. 50 (fifty only) for the best essay in English on "The Evolution of the Kannada Drama". The existence of an indigenous drama in the Karnataka country, its development and its present condition as an histrionic art, with reference to authorities, if any, should be dealt with. The competition is open to all. The essay, which should be about twenty-five foolscap pages of typed or written matter on one side only, should be submitted to the General Secretary of the Mythic Society with a fee of Rs. 2, so as to reach him not later than the 15th May 1933. The award will be communicated to the successful competitor and will be announced in the first week of July 1933; and the prize will be given away at the Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society to be held about July 1933. The accepted essay will become the absolute property of the Mythic Society for all purposes.

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary,
Mythic Society.

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXIII

OCTOBER, 1932

No. 2

**THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY**

Bangalore, 12th September 1932

DR. E. P. METCALFE, D.Sc., F.INST.P.

in the Chair

THE Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Monday, the 12th September 1932 at 6 P.M. with Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc., F.Inst.P., Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, in the Chair, when a large number of members and friends were present.

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, M.A., President of the Society, in offering a most hearty welcome to the distinguished Chairman of the Meeting, made the following introductory speech.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

We are justified in claiming Dr. Metcalfe as an Indian ; he has been with us now for over two decades and his father is still remembered as the pioneer of higher education in the Telugu country. Our distinguished Chairman of this evening obtained the B.Sc. degree with first class honours at the

University College, London, and came into close association with well-known men of science. From London, where he was also a post-graduate scholar doing research work for two years, he proceeded to Cambridge to pursue his studies under Sir J. J. Thomson at the Cavendish Laboratory. Recommended by Sir William Ramsay, he came as a professor of the Central College where he became principal. On the retirement of Dr. Seal, he was raised to his present position of the Vice-Chancellor of our university.

The physics laboratory in the Central College was designed by him and was constructed under his personal supervision; and the chemistry block also was constructed on the same model. The improvement in science instruction and the research work in our University College of Science owe their influence to his splendid guidance and brilliant example. Dr. Metcalfe has carried on successfully experiments in important spectroscopic research. His papers on subjects like the optical and electrical properties of gases and vapours are well known.

The remarkable discovery of the selective absorption of light by electrically luminiscent mercury vapour by Dr. Metcalfe led to several papers being published by him and his friend and colleague Professor B. Venkatesachar; and great activity in spectroscopic work originating from these researches has made the Central College a leading school of research in India with an international reputation. The doctorate of science of the London University was conferred upon him in recognition of his original investigations. He is, also a Fellow of the University College, London, and a Fellow of the Institute of Physics. As a wireless specialist, it is unnecessary for me to dwell on his achievements.

In addition to his proficiency in science, he is well known as an excellent player on the violin disproving the oft-mentioned negative correlation between scientific pursuits and artistic tastes.

Dr. Metcalfe is one of our foundation members and as an instance of his wide cultural tastes and close association

with the aims and objects of our Society, may I refer to the fact that the Central College Library has a set of the Indian Antiquary and Epigraphia Indica, the stock in trade of the antiquarian scholar? With these few words, gentlemen, let me introduce to you our worthy Chairman of this evening. Dr. Metcalfe, I extend you a hearty welcome on behalf of myself and on behalf of the Mythic Society.

*
* *

Mr. S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., General Secretary and Treasurer, then read the following report for the year 1931-32 :—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1931-32.

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening the report of the Society's activities during the year 1931-32.

It is a matter of great rejoicing and gratification to us that our Patron, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, completed a most arduous and successful pilgrimage to Mount Kailasa and Manasarovara. A short, illustrated account of this eventful journey was published in the Journal with the gracious permission of His Highness and the kind assistance rendered by the Palace.

Membership.—The strength in our membership continues to be steady. We would respectfully appeal to the members in arrears to pay up their dues and also to secure fresh members for the Society.

During the year, the loss to the Society by the death of its members was heavy and it is our most painful duty to record the demise of the following:—The late Maharaja of Cochin, Sir Dorabji Tata, Sir S. E. Pears, Rajamantrapravina C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Rajasabhabhushana Karpur Srinivasa Rao, Rao Bahadur B. V. Venkataswami Naidu, The Hon'ble Mr. A. Suryanarayana Rao and Messrs. K. Chandrasekharaiya and Vedam Venkatachalam Iyer. Several of these were office-bearers of

the Society and the last a valued contributor. We offer our condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

Finance :—Total receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 4,141-14-6. As against an opening balance of Rs. 102-12-6, the closing balance was Rs. 208-9-6. In October 1931, under Government Order No. G. 3202-3/G.M. 56-31-1, dated the 14th October 1931, the temporary grant of Rs. 100 per month was reduced to Rs. 50, the annual reduction being Rs. 600. The work which the Mythic Society has been rendering cannot be measured in terms of current coin and it is needless to dilate upon the inconvenience which has been caused to the Society in carrying on its activities. Representations are being made to the Government for a reconsideration of this order and it is hoped it will be possible for the Government to see its way to accede to our request. We desire to express our grateful thanks to our Honorary Auditor, Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, for undertaking to audit our accounts during the year.

Exchanges :—Our exchanges, which exceed a hundred, include practically all the learned periodicals in the world interested in our work. Most of these are bound together in separate volumes and preserved in the Library.

Reading Room :—The Reading Room attached to the Library is well used and there were 3,019 visitors during the year. All our journals and exchanges, in addition to the several daily newspapers, are available to the readers.

Library :—Considerable accessions are being made to the Library from time to time and, during the year under review, Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Taraporevala Sons & Co. and the Oxford University Press have presented several books to us for notice in the Journal. Our thanks are due to the Government of India, the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukkottai, the Universities of Mysore, Madras and Calcutta, and the Annamalai University and various other institutions and publishers and authors for sending works for review.

Our efforts at collecting the back numbers of several periodicals of antiquarian interest met with further success in the year. We appeal to our members and to the public to present us with back numbers of journals of antiquarian interest so that we may be able to possess complete sets of these for their benefit.

The Director of Public Instruction in Mysore has been pleased to send us another instalment of books and our grateful thanks are due to him. We look forward to the receipt of a still larger number of volumes from him at no distant date.

Lack of space and want of funds happen to be great drawbacks in putting the library in an efficient working condition. In addition to the provision of an attender and a librarian, separate accommodation to locate the library and to provide facilities for reference and research is absolutely essential and many more almirahs are required to arrange the books. But these have to be deferred till the depressing financial situation is tided over and both the Government and the philanthropic public are in a position to extend financial help to us.

Journal.—As a high class periodical of historical and antiquarian interest, the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* is very popular and attracts increasing attention at the hands of the learned. The reviews of books and editorials are well received. We are very grateful to our numerous contributors and others who have helped us to this end.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The premises of the Daly Memorial Hall and the garden attached to it are maintained in good condition. The Hall has been used, as usual, by the Mysore Civil Service Association, the Mysore Amildars' Association and other bodies for their conferences and meetings. The inaugural meeting of the Mysore Journalists' Association over which His Highness the Yuvaraja presided was also held in our Hall.

Visitors.—Professor Otto Stein of the University of Prague, Rev. Fr. H. Heras, President of the Bombay

Historical Society and Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Iyer of Madras visited the Mythic Society and were pleased with the work conducted under its auspices.

General:—A valued member of the Society has offered a prize of Rs. 50 for the best essay in English on “The Evolution of the Kannada Drama”. The competition is open to all and the essays for entry should reach the General Secretary on or before the 15th May 1933. The details are already published in the daily press and will also be referred to in the Journal for October 1932.

In conclusion, we beg to express our gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, His Highness the Maharaja's Government and to the Government of India for their continued support and their generous sympathy with the objects of the Society.

* * *

Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao proposing and Mr. M. Venkatesa Iyengar seconding, the Report was duly adopted.

Prof. F. R. Sell, in proposing Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao for re-election as the President of the Society, referred in highly appreciative terms to the learning and scholarship of Mr. Shama Rao and said that a worthier President for the Society was hard to find. The proposition, on being ably seconded by Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar, was carried with acclamation.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao and seconded by Mr. D. Venkatramiah, the following gentlemen were unanimously elected to the several offices and to the Committee :—

Vice-Presidents :

Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar.

Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar.

Mr. K. Chandy.

Mr. C. S. Doraswami Iyer.

Mr. K. Matthan.

Mr. R. Narasimhachar.

Dr. E. P. Metcalfe.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Joint Secretary :

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan.

Editors :

Prof. F. R. Sell.

Mr. K. Devanathachariar.

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Branch Secretaries :

For Ethnology :—Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao.

For History :—Rev. Fr. C. Browne.

For Folklore :—Mr. B. Puttaiya.

Committee :

The above and the President *ex-officio* and

Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar.

Dr. R. Shama Sastri.

Mr. N. S. Subba Rao.

Mr. A. R. Wadia.

Dr. M. H. Krishna.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Amidst loud and continued cheers, Dr. Metcalfe then rose and delivered the following interesting and instructive address :—

I must felicitate the Mythic Society on the completion of yet another year of active life and on the flourishing condition disclosed in the Report just read; and this in the face of external depressions which, in the case of the Society, seem to be reflected chiefly in a diminution in the assistance given to it by the Government. However, in spite of this circumstance and in spite also of some apparent difficulty in realizing subscriptions, the health of the Society seems to be thoroughly sound, reflecting much credit on those to whom the management of its affairs has

been entrusted. It is a matter for congratulation that the Society has not merely survived the uncertainties and dangers which commonly beset the early life of such associations, but has steadily maintained its vigour and increased its reputation.

The Mythic Society was founded some twenty years ago in a very modest way. The original plan, as I remember it, was to form a kind of study circle, to meet quite informally at members' homes, in rotation, to discuss Indian folk-lore and manners and customs. The idea speedily developed far beyond this primitive intention; and by the efforts of keen and highly competent scholars like Mr. F. J. Richards, the late Father Tabard (who was of such personality in the antiquarian world that he may be said at one time to have been *himself* the Mythic Society), my old friend Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and others, the Society was formed under its present somewhat ambiguous name. Later, obtaining a local habitation in this Hall and accumulating reputation and recognition at the hands of distinguished personages and bodies, the Society has become securely established; and enjoys the proud position of being one of the two leading antiquarian societies in India.

To be quite candid, my own connection with the Society has been little more than nominal, though I was actually among the founder members. My work and, in consequence, my chief interests have been in other directions; and, beyond reading with much enjoyment the limited portion of the Society's Journal falling within my comprehension, I have hardly shared the full benefits which the Society so freely provides for the instructed. For this reason, I am afraid that I cannot be regarded as an appropriate Chairman for your Annual Meeting. I am none the less grateful to you for giving me the pleasure of presiding on this occasion.

During the last three years, by a turn of fortune, I have come into association in an official capacity with a powerful and active agency of antiquarian research in the Mysore Archæological Department: and my interest in antiquarianism has accordingly been very practically engaged.

This department, which, as many of you are no doubt aware, is now being worked with, and to a large extent by the University, is producing results of great value and interest. The department came to the University with an already established reputation, earned under a succession of distinguished chiefs. It is highly gratifying to me, as the executive head of the University, to find this excellent reputation maintained and even extended under the management of my able colleague, Dr. M. H. Krishna.

By way of including in this address something of antiquarian interest I will give you a very brief account of an outstanding piece of work recently carried to the first stage of completion by the Archæological Department. This will take the form of my own impressions obtained as a result of a flying visit which I made not long ago to the site of one of Dr. Krishna's recent researches.

For the first time in this part of India, the technique of archæological investigation developed abroad by Flinders, Petrie and others has been employed in excavation works carried on by Dr. Krishna near the hill fortress of Chitra Durga, at Chandravalli.

A flat area in that neighbourhood had been noticed by Sir John Marshall as the possible site of an extinct township ; and one or two trial pits had been put down by the Archæological Department with promising results. This work was taken up systematically by Dr. Krishna under the encouragement of my predecessor, Sir B. N. Seal ; and interesting finds began to come to light.

The site adjoins a watercourse, usually dry ; but carrying a considerable rush of water during heavy rain. In consequence, the channel has been deepened by the erosion of the flow and objects such as pottery, tiles, etc., have been found protruding from its side, indicating the probability of a succession of buried habitation levels. The site itself is a large level stretched at the foot of the Chitaldrug mountain from the washed-down detritus of which it has evidently been formed. In this way, of course, the ground level has

gradually risen ; and thus successive horizons containing remains of human occupation have been buried. There seem to be no less than half a dozen of such horizons, each characterized by certain peculiarities. These, undoubtedly, represent successive townships or settlements. The lowest horizon is of the neolithic period, yielding a variety of beautifully fashioned stone implements.

The clay of the neighbourhood is of a quality suitable for the manufacture of pottery and bricks ; and successive inhabitants of the area seem to have taken full advantage of this circumstance. Judging by the really enormous quantity of potsherds on the site—so large as to appear almost to constitute the local geological formation!—the chief interest in life of the people must have centred in the making of earthen vessels. A large number of these, of various shape and quality, either complete or not much broken, have been recovered. By the kindness of Dr. Krishna we have some representative specimens here this evening. These range from objects of humble style and primitive execution to polished, glazed and decorated ware of a much higher standard. I understand that certain important conclusions may be arrived at from the decorative style of some of this work, which has not persisted to the present day in this part of the country. Dr. Krishna will, I hope, tell the Mythic Society more about this at some future date.

I believe that the quality of the pottery found at the different levels does not improve markedly all the way up to the surface. One of the main evidences of a rise in the standard of civilization lies in the substitution of iron implements for neoliths. This is a very obvious indication of improvement and advance and it seems to have occurred at a period represented by the lowest levels. There is, I believe, only one neolithic level yet found ; and geological considerations suggest that the excavations have really reached the bottom habitation level.

Dr. Krishna has photographed a collection of metal objects found in the several levels ; and the photographs are

here for your inspection. You will recognize many familiar shapes which have changed but little down to present times. Strange enough is the conspicuous absence of what is perhaps the most common of the metal objects of the wayside in this iron age, the ubiquitous worn-out bullock shoe. No animal shoes of any sort have been recovered. The question immediately suggests itself of what was the earliest age at which the practice of shoeing horses and draught cattle became prevalent in India.

A remarkable and possibly very important observation made in the course of the excavation is connected with the building bricks found in the different levels. These vary in size and shape. The earliest were the largest. It seems quite likely that careful study of the size and shapes of bricks will enable the investigator to identify the various levels at different points over the field; and perhaps even to extend the identification so as to relate these with levels of the same periods brought to light in future excavations in other places. In fact, the characteristic brick form may perhaps mark and date an archæological level somewhat as special fossil forms indicate a geological level. This, however, is as yet only to be regarded as a brilliant conjecture which, I understand, will be the subject of a careful investigation by Dr. Krishna.

The traces of buildings hitherto discovered at Chandravalli appear, for the most part, to be the remains of bases of dwellings on which mud walls may have been supported. It may be imagined that such mud walls would have perished by being washed down, leaving no identifiable remains. These bases—if they *are* only bases—are very definite and regular. Those found in different levels are not similarly orientated. Is it permissible, I wonder, to deduce from this that breaches of continuity of tradition in the matter of the lay-out of the town occurred between successive periods?—leading to the further inference that each town was entirely demolished in turn. There are evidences of two such complete breaches of continuity.

Finds of coins and clay seals have been made in the various levels, from which some idea of the age of each may be formed. The uppermost level may be about 800 years old: the middle group of levels about 2,000: the lowest neolithic cannot be dated.

In the foregoing description of the work which has been done at Chandravalli, you will easily recognize the touch of the non-expert. It represents merely my own impressions of what I saw and was told on the occasion of one visit. It is for Dr. Krishna to give us a proper discourse on the subject of these researches of his; and I hope that it may be possible to arrange an opportunity for him to do so. My own share in the doings at Chandravalli was to carry out the unwelcome task of determining whether in our present straitened circumstances we could afford to go much further with the excavations. After consulting Dr. Krishna, I came to the conclusion, with which he agreed, that there was but little chance of much more in the way of archæological facts coming to light as a result of further work there; while other sites offered better prospects of more interesting discovery. So it was resolved to close the work at Chandravalli at this stage for the present, utilizing our resources elsewhere.

It must be noted that, interesting as the site at Chandravalli undoubtedly is, it appears quite certain that it has always in past times been occupied by humble folk. It is not to be recommended as suitable for treasure-hunting of a lucrative kind.

Before leaving the subject of Chandravalli, I feel that I cannot omit a reference to a really remarkable epigraphical discovery made by Dr. Krishna in that neighbourhood. This is described in the *Archæological Survey Report* of 1929. The inscription is chiselled on the flat face of a large rock about twenty feet by fifteen. It is very much worn. In fact, the casual observer might easily fail to notice that the faint markings on the rock do compose an inscription. Patient study has led to the deciphering of the first three lines only of the inscription—three lines, however, which yield

information of the greatest importance regarding the territorial division of this part of India during a period of which but little seems to be known, the third century A.D. The lines, which are so pregnant in meaning to the historian, translated are:—This tank was constructed by Mayurasarman of the Kadambas who has defeated Trekuta, Abhira, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sayindaka, Punata and Mokari.

For the full significance of this laconic statement I would refer you to the dozen or so pages, including maps, which are given as a commentary in the *Archæological Survey Report* already mentioned.

It is now time for me to bring my remarks to a close. I must thank the President, Secretary and Committee of the Mythic Society for giving me this opportunity of saying a few words about some of the antiquarian work which is being done under the University. You will, of course, understand that what I have referred to is, after all, but a small part of the achievement of the Archæological Survey Department in recent years. A great deal more has been and is being done also in the fields of epigraphy and numismatics.

The University is also concerned with the management of still another institution devoted to antiquarian research on the literary side, the Oriental Library. Time does not permit of more than the barest reference to the excellent work which is being turned out by the staff of the Oriental Library. To give some idea of the magnitude of the literary task lying before them, I may mention that the Library possesses some ten thousand manuscripts, mostly of the palm-leaf variety, of which barely half have as yet been examined sufficiently closely for the purpose of a descriptive catalogue.

The association of these two research departments confers upon the University a great privilege and a potentiality for cultural development which not every university enjoys. I feel sure that the Mythic Society will view with the greatest sympathy the efforts which are being made by the University through these departments to advance the cause for which the Society itself stands.

In conclusion, I beg to thank the Mythic Society for honouring me by inviting me to preside this evening.

* * *

Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman of the evening in suitable terms which was heartily applauded.

The President of the Society then rose to conclude the Proceedings and expressed his great appreciation for the work of the Society's able and energetic Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya and the Curator Mr. M. Venktesia; and he offered the Society's thanks to them which were accorded with acclamation.

With the garlanding of the Chairman and with three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the meeting terminated.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND
EXPENDITURE

THE MYTHIC
Statement of Receipts and

RECEIPTS					AMOUNT
					Rs. A. P.
1. Opening Balance	..	..	..	..	102 12 6
2. Subscription—					
Resident Members	..	..	..	..	263 10 0
Moffussil Members	..	..	..	..	468 7 0
Life-Members	..	..	..	..	15 0 0
3. Grants—					
Government of Mysore	..	..	..	..	1,721 0 0
Government of India	..	..	..	..	300 0 0
4. Interest and Dividend on Securities			..	..	702 10 0
5. Recoveries from Staff	..	..	..	..	255 0 0
6. Sales	..	..	..	..	265 7 0
7. Hall Charges	..	..	..	..	48 0 0
TOTAL ..					4,141 14 6

Reserve Fund—				At Face Value Rs.
1. Mysore State Loan 6½% Stock	..	..	..	9,850
2. Mysore State Loan 6½% Bonds	..	..	..	200
3. Mysore State Loan 5% Stock	..	..	..	1,500
4. Mysore Bank Share (one)	..	..	..	100
TOTAL ..				11,650

Certified correct.

• T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
Hon. Auditor,

SOCIETY, BANGALORE

Expenditure for the year 1931—32.

PAYMENTS					AMOUNT		
					Rs. A. P.		
1. Establishment—							
Pay of the Staff	..	..	..	..	1,092	0	0
Lighting Charges	..	..	..	..	151	15	0
Bicycle Account	..	..	..	..	37	10	0
Garden	..	..	..	..	103	0	0
Electrical Accessories	..	..	..	..	32	4	0
Premises	..	..	..	..	100	12	0
Furniture	..	..	..	..	61	0	0
2. Journal—							
Printing	..	..	..	..	1,200	0	0
Postage	..	..	..	..	313	5	0
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	48	0	0
3. Library—							
Books Purchased	..	..	..	..	161	13	6
Subscription to Newspapers	..	..	..	..	74	8	0
Book Binding	..	..	..	..	127	12	0
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	41	6	0
4. Advances to Staff	..	..	..	..	162	0	0
5. Mysore Horticultural Society Subscription	..	..	..	..	24	0	0
6. Stationery	..	..	..	..	57	7	6
7. Bank's Charges	..	..	..	..	6	13	0
8. Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	137	11	0
9. Closing Balance	..	..	..	..	208	9	6
TOTAL					4,141	14	6

Details for Closing Balance—

Rs. A. P.

1. In the Bank of Mysore	..	..	..	198	4	9
2. With the Curator	..	..	..	0	14	7
3. With the Branch Secretaries..	..	..	..	9	6	2
TOTAL				208	9	6

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

AMONG the dynasties of Southern India which arose and played an important part during the centuries following the battle of Tālīkōṭa, that of the Waḍeyars of Mysore claims our foremost attention. For, while many a dynasty contemporaneous with the Waḍeyars is now effete, the latter are yet ruling Mysore preserving and propagating all that is good and noble in Hindu culture. The two centuries after Tālīkōṭa formed the most significant period in the history of Kārṇāṭaka in general and Mysore in particular, when the Waḍeyar dynasty gradually emerged into the fuller limelight of history, attracted the attention of their contemporaries and evolved a system of government which formed the basis of all later developments. In the following pages, an attempt is made to deal with this subject from the available sources with special reference to (1) polity, (2) economic system, (3) general culture, and (4) some considerations in the light of recent criticisms.

I. Polity.

Early Conditions.—Inscriptions and other sources indicate that Mysore during the period 1565-1610 was one of the tiny principalities subordinate to the Vijayanagar Emperor through the Viceroy (Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara) of Seringapatam (Śīrangapatṇa). The term *sīma*—meaning a territory comprising a congeries of villages—appears to have been applied to Mysore in the same way as it was to other principalities, each of which was generally in a state of war with others and seeking the aid of the Viceroy to destroy the aggressive neighbour—particularly Mysore. If the Viceroy was mature and tactful like Rāmarājayya, he could overawe opposition and strive to ensure peace in the territories under his control; if, however, he were young and inexperienced like Tirumala,

he would easily play himself into the hands of the commander-in-chief and the chieftains and, instead of putting an end to the forces of disorder, would court his own ruin at the hands of the most powerful and enterprising chieftain.¹

The position of each chieftain or Pallegar was, in theory, analogous to that of the feudal vassal of mediæval Europe: He had to render allegiance to his liege lord, the Viceroy of Seringapatam, to pay him the annual tribute and, in many cases, to contribute his quota of forces—men, horses and elephants—to the imperial army, especially in times of war. So far as Mysore was concerned, however, her chieftain appears to have generally evaded payment of tribute and was always trying to shake off the imperial yoke on some pretext or other, partly by strengthening his position by means of forts and partly by a policy of systematic encroachments on his neighbours. This attitude fructified under Rāja Wāḍeyar (1578-1617) who by 1608 became master of a principality of 'thirty-three villages yielding 25,000 varahas per year'; and began an important epoch in the history of Mysore by his acquisition of Seringapatam from Tirumala in 1610.²

Later Developments (1610-1761)

The King.—The king (*rāja*) was the executive head of the administration. Rāja Wāḍeyar and his successors—down to Devarāja Wāḍeyar were, in theory, subordinate to the Vijayanagar Emperor even after the acquisition of Seringapatam but, in practice, they were independent, as inscriptions testify. The later rulers completely shook off even the semblance of imperial authority since after 1665 the Empire became politically extinct.

¹ Vide the writer's *Source Book of Karnāṭaka History: Mysore under the Wāḍeyars* (Compiled for the Mysore University, 1929) (*Unpublished*). Also the writer's article *Rāja Wāḍeyar and his Successors* (Sec. I) in the *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, Vol. IV (2); *E.C.*, 4 (2); Ch. 23; 3 (1) Nj. 141; *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 52, etc. (for *sime*).

² *Mackenzie Collections* (Madras Oriental MSS. Library): Puttiah's *Mysūru Dhoragaḷa Pūrvābhyaḍaya Vīvara* (ff. 3-7) (*Kaḍitam*); also, *Mysūru Samsthānaḍa Vamśa Pārampare Kaiḥiyat* (ff. 2-6) (MS. in the Mys. Archl. office).

Kingship was hereditary. Generally the ruler belonged to the elder or senior line of the Royal House inaugurated by Rāja Waḍeyar (1617-37).³ Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar (1637-38) and Kanthīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar (1638-59) successively came of the senior line. However, in case of failure of issue in that line, recourse was had to adoption of an heir from the junior. Thus Devarāja Waḍeyar (1659-73), a son of Muppina Devarāja Waḍeyar (step-brother of Rāja Waḍeyar), was adopted and chosen as ruler by Kanthīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar. Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704), the successor of Devarāja, likewise belonged to the junior line. This distinction, however, faded under Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I (1714-32) who, on failure of issue, successively adopted Chāmarāja (1732-34) and Krishṇarāja (afterwards Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II, 1734-66) who belonged to *arasu* families of good social standing, namely, the Ankanahalli and Chikkanahalli families respectively.

The power and prestige of the king, from 1610 down to the close of Chikkadevarāja's reign were really enormous and hence the rulers of the period have been aptly called 'Makers of Modern Mysore'. The decadence and retrogression in royal authority after 1704 were responsible for the *interregnum* of 1761, as already pointed out.

The ancient ideals of kingship were closely observed. The interests of the ruler and the ruled were held identical. In this connection, the dictum 'as is the king, so are the subjects' (*yathā rāja tathā prajāḥ*) was very well put into practice. Punishment of the wicked and protection of the good, were, as ever, the foremost of the king's duties (*dushṭa nigrāha śiṣṭa paripālanam*). Kingly power was based on service to Gods and Brahmins (*deva brāhmaṇa pūjārtham sāmrajyam pratipālayan*).⁴ The theocratic ideal of kingship was prominent in the minds of the rulers at first. The idea of kingship as a contract between the

³ *Vide* the writer's article on *Devarāja Waḍeyar* (Sec. I), *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (1).

⁴ *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 151; also, TN, 62; SR. 103; XII KG, 37, etc.

ruler and the ruled gathers increasing importance under Chikkadevarāja and his successors who, however, paid due regard to the earlier traditions as well. The general character of the king and his solicitude for the welfare of the people are borne out by a classic passage⁵ referring to the admonition of Doḍḍa Devarāja to his brother Devarāja on the eve of the latter's coronation. Thus runs the thought, "Dear brother, by virtue of your qualities, an ornament to the race of Yadu, all the subjects are pleased with you. I have transferred my burden to you. Henceforward you should rule the country. All glories having been attained by me, the results of my previous deeds have borne fruit. The family gods have favoured me. How happy indeed are the subjects ! You have mastered all *śāstras* and are practising what is laid down therein. By the force of my affection towards you, I would advise you to attend to the service of Gods and Brahmins, without caring too much for your own welfare. You must protect the subjects by showing them parental kindness and mercy. By so doing, your prosperity, wealth and fame will increase." Devarāja,⁶ we are told, divided his kingdom into four parts, giving the first to the Brahmins, the second to the Gods, the third to charity, and retaining the fourth for his own use. He is also said to have ruled the country in accordance with the precepts of Smṛti (*smṛtyukta dharma-dindāḍu*). The deep religious significance of the ideals of kingship is further borne out by the vast body of literary and epigraphical records of the period.

The Crown Prince.—With the growth of the kingdom, the Crown Prince (*Yuvarāja*) became an important element in the polity. Special attention was paid towards his education. Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar I, son of Beṭṭada-chāmarāja Waḍeyar, we are told,⁷ was educated in all branches of learning, along with Nanjarāja and Lingarāja (afterwards the commanders-in-chief of his reign), by Brahmin

⁵ *Chikkadevarāja Vamśāvali*, pp. 169—170.

⁶ *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 54 ; also *E.C.*, III (1) ; SR. 14.

⁷ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. IV, 84-86 (*vv*).

teachers and received excellent training in horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery and the use of several kinds of weapons of offence and defence. Aḷahisingarārya⁸ was the preceptor of Chikkadevarāja and the latter was taught along with Tirumalārya (son of Aḷahisingarārya) who later became his minister. The items of the prince's education included, among others, training in swordsmanship, archery, horse and elephant riding, philosophy, dharmaśāstras, dandanīti (the science of politics), drama, rhetoric and language—in all of which Chikkadevarāja is stated to have become proficient.

As Crown Prince (*Yūvarāja*), Chikkadevarāja was of considerable assistance to his uncle Devarāja Wāḍeyar in the latter's southern campaigns. Sometimes, the Crown Prince acted as a joint ruler also. Kanthirava Arasu, brother of Chikkadevarāja, ruled the patrimony of Mysore along with Devarāja Wāḍeyar, especially after the confinement of Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar.⁹ In later times, as the influence of the king dwindled, the habit of associating the Crown Prince in the civil and military administration of the country was discontinued, and in its place arose the system of regency.¹⁰

The Council.—In the administration of the country, the King was assisted by a council (*Mantrālōchana Sabhā*) after the traditional manner. The composition and character of the council varied. The earliest reference to it is in the reign of Rāja Wāḍeyar. We note his brothers Beṭṭadachāmarāja Wāḍeyar, Chennarāja and Devarājarasa forming an advisory council to meet exigencies especially in connection with the acquisition of Seringapatam.¹¹ Though under Rāja Wāḍeyar's successors there does not seem to have been any regular council, yet there is enough data at hand to hold that in his administration the King was assisted by the commander-in-chief (*Daḷavoy*) and the minister (*Mantri*).

⁸ *C. Vamsāvali*, p. 155; also colophon to *Commentary on the Mahābhārata*.

⁹ *Vide* f.n. 3, (*op. cit.*, Sec. 3).

¹⁰ *Palace History*, pp. 183-88.

¹¹ *Vide* f.n. 8, *supra*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Thus Chāmarāja had a minister by name Govindayya.¹² Timmarasa¹³ was the minister of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar, and he appears to have continued in office down to the reign of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar. The King's personality, however, counted for much during this period since conquest and annexation of neighbouring territories formed the key-note of the policy of the rulers. But with the commencement of Chikkadevarāja's reign, conditions had become complex. Numerous conquests had been made in all directions while others were yet in progress. The need for consolidation of these conquests was keenly felt by Chikkadevarāja. Accordingly, we notice the revival of the council to help him in his administrative measures.

The council thus revived consisted of Yelandur Pandit (well known as Viśālāksha Pandit), Tirumala Iyengar (Tirumalārya), Shaḍaksharayya, Chikkupādhyāya and Karāṇika Lingaṇṇayya—men of varied accomplishments and representatives of Jaina, Brahmanical and Veeraśaiva religions. Of these councillors we have some interesting details.¹⁴ Viśālāksha Pandit was the son of Bommarasa by Summāmbikā. He was an expert in all sciences and in Jaina philosophy and religion. He is referred to as the foremost minister of Chikkadevarāja. He was well known for his economy of words, intelligence and extraordinary virtues. He is said to

¹² *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, p. 23.

¹³ *Vide f.n. 7, supra, op. cit.*, Ch. 25, v. 84.

¹⁴ *Ananta Kavi, Beḷagoḷada Gommateśvara Charitre* (MS., *K.A.*, 202, in the Mysore Oriental Library), pp. 100-09:

Bommarasana sati summāmbikēya garbhadoḷu... Viśālāksha Paṇḍitanemba... sirivantanoḡeda | Ōḍiḍa sakala sāstra... āḍiya Sri Jinamatakeneyillendu... || Chikkadevarājarasage mantriyaḍanu... mantri kulāgraṇi nitavāṇi jāṇaniṁ sadguṇa maṇimāni mahāmātyam... | Tannarasina rāṇyadoḷuḷḷa jinaḡyavanuḍḍharisi... beḷagoḷatirthadoḷu... | arhanmatake kaṇṭakarāḡirutirḍa nereḷāshanda varḡavanu | dhoreyinda negotti nishkaṇṭakadiravudōruva... | ḍeva dōrbalige... sale śaka sāviradaru (āru) nūrāḡirḍa Naḷa samvatsarada Phālguṇada | beḷu pakshaddēkāḍiyoḷaḡabhiḷeka... || bandudu baḡuvastu dikkudikkugaḷinda... mandaisi kūḡitu paṛishe mastaka puḷe chandadinda... ||

(This is a MS. of 149 pages. The verses are not numbered in the MS. This Kannada work was written about 1780.)

have promoted the interests of his religion by erecting and conserving Jaina monuments in the country—particularly at Śravaṇabelagoḷa, and by overcoming with the king's help the opponents of the religion of Arhat. In 1679 the Mastakapūjā to Dorbali at Śravaṇabelagoḷa was performed with great *éclat* under his guidance. In a grant¹⁵, dated 1685, by Chikkadevarāja, he is referred to as 'Doḍḍa Paṇḍita of Yeḷavandur'. His influence at the court of Mysore appears to have waned after this date and, according to Wilks, his death was brought about by his enemies on sectarian grounds. Tirumalārya, the next important minister, was the son of Aḷahiyasingarārya, the friend and councillor of Doḍḍadevarāja and the preceptor of Chikkadevarāja. He is celebrated as the author of prose and poetical works as also of some Sanskrit inscriptions of the reign and is referred to as the most important adviser of the king in all matters. He is¹⁶ stated to have been 'like Bṛhaspati in the council of Chikkadevarāja', Shaḍaksharayya, also known as Shaḍaksharideva, was the great Veeraśaiva poet of Chikkadevarāja's court. Chikku-pādhyaḃya was the other Brahmin minister of Chikkadevarāja and is famous as a poet also. Lingaṇṇayya was another important Brahmin councillor and vakīl of the king, and is said to have led an embassy to the court of Aurangzeb about 1700.

The council was entirely subordinate to the king, being purely an advisory body. Under the successors of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar, the council of ministers became more and more powerful and evolved as the actual administrative body. Thus, we note¹⁷, 'during the reign of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I, the king's personality and influence hardly made themselves felt, especially in the administration of the country. All power was actually exercised by the king's two relatives Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya and Daḷavoy Devarājayya. Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, successor of Krishṇarāja I, chose his

¹⁵ *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 41.

¹⁶ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26.

¹⁷ *Palace History*, p. 182.

own councillors, Vīra Setṭi, Gōpināthiah, Kanṭhiravayya, Kaḍur Chikkayya, Nāraṇappa and Śivanappa, by removing the old councillors. Yet the latter who were very powerful turned traitors, deposed the king and inaugurated their own rule. Under Krishṇarāja II, Venkaṭapathi, the chief Brahmin minister, and Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya were prominent personalities in the administration of the country, being assisted by Daḷavoy Devarājayya, Karāchūri Nanjarājayya, Hyder Ali, Dewan Khande Rao and Chennappayya. The bickerings among these ultimately led to the rise of Hyder Ali who became the *de facto* ruler of Mysore in 1761 as already pointed out.

The Commander-in-Chief.—Next to the King, the most important element in the polity was the commander-in-chief (*Daḷavoy*). The circumstances connected with the origin of this office in Mysore are very interesting: "Shortly after his acquisition of Seringapatam," thus runs a version¹⁸, "Rāja Waḍeyar, addressing his councillors, said, 'if we want to extend our territory, our army is not quite sufficient. If we increase the numerical strength of the army, we shall at the same time, have to look to the proper administration of the same by an honest commander-in-chief. Māra Nāyaka, the Daḷavoy at the time of our ancestor Yadu Rāja, was killed because he fell into evil ways. Since then none of our ancestors appointed a *Daḷavoy*.' Thus deliberating, Rāja Waḍeyar appointed Karikāla Mallarājayya, his nephew, as commander-in-chief. The latter, having accepted office, went to Kaḷale saying he would return; but since he did not do so and since, instead, he sent back the insignia of his office, Beṭṭada Arasu, a son of Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (brother of Rāja Waḍeyar) was appointed to the place. Thus continued the office from Rāja Waḍeyar's time." Another version¹⁹ runs thus, "After Tirumala left Seringapatam to Mālingi, the Chief of Ummattur proceeded against Seringapatam assisted by the surrounding pallegars. Rāja Waḍeyar, however, had little force to cope with the situation. He

¹⁸ *Palace History*, p. 54.

¹⁹ *The Kaiḷyāt*, ff. 7-8.

therefore, sought the assistance of his nephew Karikāla Mallarājayya, Chief of Kaḷale 40,000 country, took oaths from him in front of the Chāmunḍeśvari temple and arranged that henceforward Rāja Waḍeyar's descendants should rule Seringapatam, Mysore, Kaḷale and other territories annexed from time to time, while the descendants of Kaḷale Mallarājayya should be Sarvādhikāri (chief ministerial officer) and commander-in-chief. A bhāshā patra (deed of promise) to this effect was drawn up. In 1616 Nandi Nāthayya, son of Mallarājayya, was entrusted with the office of Daḷavoy." Thus, however much the versions may differ, it would be fair to hold that (1) the institution of the office of commander-in-chief was due to the necessity of self-preservation of Mysore against hostile neighbours, (2) it was the outcome of a compact between the Mysore Royal House and the Kaḷale House, and (3) the first commander-in-chief from Rāja Waḍeyar's time was Karikāla Mallarājayya.

In general, the commander-in-chief was directly subordinate to the king and had to carry out the latter's behests to the strict letter. He was not only in charge of the army but wielded considerable influence over general administration as the king's right-hand man. The ambition of the commander-in-chief to be foremost in the administration sometimes led him to plot against the king and was the cause of his dismissal. Thus Beṭṭada Arasu's intrigues to kill Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, grandson of Rāja Waḍeyar, resulted in the loss of his eyes and confinement. Daḷavoy Vikrama Rāya lost his office under similar circumstances during the reign of Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar. Old age, inefficiency and disloyalty also involved loss of office, as in the cases of Daḷavoy's Timmappa, Hamparājayya and Dāsarājayya in Kanṭhīrava's reign. In Devarāja's reign, Hamparājayya, who had been reinstated, was removed from service as he had defrauded the state revenues (1661). The short tenure of office varying generally from three to five years was, however, an effective check on corruption and misrule.²⁰

²⁰ *Vide f.n. 18, op. cit., pp. 64, 81-82, 114, 133, etc.*

There were often close relations between the Royal Family and the Daḷavoy Family. Thus Dāsarājayya, one of the Daḷavoys of Kanṭhīrava, was the latter's father-in-law. Nanjarājayya and Lingarājayya of Hura, the famous Daḷavoys of Kanṭhīravā, were related to him on his mother's side.²¹ Really capable Daḷavoys like them stood the king in good stead and worked heart and soul to bring name and fame to their master. In fine, but for the Daḷavoy it would have been impossible for Mysore to attain political greatness, however capable the rulers might have been themselves. Sometimes, the Crown Prince was chosen as a general to provide him opportunities of military practice, as in the case of Chikkadevarāja in Devarāja's reign.

The Daḷavoys were often allowed to make grants independently of the King. Thus Chāmappa, Daḷavoy of Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, made a grant²² for the merit of the latter on a lunar eclipse in 1620. In 1654 we have a grant²³ of lands to God Nrisimha by Daḷavoy Lingarājayya, son of Mādhava Nāyaka, Lord of Hura, during the reign of Kanṭhīrava I. Sometimes, the consent of the Daḷavoy was obtained by the King in making grants, as in the case of erection of a maṭha in Kaḷale and the grant of two villages by Devājamma during the reign of Devarāja Waḍeyar, and in the case of a charity by the same donor.²⁴ It is specifically stated in these records that Daḷavoy Nanjanāthayya consented to these grants. These instances clearly indicate the close co-operation between the King and the Daḷavoy in the civil government of the country.

Under the successors of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar, the commander-in-chief gradually became independent even as the councillors, on account of the weakness of the Kings. Ultimately, he became the foremost arbiter in the destiny of the kingdom. Daḷavoy Devarājayya and Karāchūri

²¹ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 3, v. 13 and Ch. 4, vv. 76-77.

²² *E. C.*, III (i) SR. 36.

²³ *E. C.*, IV (ii) Hg. 49.

²⁴ *E. C.*, III (i) Nj. 81 and 56 (1662).

Nanjarājayya are instances in point. They played a prominent part not only in the conquests and annexations but also in the administration of the country thoroughly eclipsing the influence of the King.

The Army and Ethics of Warfare.—In a kingdom like Mysore surrounded by hostile neighbours, self-preservation was, as we have seen, the key-note of progress. The idea of struggle and survival of the fittest in the complex political conditions of the century following the battle of Tālikoṭa, is nowhere so well borne out as in the case of Mysore. The key to the success of Mysore is to be sought in the organization and maintenance of the army.²⁵

At first, apart from a few warriors, elephants and horses in the personal service of the King, there does not appear to have existed a regular standing army. In times of emergency the Chief relied on the quota of forces sent by the allied pallegars (as for instance, those of Kaḷale, Biḷugali, Biḷikere, Hura, Hullahaḷli, Mūgūr and other places). A special feature of the army thus recruited was that it was trained and commanded by experienced haḷe-paika nāyakas (a type of commanders of the *haḷe-paika* community) under the guidance of the Chief. The system of militia was also in vogue and was of much use to Rāja Waḍeyar and his brothers not only during the siege of Kesare by Tirumala, but also in the conquest of Seringapatam in 1610.

A regular standing army with a commander-in-chief (Daḷavoy) was brought into being by Rāja Waḍeyar after 1610, as already pointed out. This army under him and his successors usually consisted of infantry, cavalry, elephants and camels, and was composed of heterogeneous elements since it was to a great extent supplemented by the quota of forces contributed by the subdued pallegars and the heads of local administrative units (*Maṇḍalikas and Nāyakas*).²⁶ We

²⁵ Vide Exts. from *C. Vamśāvali and K. N. Vijayam* (pp. 16-17; 38-46) (Ch. 3) for the earliest references to military matters.

²⁶ Vide the writer's article on *Kanṭhava Narasārāja Waḍeyar* (Sec. 1), in the *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (2); also *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 25 (for the names).

have reference²⁷ to the existence in Seringapatam of horse stables (containing horses captured from the hostile chiefs of Madura, Belur and Narasimhapura), elephant stables (with elephants captured from the Nāyaka of Madura, the Changanvala, the Telugu chieftains, and those sent as tribute by the chiefs of Koḍagu, Konkana, Kongu and Maleyāḷa) and streets wherein resided drummers, trumpeters, buglers, torch-bearers, expert mahouts, camel riders, foot soldiers (infantry) and horsemen (cavalry); during the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasārāja Wāḍeyar I. The hale-paika warriors, an important military class from Rāja Wāḍeyar's time, constituted an element in Kanṭhīrava's army, and so too the spies and news-carriers (*Chāraru*, *Bēhinavarū*).²⁸ Their service in times of war was remarkable.

The army thus organized continued down to the middle of the eighteenth century playing an important part in preserving the political independence and integrity of the kingdom of Mysore. Its exact numerical strength under the different rulers is not known but enough data is at hand to prove its efficiency and varying degrees of success in the wars of the period. In the middle of the reign of Krishṇarāja Wāḍeyar II, the Mysore army gained a reputation by coming into contact with the English army under Lawrence and Clive during the Carnatic War of succession (1750-52).²⁹ By 1758, the army became the most important factor in the government of Mysore, being ultimately used by Hyder Ali for the subversion of the old regime (1761). There is reference to the enlistment of Europeans (*parangis*) and Kāfirs in the Mysore army, in a record³⁰ of 1758, testifying to the wider outlook of the military and its adaptability to the changing conditions of the times in India.

Details as to the conditions of recruitment, pay and prospects of the forces under the rulers are lacking, though,

²⁷ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 6, vv. 25-31; Ch. 7, vv. 57-60. Chariots, the use of which appears to have been rare, are referred to in a record of 1685 (*E.C.* III (1) ML. 61).

²⁸ *Vide* f.n. 26, *supra*.

²⁹ Malleon, *Clive*, pp. 54-68.

³⁰ *E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 267.

as is natural to expect, the Daḷavoy was held responsible to the King in these matters. It is possible that the details were left to the local heads for being worked out and the commander-in-chief exercised a check or control over them. In the sixties of the eighteenth century we have reference³¹ to the assignment of districts to the commander-in-chief to meet military expenditure out of their revenues. Of the heads of expenditure specified, the following were the most important: adjustments (*tiddu*), final settlements (*tīrpu*), maintenance of the trooper's list (*lāvāṇa*) and pay of horses and men.

In the earlier period under Rāja Waḍeyar and his successors the system of fighting with swords, arrows, lances and sharp knives was much in vogue. Swordsmanship was an important subject of military training. Lathies were freely employed in war, especially by the local militia. Recourse was also had to the use of crackers and slings and burning oil. Convoys to the enemy's camp were frequently cut off, and 'fierce oxen carrying bundles of grass' were used to plunder their baggage.³²

The use of guns³³ (*Śataghni*, *Pirangi*) and gunpowder (*Maddu*) was well known in Mysore as early as the forties of the seventeenth century. We have an interesting list of names³⁴ of guns in the time of Kanṭhīrava Narasārāja Waḍeyar. Similarly, we have names³⁵ of weapons and crackers—all stored near the ramparts of the capital in readiness for war. The armoury (*Alaginachāvaḍi*, *Āyudhasāle*) was an important

³¹ *Ibid.* f.n. 30.

³² *Ibid.*, 25.

³³ *Ibid.*, *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 6, vv. 15-12; also *Pirangi Maṭha* (institution for storing cannons) (*vide E.C.*, V (1) CN. 160 of 1648).

³⁴ *Ibid.* 33 *supra* *Rāmaḥāṇa*, *Bhūtanātha*, *Laṅkeya nīrdhāma dhūma*, *Hanumanṭa*, *Chāmunḍi*, *Siḍḍila jaṅguli*, *Mēghanāḍa*, *Kōḷe kōlāhala*, *Kalivīra-bhadra*, *Lūtiya Raṇa Bhairava*, *Mīṭina Ranganātha*, etc. The names are significant based as they are on the idea of invoking the mighty powers for success in war. They are also in keeping with the traditions of the country.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Tridents (*Triśūla*), slings (*Kavaṇe*), saws, sharp stones, springed, sharp steel weapons; *Chēḷubāṇa*, *Uripottana*, *Gundugal*, etc. The use of poisonous crackers was general throughout the seventeenth century wars in Mysore.

institution brought into being by Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1617-37), and was enlarged and well equipped under Kanṭhīrava and his successors. It is said to have contained in it varieties of weapons used in warfare and particularly those captured from the enemies. Special attention was paid to the maintenance and repair of forts on efficient lines under the rulers.

A peculiar feature of warfare was the mutilation of noses of the enemies.³⁶ Its origin is traced to the time of Rāja Waḍeyar who early in his reign is said to have taught a lesson to the chief of Kārugahaḷḷi (a neighbouring Pallegar who proceeded against him) by removing his nose and curbing his power³⁷. The custom was freely made use of by the Mysore army throughout the wars of the seventeenth century. It was apparently based on a notion that in offensive and defensive warfare the opponents were to be taught a bitter experience with a view to prevent them from opposing again the Mysore army. Another important feature of warfare was³⁸ the use of torches tied to the horns of oxen (of the transport service) in night times to scare away the enemy in abrupt action. We have one such instance in 1697 when the Maratha auxiliaries under Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat were repulsed with great slaughter and loss by Dodḍayya, son of Daḷavoy Komārāyya of the Mysore army.³⁹

³⁶ Vide the writer's note in his article on *Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar* (Sec. 1), *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (2).

³⁷ Timmakavi, *Paṣchimarangakshetra Māhātmya*, Introduction, v. 32 (MS. in the Mysore Oriental Library).

Rājanyāpam Kārugahaḷḷi yāṇmana niraḍāhavadolḥ bhangisi mūgam tavakade chammaṭike voylinim khaṇḍisidam.

Vide also: *Yāduvagiri Māhātmya* (Introduction), etc., (17th Century Works) for similar statements.

It is curious that later inscriptions refer only to the curbing of the power of Kārugahaḷḷi Chief by Rāja Waḍeyar who is stated to have 'horse-whipped him' (*vide M. A. R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7, Inscr., dated 1674; SR., 14 of 1686 etc.). And it is interesting to note, according to *Mysūru Rājara Charitre* by Venkaṭaramaṇayya, that the custom of mutilation of noses was followed as a matter of policy by the Mysore army since Rāja Waḍeyar's time (*vide fol. 42*).

³⁸ *Palace History*, pp. 128-132.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, also Wilks' *Mysore* I, pp. 95-96.

Prayers were offered for⁴⁰ success in war, which was, again, accompanied by religious ceremonies and offerings forming the occasion for public rejoicings.⁴¹ Belief in the efficacy of dying a soldier's death on the battle field was universal.

Certain features of warfare depicted above, however repugnant to modern notions, were justified by the conditions of the times. The end justified the means and the end in view was the emergence and evolution of an independent and powerful kingdom and the maintenance of the same as a relic of the Hindu traditions of Vijayanagar. Even apart from those features, the Mysore army of the period has an abiding claim to the gratitude of posterity for its energy and whole-hearted devotion to its leader and its excellent discipline which left their mark on every action of the time and attracted the attention of contemporary powers.

Civil Officers.—The details of civil administration were carried out by officers under the control of the executive head. Under Rāja Waḍeyar, the Karaṇika⁴² (revenue accountant) was an important officer and he appears to have been in charge of temple administration also. The treasury (*Kōśa*, *Bokhasa*) was acquired by Rāja Waḍeyar from Tirumala and its existence in Seringapatam is further borne out by a record of 1623.⁴³ A similar official appears to have been in charge of it. Tax collectors for the collection of land revenue and other dues under the Pallegar system, and accountants for keeping regular accounts were appointed under Rāja Waḍeyar and strict regulations are recorded to have been made for the peaceful administration of the country which was entrusted to thāṇādārs (officers in charge of civil and military administration of divisions), hōbaḷidārs (chiefs of armed peons in local areas), ōlekārs (letter carriers) and other officials.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *E. C.*, XII, Kg. 46.

⁴¹ *K. N. Vijayan*, Ch. 15; *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 198; SR. 103, etc.

⁴² *Mackenzie Collections* (Inscr. of 1609), (Madras Oriental MSS. Library) MS., 18-15-20, fol. 23-24 (*vide: Source Book*, Sec. III.)

⁴³ *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 62.

⁴⁴ *Palace History*, p. 54.

Under Kanṭhīrava I we have an interesting array of officers—civil and military, serving him. The military officers were mostly chieftains of several places under the control of the King. Of the civil officers, the following were the most important.⁴⁵ Linge Gowḍa, the Mayor of Seringapatam (*Paṭṭanada adhikāri*), Basaviah, the treasury officer (*Bokkasada Basaviah*), Viranṇa, the head of the avasarada hōbli department (dealing with urgent calls of the Palace), Venkaṭappa Jeṭṭi, the officer in charge of ornaments (*Ābharana*), Lappavarasa, the King's accountant or financier (*Rājya lekha baredōduva Lappavarasa*), Narasimha Upādhyāya, the expert scribe (*Rāyasa jāṇa*). Besides the Karaṇika and the councillors there was an officer in charge of the mint also, since Kanṭhīrava was the first to establish it in his capital, in proof of his independence. Under Chikkadevarāja, Anṇiah, son of Javana Seṭṭi, a Jaina, was the officer in charge of the mint and treasury. It is said that he performed his duties conscientiously and was favoured by his master being allowed to construct a pond in Śravaṇabelagoḷa. He remained in office as late as the reign of Krishṇarāja I and is said to have worked well for him and attained glory. He too like Viśālāksha Pandit took much interest in the advancement of his religion.⁴⁶

The officers were directly responsible to the King and their position and importance increased with the reforms introduced by Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar in the administration of Mysore.

Local Government.—The most important centre of local government was the gaḍi (corresponding to a modern Taluk), the village being a unit thereof. Each gaḍi was at first in charge of a chieftain or Paḷlegar who was the military and civil head of the division responsible to the central government.

⁴⁵ *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 25, vv. 56, 74, 76, 77, 82 and 85.

⁴⁶ *Beḷagoḷada Gommatēsvara Charitre*, op. cit. .. Anṇiah jīnapadabhakta tenkasāle .. ādhipatyava .. Chikkadevarājyava bokkasagaḷanu | āyāsagoḷade tumbisi avanolaḡatipriyamānasanaḡiralu .. beḷagoḷadim .. eradu giriya madhyadi kalyāṇiya virachisi ..

He had to pay tribute, attend the King's durbar and help him with his quota of men and horse in times of war.⁴⁷ Later the *Subādār*, *Thāṇādār*, *Gurikārs*, *Senabhovas* and *Gauḍas* were appointed and distributed over the local units, being made responsible for collection of taxes and preservation of local peace. These officials were subject to the control of the central government through the head of the *Gaḍi*. A record⁴⁸ of 1677 relates to the re-instatement in office of a *shānubhog* by name Venkaṭapathiah, son of Baira Hebbāruva after an enquiry into an allegation made against him by his enemy. The order is conveyed to him through Hampayya, the head of the *Gaḍi* of Arakalgud. The importance of local officers and their duties underwent changes under the reforms introduced by Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar.

In important places in the interior of the country and in newly acquired tracts or in frontier posts, the administration was entrusted to an agent (*kārya-karta*), responsible to the central government. Thus under Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, Basava Linganna,⁴⁹ son of Kempa Waḍeyar, was agent for the King's affairs at Talkād. Doḍḍayya, lord of Kānikāranahalli (Kankanhalli) was an agent⁵⁰ of Kanṭhirava I, at Channarāyapaṭṭana. Koṭṭūrayya⁵¹ was his agent at Sāligrama. Under Chikkadevarāja, Siddarājayya of Talkad was the King's agent in Kuṇigal⁵², and there is reference in an inscription to the construction by him of a large gate named 'Mysore Gate' (1674). In Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II's reign we have

⁴⁷ *Vide*, f.n. 44 *supra*. The *subādār* was the civil and military head of the local unit of a *Gaḍi*. The *Thāṇādār* was his subordinate. *Gurikārs* were headmen of local establishment of armed retainers. *Senabhovas* were village accountants (*cf.* *Shānubhog*). *Gauḍas* were heads of villages. The import of the first two official designations (*Subādār* and *Thāṇādār*) appears to have taken place in the time of Kanṭhirava I, who first came into contact with the Muhammadans of Bijapur and the Marathas in their service (1638-59).

⁴⁸ *E.C.*, V (1), Ag. 2.

⁴⁹ *E.C.*, III (1), TN. 13 of 1633.

⁵⁰ *E.C.*, V (1), CN. 160 of 1648.

⁵¹ *E.C.*, V (1), CN. 185 of 1650.

⁵² *E.C.*, XII, KG, 7 of 1674.

another instance. Rāmappa was the agent⁵³ for the affairs of the King in Kaṇimbala (in Bowringpet hobli). It is interesting to note that he made a grant independently 'with a request to future kings for the maintenance' of the same. We may also note that Hyder Ali himself was an important agent⁵⁴ of Krishṇarāja Wāḍeyar II, from 1758 onwards, and retained the title (*Kārya karta*) even⁵⁵ after his assumption of supremacy over the administration of Mysore.

Administrative Measures.—The Palḷegar system was the distinct feature of administration in Mysore under Rāja Wāḍeyar and his successors down to Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar since conquest and annexation of territories formed the main activities of the rulers. As *de facto* Viceroys (*Kārya karta*) of Seringapatam they followed the Vijayanagar traditions with modifications to suit the needs of a growing kingdom. Rāja Wāḍeyar reorganized the system of administration by appointing new officers and laying down rules and regulations for the collection of taxes and for the peaceful administration of the country, as already referred to. His successor Chāmarāja Wāḍeyar went a step further in carefully grouping villages under the respective hoblis (sub-divisions) of the gaḍi. Kanṭhīrava I settled the land revenue in the territories annexed by him from the Palḷegars, according to the status and condition of each territory or locality; and appointed officers to safeguard local interests and facilitate the remittance of revenue collections from the country parts to the central exchequer at Seringapatam. He also paid particular attention to the organization of the treasury and the maintenance of correct accounts of finance.⁵⁶ He reorganized the currency, being the first to establish an independent mint and strike coins (*Kanṭhirōya haṇams*) in 1645.⁵⁷

⁵³ *M.A.R.* 1925, p. 64 (Record of 1741).

⁵⁴ *E.C.*, IV (2), Nj. p. 267.

⁵⁵ *M.A.R.*, 1924, pp. 56-57 (1764); 1921, pp. 57-58 (1764).

⁵⁶ *Palace History*, pp. 54, 70-72, 102-103.

⁵⁷ *Mackenzie Collections*, Madras Oriental MSS. Library, (*kaḍitam*) MS. 18, 15-20, ff. 36-37 (*Vide*, *Source Book*, Sec. III).

Devarāja continued the previous system with slight modifications. He studied thoroughly the character and conduct of the Pallegars and regulated his relations with them. To some he gave jahagirs (rent-free lands), to others joḍi (Inam lands with quit-rent) villages, and from others he arranged to get tribute regularly.⁵⁸ An important feature of his reign was that there was already contact with some elements of the Maratha polity prevailing in the conquered tracts. Thus the reference⁵⁹ among others to Sunka Kārunkonas (Octroi clerks), rāvutas (troopers) and rāṇuves (armed force looking after civil establishment) as being required to make contributions to the treasury of the gaḍi of Kāṇikāraṇahalli (Kankanhalli) for the service of the God of Moḷagāla, is significant indicating as it does the tendency towards the absorption of the foreign elements of polity in the indigenous system.

The administrative measures for which Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar has been so famous were the outcome of the following circumstances: the complete severance of the Vijayanagar yoke by the Mysore Royal House towards the close of Devarāja's reign; the conquest and settlement of most of the local Pallegars; the favourable atmosphere in the country at the time of Chikkadevarāja's accession; and the increasing contact of Mysore with the Marathas, the Deccani Muhammadans and the Moghuls.⁶⁰ The old system of administration which was devised to hold at bay the turbulent Pallegars required thorough overhauling and re-adjustment to meet the problems arising out of the complex conditions of the times. Accordingly, the first fourteen years of Chikkadevarāja's reign were devoted to the establishment of the administrative system on a sound basis.

⁵⁸ *Vide*: f.n. 56, *supra*, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵⁹ *E.C.*, IX. KN., 94 of 1662.

⁶⁰ *Vide* the writer's article *Chikkadevarāja and his successors* in the *Q.J.M.S.*, XXIII (July 1932) (1), pp. 26-27.

⁶¹ The first important step taken by Chikkadevarāja was the grouping together of all the territories conquered and annexed by the rulers of Mysore since Rāja Wadēyar's time and the splitting up of the State into 84 administrative divisions after granting jahagirs to some persons and settling the tribute paid by others and absorbing the smaller administrative units in bigger ones. The administration of each division (*gaḍi*) was organized as follows: ⁶² A subādār, one manager, three attavane (revenue accountants) officials, one scribe (*rāyasadavanu*), one post man (*anchekāra*) whose business was to despatch letters and write about news, formed the chief administrative officers; and under them were placed petty officials such as daffedār (head peon), menials, mace-bearer (*taḷavār*), golla (treasurer's assistant), chāvaḍi guards, and torch-bearer—their number varying according to the status of each division. The kandāchār officials (native militia), such as thāṇādār (military assistant to the subādār), gurikār (head of armed peons), śirastadār (head of the divisional establishment), clerks (*gumastas*), hōblidār, ōlekār, bugler and drummer were also appointed to arrange for the regular patrol of localities, to maintain law and order and minimise crime. Their number varied according to localities. The ōlekars, daffedars and hōblidārs were required to be ready with arms and ammunition to meet exigencies of public service. Thus was organized a sort of local militia, useful alike in times of peace and war, analogous to that of the Moghul and Maratha systems.

A special subādār was appointed to be in charge of demesne (royal estates) lands. It was his duty to look after the produce of those lands. Under him was maintained an

⁶¹ The account is based on extracts from *Palace History* (pp. 133-152; 164-170), supplemented by original sources.

⁶² Also called *Amildār* (Civil and Military Officer at first); *Subādār*, a Canarese form of *Subhādār* of the Moghul Polity. With the acquisition of Maratha possessions in the north by Hyder in 1758, the head of the *gaḍi* was designated *Amildār* in those parts, in keeping with the local practice. However, both the terms *Subādār* and *Amildār* existed side by side in Mysore. (*Palace History*, pp. 205-20.)

accounts establishment consisting of śīrastadār, clerks, killedār and ṭhāṇādār drawn mainly from the kandāchār service. Intelligence, honesty and efficiency were the criteria of appointments. The pay of the higher officials (like subādār, killedār, etc.) was fixed in proportion to the relative responsibilities of the appointments, half being paid in cash and the other half in kind. The subordinate officials (ōlekārs, etc.) were paid at rates varying from half-varaha and one haṇa to one varaha per month, half in cash and half in kind being met out of the produce of lands granted to them. To make service attractive, all the officials were exempt from taxes, such as, kāṇike (presents), kaḍḍāya (compulsory dues) and manederige (house tax).⁶³

Special attention was bestowed on the maintenance of law and order. A regular system of espionage was established. Arrangements were made for the report of the character and conduct of people in several parts of the country and for the prompt communication of occurrences in the interior of the country. In the different localities and headquarters of the gaḍis, a kotwal (local police officer), shānubhogs (their number varying according to the nature of the locality), menials, ⁶⁴peṭe seṭṭi, yajamān, chalavāḍi, drummer, bugler and detectives (*chāraru*) were entrusted with important duties. They were required to see that the different classes of people in the localities such as, Baṇajigas, Vaiśyas, Pāṇchālas and others did not transgress their caste rules and regulations, involving breach of public peace. They had to prevent theft in streets, to see that the merchants from different parts of the country carried on their transactions according to rules and regulations of government and to bring the offenders to book. During night the kotwal, spies, buglers and drummers

⁶³ Cf. Inscriptions of Chikkadevarāja's reign, referring to the items of taxes (*M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-57, 1922 ; pp. 122-123), etc.

⁶⁴ The reference to *peṭe seṭṭi* (a prominent citizen merchant) and *yajamān* (a communal head) is significant. It indicates the inclusion of non-official elements in town administration, corresponding more or less to modern municipal organization.

had to patrol the streets regularly and prevent commission of crimes. It was further laid down that the kotwal, peṭe seṭṭi and yajamān should inquire into cases and fine those whose guilt was comparatively trifling, and that as regards serious offences the offenders should be sent to the King who was to inflict punishment on them. The King was thus the supreme authority in executive, legislative and judicial matters and his autocracy was tempered by regard for corporate life in towns under his control.

The economic system⁶⁵ of the country was reorganized to suit the needs of the growing kingdom, and the reforms bore the impress of the King's personality in every practical detail.

Further developments in the administrative machinery are said to have been brought about by Chikkadevarāja in 1700 shortly after the return of his famous embassy to the Court of Aurangzeb. It is said that these developments were based on the existing Moghul practice and procedure of the time. There is, however, enough data to hold that they were modifications of the old system tempered by the Rāja's desire to make the system more definite, up-to-date and lasting. The following eighteen departments (*chāvaḍi*) were the result of this reforming tendency:—

(1) Nirūpada chāvaḍi: department dealing with petitions from the public and official orders and reports; (2) Āyakaṭṭina chāvaḍi: department of finance dealing with the maintenance of civil, military and palace budgets, and treasury accounts; (3) Mysore Hōbaḷi Vichārada chāvaḍi: enquiry department with jurisdiction over districts south of the Kāveri; (4) Paṭṭaṇa Hōbaḷi Vichārada chāvaḍi: enquiry department with jurisdiction over districts north of the Kāveri; (5) Simekandāchāra chāvaḍi: department maintaining accounts relating to local executive staff of the administration, and to arms, ammunitions and stores of the divisional units; (6) Bāgila Kandāchāra chāvaḍi: department dealing with accounts relating to Huzur officials, and Paḷlegars; (7) Sunkada chāvaḍi: customs

⁶⁵ Vide Next Section of the article.

department dealing with maintenance of accounts of customs on imports and exports; (8) Pommina chāvaḍi: a special customs department dealing with collection of customs on certain specified heads, from specified classes; (9) Toḍāyada chāvaḍi: a similar department dealing with collection of customs in Seringapatam only; (10) Ashtaḡrāma chāvaḍi of Paṭṭaṇa Hōbaḷi: a department having jurisdiction over eight hōbaḷis (sub-divisions of Gaḍi) under Chikkadeva-rājasāgara (a revenue unit); (11) Mysore Hōbaḷi Ashtaḡrāma chāvaḍi: a department having jurisdiction over eight hōbaḷis under the Devarāya channel (another revenue unit); (12) Beṇṇeya chāvaḍi: department dealing with palace cattle and dairy products (butter, etc.); (13) Paṭṭaṇada chāvaḍi: department dealing with the maintenance of the fort and government buildings in Seringapatam and law and order in the capital; (14) Bēhina chāvaḍi: news department dealing with transmission of news of events in local parts, conveyance of official orders, etc.; (15) Samukhada chāvaḍi: department dealing with matters going direct to the King's notice, and with the accounts relating to members of the Royal Family, palace officials, etc.; (16) Devasthānada chāvaḍi: department dealing with the maintenance and supervision of accounts of income and expenditure of temples; (17) Kabbiṇada chāvaḍi: department dealing with maintenance of accounts of iron mines, and manufacture and sale of iron implements, etc., under the direction of officers; (18) Hogesoppina chāvaḍi: department dealing with the purchase and sale of tobacco by the government.

Over each department thus organized the following officials were appointed: One chief officer, three record keepers, clerks, scribes, daffedār, menials, golla, watchman and torch-bearer. Their pay was fixed, usually half in cash and half in kind. It was further laid down that these officials should report to the King every morning the previous day's occurrences in their chāvaḍi (department). An establishment of spies was also specially maintained to keep the King informed of confidential matters of the eighteen

departments, to enable him to set right any defect or disorder. Particular care was also taken to see that bribery and corruption in service were not fostered and to ensure the honesty and efficiency of officials.

The changes described thus far reflect the mature political and administrative outlook of the ruler rather than a mere imitation of prevailing standards. The idea of eighteen departments (*aḥhārācucherry*) has its origin in Moghul practice and procedure but the details of departments as worked out by Chikkadevarāja are essentially indigenous. He thus systematized the governmental machinery, the respective elements of which had only existed in a fragmentary form before his time. It is significant to note that the system thus established by Chikkadevarāja continued unimpaired down to 1761 and even later,⁶⁶ with modifications under Tipu Sultan; and formed the basis for further developments in the nineteenth century.

(To be continued.)

⁶⁶ *Vide* Ch. 81, Nj. 7, YL. 63, KG. 36 and *M.A.K.*, 1924, pp. 56-57. These records invariably refer to the continuance of the institutions inaugurated by Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar.

SRI VIDYĀ

Part II—Upasana

BY K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER

1. Motherhood of God.

THE motherhood of God has been fully developed in the Tantras. Every manifestation of strength, power and activity springs from Her. Devī Bhāgavata says:—

एषा भगवती देवी सर्वेषां कारणं हि नः ।

महाविद्या महामाया पूर्णा प्रकृतिरव्यया ॥

As both good and evil come from Her, She is worshipped as Vidyā (Divine Wisdom) and Avidyā (Cause of Bondage). Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa says:—

राम, माया द्विधा भाति विद्याऽविद्येते सदा ।

2. Upasana.

Upāsana is a bhāva (mental attitude) and is the vehicle through which the upāsaka is carried to higher and higher spiritual altitudes and finally attains that height where all differentiation of thought is merged in the Highest Truth, *i.e.*, Unity. It is the safest and surest way to realization as the upāsaka does not require any extraneous thing but has only to know the true nature of the Self.

Upāsana is based on two fundamental principles—first, that one becomes what one thinks and, second, that like alone can know like. It is a truism that the more one thinks of God, the more Godlike one becomes; and, likewise, the more one thinks of worldly things, the more worldly one becomes. Equally true it is that a person can really know another only in so far as that person becomes like the other and that, therefore, he can understand the nature of God only in so far as he becomes like Him. Upāsana is, therefore, the union of the upāsaka and the upāśya.

There are three principal Schools (ācāra) of Śakti Upāsana, *viz.*, the Samaya, the Mīśra and the Kaula. The tenets of the Samayas are contained in five āgamas known as

Subhagāgama Pāncaka which are regarded as interpretations of the Veda by Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Vasiṣṭha and Śuka. The Samayas ignore karma. The Mīśras perform all nitya-karmas and worship Devī. Mīśra literature is contained in eight āgamas, viz., Chandra Kalā, Jyotsnavatī, Kalānidhi, Kulārṇava, Kuleśvarī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bārhaspatya and Durvāsas. The Kaulas worship the Devī in all her varied forms. There are various āgamas regarding this school.

3. Adhikara.

To select a suitable upāsana for an upāsaka, one should assess properly the adhikāra (inherent and acquired competence) for it according to the caste—Brahma, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya—to which he belongs and the āśrama—Brahmachārī, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha or Sannyāsī—in which he is. That the adhikāra is important will be seen from Lord Kṛṣṇa's dictum :—

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ।

For, each has his own dharma. Speaking of dharma of each caste, Śrī Kṛṣṇa says :—

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशो शूद्राणां च परंतप ।

कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥

It is equally necessary to know the saṁskāras—garbhādāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana and udvāha—which have purified the important events of his life.

4. Upasana Margas.

There are five paths of upāsana—Karma, Bhakti, Jñāna, Yoga and Mīśra mārgas. Each leads to the same goal, i.e. the Identity of the Individual Self with the Supreme Self through Niṣkāmya Karma, Avyabhicārī Bhakti, Sōham Jñāna, Yogic Samādhi and Jñāna-cum-Yoga respectively. As Śrī Kṛṣṇa says, in his Immortal Gīta, all paths lead to Him :—

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

(a) KARMA MARGA.—The world is bound by actions other than those done for sacrifice. Therefore, a sādḥaka is asked to do all acts free from attachment. Says Lord Kṛṣṇa :

यज्ञार्थात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबंधनः ।

तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसंगस्समाचर ॥

(i) *The Daily Routine of a Sādḥaka.*—In common with the Vaidiks, the Śākta has a long round of daily routine. He awakens in brahma-muhūrta and makes salutation to his guru reciting appropriate mantras. On touching ground after leaving the bed, he salutes the Earth as a manifestation of God. He then cleanses his teeth and bathes to the accompaniment of mantras and makes tarpaṇa (oblations of water) to Devās, Ṛṣis and Pitṛs. After doing Sandhyā and meditating on Gāyatrī Devī, he does Agnihotra and then Pūja. Thereupon, he attends to his work. After return, he bathes, does mid-day Sandhyā, performs Panca-mahā-yajña and Vaiśvadeva as also study of the Vedas. He then takes his meal after which he reads Purāṇas, Itihāsas and Dharma Śāstras thereby avoiding idle talk and discussion. He then attends to his work and returns, in the evening, to do Sandhyā and Agnihotra. Afterwards, he takes his meal and rests.

(ii) *Nitya Karmas.*—In addition to Sandhyāvandana, Gāyatri Japam and Pūja, the Sādḥaka has to perform, daily, the Panca-mahā-yajña—sacrifices to Brahma, Devas, Pitṛs, Bhūtas and Manuṣyas—and thereby repay the five-fold ṛṇa (debt) to nature—for initial energy received from parents; for food; for sympathy and help from fellow-beings; for magnetic tendencies and for knowledge and illumination. By these, he is made to regard himself as part of a connected whole whose parts are interdependent each aiding and supporting the other. Teaching is Brahma-Yajña; Tarpaṇa is Pitṛ Yajña; Homa is Deva Yajña; Bali is Bhūta Yajña and Hospitality to Guests is Manuṣya Yajña. It is said :

अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् ।

होमो दैवो बलिर्भौतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥

Agnihotra is a Havir Yajña and is offered both morning and evening.

(iii) *Naimittika Kurmas.*—Of the fourteen śrauta yajñas all but one, *viz.*, Agnihotra, are naimittika (occasional). Seven of them are havir-yajñas and seven others are soma yajñas. The havir-yajñas (except Agnihotra explained *supra*) are offered as follows:—Darśa and Pūrṇimāsa at the end of each fortnight; Āgrayaṇa, when grain is newly got and before it is used; Cāturmāsya at the end of the three seasons and Nirūḍha-paśubandha at the solstices. At the seven soma sacrifices, *viz.*, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthi, Śodaśī, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Āptoryama, the Brahmins officiate as priests and the person on whose behalf the sacrifices are offered is called yajamāna. Husband and wife light three sacred fires:—Āhavanīya to the East, for offering to Devas; Dakṣiṇa to the South, for offering to Pitṛs and Gārhapatya to the West, household fire. These are not allowed to go out. All śrauta sacrifices are offered in these and are in the form of milk, ghee and grains of various kinds.

There is another class of yajñas called pāka-yajñas which are offered in Vaivāhika fire, *viz.*, Pitṛ-śrāddham, Parvaṇa-śrāddham, Aṣṭakā, Śrāvaṇī, Āśvayujī, Āgrahāyaṇī and Caitrī. Of these, the first two are ceremonies in honour of the Pitṛs.

(iv) *Vratas.*—Under the naimittika category come the vratas which are voluntary devotional rites performed at specified times in honour of particular devatās, such as, Durgā Pūja, Kṛṣṇa's Birthday, etc. Each vrata has its own peculiarities but there are certain features common to all—continence, fasting, bathing and taking pure food.

(v) *Tapas.*—These form a variety of vratas and are three-fold—Śāriraka (bodily), Vācikā (by speech) and Mānasa (by mind). Lord Kṛṣṇa explains them thus:—

देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञपूजनं शौचसार्जवम् ।

ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शारीरं तप उच्यते ॥

अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।

स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव ब्रह्मस्य तप उच्यते ॥

मनः प्रसादः सौम्यत्वं सत्यमात्मविनिग्रहः ।

भावः संशुद्धिरित्येतत् तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥

Each of these three classes of tapas has three divisions—sātvic, rājasic and tāmasic—according as it is done (1) with faith and without regard to its fruit; (2) for fruit or out of pride or for gaining honour, respect or power to the doer; (3) through ignorance or with a view to injure or destroy others (abhicāra). Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the Gītā:—

श्रद्धया परया तप्तं तपस्तत् त्रिविधं नरैः ।

अफला कांक्षिभिर्युक्तैः सात्त्विकं परिचक्षते ॥

सत्कार मानपूजार्थं तपो दम्भेन चैव यत् ।

क्रियते तदिहोक्तम् राजसं चलमध्रुवम् ॥

मूढग्राहेणात्मनो व्यथीडया क्रियते तपः ।

परस्योत्सादनार्थं वा तत् तामस मुदाहृतम् ॥

The karma or ācāra mārṅa is said to be quite necessary to obtain siddhi (perfection). Vasiṣṭha Smṛṭi says:—

आचारहीनं न पुनन्ति वेदाः ।

(b) BHAKTI MARGA.—As Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the Gītā, God takes care of those who seek refuge in Him:—

सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि माशुचः ॥

Three kinds of sādhanā are prescribed—the svarūpa upāsana, the sampad upāsana and the pratika upāsana—according to the adhikāra (competence) of the upāsaka.

(i) *Svarūpa Upāsana*.—This is the divya or sātvic bhāva which prescribes practices of truth, forgiveness, compassion and contentment. The upāsakas of this bhāva have to avoid all objects of temptation. Discrimination and renunciation are the twin helpmates in this.

(ii) *Sampad Upāsana*.—Those who are not endowed with sufficient serenity of mind choose, necessarily, the path which is vīra or rājasic bhāva. In this, devotion supersedes the cravings of the senses and the devotee meditates upon God unshaken by the jarring elements of the world in which he

is obliged to live. This class of sādhakas use symbols of the Deity in so far as they resemble and reflect the divine qualities. The R̥sis, finding certain resemblance to correspondence between Brahman, *i.e.*, Highest Truth and the Sun, Mind, Vital Breath, etc., in respect of luminosity, motion-sustaining power, etc., have prescribed meditation upon these perceptible objects as a means to realize the Imperceptible. The apotheosis of the Incarnation and of the Guru can also be understood from this standpoint.

(iii) *Pratīka Upāsana*.—This is the paśu or tāmasic bhāva prescribed for the lowest class of sādhakas. These have to avoid objects of temptation and, superimposing upon a thing such as a kalaśa or śīla the attributes of God, worship them though there may be no resemblance whatsoever between them. Pratīkōpāsana is based on the principle that the whole Cosmos is Brahman (अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयान्) and so any part (vyaṣṭi) of the whole (samaṣṭi) being but His part is fit for worship. The pratimā or image is but a kind of pratīka. The conception of images came originally from the siddhas who had realized Brahman and seen His divine forms in meditation. They gave out these secrets for the benefit of the sādhakas and they were embodied in external images to make them visible to the eye. Even a word used for God is an idol or pratīka as it is perceived by the ear, another sense-organ. An idea, likewise, is an idol being perceived by the mind.

But even the ordinary meaning—not to speak of the esoteric one—of the mantras will show that the worship is not to the material emblem wherein the Divinity is conceived but to the Divinity Itself. This is beautifully brought out by sage Vyāsa in the following :—

रूपं रूपविवर्जितस्य भवतो ध्यानेन यत् कल्पितम् ।

स्तुत्यानिर्वचनीयताखिलगुरोः दूरीकृता यन्मया ॥

व्यापित्वं च निराकृतं भगवतो यत्तीर्थयात्रादिना ।

क्षन्तव्यं जगदीश तद्विकल्पादोषत्रयं मत्कृतम् ॥

In fact, the sādḥaka converts every act of his into worship as all disinterested works are acts of worship. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya admirably expresses this in the following hymn :—

जपो जल्पः शिल्पं सकलमपि मुद्रा विरचना ।

गतिः प्रादक्षिण्यक्रमणं अशनाद्याहुतिविधिः ॥

प्रणामः संवेशः सुखमखिलमात्मार्पणदशा ।

सपर्याऽपर्यायः तव भवतु यन्मे विलसितम् ॥

(c) JNANA MARGA.—It is said that there is nothing as holy as Jñāna (न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते). According to the Tantras, each act of worship necessitates some sort of meditation on the unity of the aspirant with God. In fact, Tāntrism is the sādhanā or practical counterpart of the Advaitism or Monism and Śrī Śaṅkarācārya himself is a great Tāntrist. A Śākta begins his day by meditating “I am the Creative Power. I am the Male Principle who is beyond grief. I am Existence, Knowledge, Bliss, Absolute, the One who is eternally free.” At noon, the upāsaka mentally raises, during Japa, the Kuṇḍalinī (identified with Jīvātma) to the Sahasrāra where he unites it with Paramātma. While at worship and performing Bhūta śuddhi or dissolution of categories, he merges his individuality and becomes one with the Absolute by declaring “I am She” (साऽहं) a counterpart of the Upaniṣadic “I am He” (सोऽहं). In the evening, after doing the day’s performances, he again realizes his oneness with the Absolute. By losing his limited individuality in Reality (आत्मानं भगवतीं भावयेत्), the upāsaka is enabled to transcend the barrier between the Highest Personal Aspect (सगुणब्रह्म) and the Absolute Impersonal Aspect (निर्गुणब्रह्म) through the three modes of hearing about God (श्रवण), understanding what he has heard (मनन) and meditating upon what he has understood (निदिध्यासन).

Thus, the sādḥaka casts off the veil of Avidyā from self and attains Ātma-Svarūpa (ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मैव भवति).

This knowledge of “I am Brahman” (अहं ब्रह्मास्मि) does not produce mōkṣa but is mōkṣa itself. The siddha enters

into Brahman like the stream into the ocean and leaves behind him nāma and rūpa. It is, therefore, said :—

यथा नद्यः समुद्रे अस्मिन्च्छन्ति नामरूपे विहाय ।

तथा विद्वान् नामरूपाद्विमुक्तः परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥

(d) *YOGA-MARGA*.—Yoga is the process by which the union of Jivātma and Paramātma is realized (जीवात्मनोरनन्यत्वं अभेदेन प्रशस्यते—Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣat). There are different kinds of yoga—the Aṣṭāṅga yoga ; Haṭha yoga ; Laya yoga and Mantra yoga.

(i) *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga*.—The mind (चित्) always exists in the form of its states (वृत्ति) and their suppression (निरोध) is the means of attaining final release (योगः). Therefore, Patañjali says :—

योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः.

Chitta has five states—Kṣīpa, Mūḍha, Vikṣīpa, Ēkāgra and Samādhī. Kṣīpa, being due to action and of rajo-guṇa, is a restless state in which mind roams in all directions. It is antagonistic to yoga and, therefore, to upāsana.

Mūḍha is of tamo-guṇa in which state wicked acts prompted by lust and anger appear right in the mind.

Vikṣīpa, though of satva-guṇa, is equally unsuited to yoga since in it the mind inclines towards delights of the Heaven and other pure forms of enjoyment.

Ēkāgra is the best suited for yoga and upāsana, as in it the mind is withdrawn from all other objects than the one in which it is centred.

Samādhī comes of itself when mind is made Ēkāgra, leaves hold of external objects and becomes dissolved in Supreme Brahman.

The Samādhī state of mind is said to be its prakāśa aspect and the other states constitute its vimarśa aspect. When mind perceives external objects, it is in vimarśa or sayikalpa state and when there arises vicāra in it, it is in prakāśa or nirvikalpa state. Mind is equally the cause of bondage and liberation according as it is in savikalpa or nirvikalpa condition. Amṛtabindu Upaniṣat says :—

मनो हि द्विविधं प्रोक्तं शुद्धं चाशुद्धमेव च ।

अशुद्धं कामसंकल्पं शुद्धं कामविवर्जितम् ॥

Patañjali prescribes eight means of attaining Yoga, viz., Restraint (यम), Observances (नियम), Posture (आसन), Regulation of Breath (प्राणायाम), Abstraction (प्रत्याहार), Concentration (धारण), Meditation (ध्यान) and Trance (समाधि).

Yama comprises abstinence from injury, veracity, abstinence from theft, continence and abstinence from avariciousness.

Niyama includes cleanliness, contentment, purificatory action, study and making God motive of all action.

Āsana constitutes posture and easy position.

Prāṇāyāma is the regulation of breath, that is, the stoppage of inspiratory and expiratory movements of breath which may be practised when steadiness of posture has been secured.

Pratyāhāra is that by which the senses do not come in contact with their objects and follow, as it were, the nature of the mind.

Dhāraṇa is the steadfastness of the mind.

Dhyāna is the continuation of the mental effort.

Samādhi is got when shining with the light of the object alone and is devoid, as it were, of itself.

(ii) *Other kinds of Yoga.*—The same goal is reached by the other yogas also. But the means adopted differ with different yogas. In the Mantra Yoga, mantras and śabda are used; in Haṭha Yoga in addition to prāṇāyāma and āsana, bandhas and mudras are made use of; and in Laya Yoga, the dissolution of the categories (तत्त्व) is adopted. Stoppage of cittavritti is mōkṣa, while the contrary is saṁsāra. Yoga-śikhopaniṣat says :—

चित्ते चलति संसारो निश्चलं मोक्ष उच्यते ॥

As Kāthopaniṣat beautifully puts it, the mind is the reins with which the driver (buddhi) pulls in and controls the horses (senses) and prevents their bolting away with the

car (body) and the owner (Jīvātma) in it. The intelligent driver takes the Jīvātma to the Highest Abode.

आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव च ।
 बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेव च ॥
 इन्द्रियाणि हयानाहुः विषयांस्तेषु गोचरान् ।
 आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तृत्याहुः मनीषिणः ॥
 यस्तु अविज्ञानवान् भवति अयुक्तेन मनसा सदा ।
 तस्येन्द्रियाणि अवश्यानि दुष्टाश्वा इव सारथेः ॥
 यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति युक्तेन मनसा सदा ।
 तस्येन्द्रियाणि वश्यानि सदश्वा इव सारथेः ॥
 विज्ञानसारथिर्यस्तु मनः प्रग्रहवान्नरः ।
 सोऽध्वनः पारमाप्नोति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥

(e) MISRA-MARGA.—The greatest siddhas have adopted a Mīśra Upāsana which is a combination of the Jñāna and Yoga Mārgas and have, thereby, attained Mōkṣa, the *summum bonum* of all upāsanas. Regarding this type, I may quote the following :—

कामादयो विलीयन्ते ज्ञानादेव न चान्यथा ।
 अभावे सत्त्वानां स्वयं तत्त्वं प्रकाशते ॥
 योगेन योगो जातव्यो योगाद्योगः प्रवर्तते ।
 योऽप्रमत्तस्तु योगेन सयोगी रमते चिरम् ॥
 जन्मान्तर शताभ्यस्ता मिथ्या संसारवासना ।
 सा चिराभ्यासयोगेन विना न क्षीयते क्वचित् ॥

5. Conclusion.

Perform whatever upāsana you like. If you are pure and patient and worship in the right way, you will surely see light. Upāsana will culminate in Jñāna and worship will result in Realization. You will then see that the Universe, with all its diversity, is Brahman Itself (सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म); that there is no duality but only One without second (एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म) and that you are That (तत्त्वमसि).

This indissoluble union with Brahman may be realized in this or another life according to the quality of the upāsana.

By proper sādhana, the Jīvātma which goes through a countless series of incarnations is freed from the fetters of physical embodiment and is blessed with conscious union with God. These fetters are the five Kośas (Annamaya, Prāṇamaya, Manomaya, Vijñānamaya and Ānandamaya) which hide from the soul, in its avidyā state, its true spiritual essence. When the soul ceases to identify itself with one or another of these kośas, it gets the highest enlightenment (vidyā) and realizes its identity with Brahman.

I shall deal with some typical upāsana-karmas in the succeeding articles and illustrate the principles enunciated in these papers, and conclude this article with a well-known prayer to Devī given in the Devī Bhāgavata : -

अनन्तकोटि ब्रह्माण्ड नायिके ते नमो नमः ।
 नमः कूटस्थरूपायै चिद्रूपायै नमो नमः ।
 नमोवेदान्तवेद्यायै भुवनेश्वर्यै नमो नमः ॥
 नेति नेतीति वाक्यैर्या वोध्यते सकलागमैः ।
 तां सर्व कारणां देवीं सर्वभावेन सन्नताः ॥

MANDOOKYA UPANISHAD

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(Continued from Vol. XXII, No. 4)

TAITTIRIYA Upanishad describes five sheaths, which cover the Ātman like the sheath of a sword. The outer ones form the sheaths of the inner ones, that is, the sheath of Anna covers that of Prāṇa, this again Manas, this Vijnāna, which in turn covers the Ānanda. The Ātman, which is the innermost confers on each sheath self-hood or Ātmatva. As he makes each of these sheaths living, he is known as Jīva. This Jīva is really that same Brahman who is of the nature of Be-ness, or existence, consciousness and endlessness.

The first or karma kāṇḍa portion of the Vedas, describing the various rituals, makes a distinction between Jīva and Paramātmān and also refers to creation. The rituals are karmas or actions in which there must necessarily be differences between the sacrificer, the sacrifice and the deities to whom the sacrifices are offered. Beings immersed in rituals will have to reap the reward of their actions and have no chance of final liberation. Therefore, the later portions of the Vedas, the Upanishads dealing with Jñāna, describe the identity of Jīva and Paramātmān. The statement of distinction in the portion dealing with the rituals must, therefore, be treated as metaphorical and preparatory to the attainment of a higher knowledge leading to Mōksha. The Upanishads are intended for those who have passed through the preparatory stages of offering sacrifices. Therefore, being later, they are more authoritative than the earlier portions of the Vedas.

The Vedic seers clearly recognized that all people are not of the same intellectual calibre. According to their power of understanding, they classified them into three grades, inferior, middling and superior. Worship and rituals were prescribed for those whose breadth of view is either inferior or middling. Out of kindness and with the intention of leading such men

into the right path and of enabling them ultimately to reach the identity of Jīva and Brahman, the Vedas enjoined on them rituals and worship. These, however, are not necessary for those of a high order of intellect, who have come to the conclusion that Ātman is one without a second.

Dualists or rather Pluralists, such as Kapila, Kanāda, Buddha, Arhat and others, are quite certain that their own opinions have proper basis, that they only have arrived at truth, that their methods only are correct and that others are wrong. They become so enamoured of what they consider to be the truth that they come to hate those who differ from them. Being thus imbued with love and hatred, they quarrel with their opponents in defence of their own doctrines. The Vedic view of non-dual Ātman is not opposed to any of their mutually conflicting opinions and the knowledge of non-dual Ātman is the correct one, as it gives no room for feelings of love and hatred.

Advaita is the true Reality and duality, which is variety, is other than non-duality. That is, it is the effect of non-duality. Reason tells us that in the absence of any activity of the mind, as in Samādhi or enlightened reflection, swoon and in deep sleep, there is no duality. Therefore, duality is said to be the effect of non-duality, like the appearance of the snake on a rope due to superimposition.

From the point of view of reality or of unreality, to the dualist there is duality in both cases. As the dualist is under the influence of superimposition, he sees duality; while the Advaitin, being free from the influence of superimposition, realizes non-duality. Therefore, the position of an Advaitin is not in conflict with that of the dualists.

It may be thought that if duality is the effect of non-duality, it must be quite as real as non-duality. Such thinking is incorrect. Just as to one who has errors of refraction in his eyes one moon appears to be many, the really existent non-dual Brahman only appears as many and various, through wrong knowledge giving rise to superimposition. This appearance is unreal, as Ātman has no parts.

That which has parts can show variety, when its parts become differentiated. The partless, unborn Brahman nowhere, at no time and in no way whatever, can become differentiated. If differentiation were real, Brahman who by nature is 'sat' or be-ness, deathless, unborn and non-dual, would become subject to death. This will be as likely as fire changing its nature and becoming cold. Such a thing will be inconsistent with nature and against all evidence and authority. Therefore, the unborn, non-dual and real nature of Ātman is to be considered as undergoing differentiation through Māya or wrong knowledge causing superimposition and not in reality. Therefore also, duality is never real.

Some commentators on Upanishads are said to admit real birth to the Ātman who by his very nature is devoid of both birth and death. If, according to them, anything is born, it must of necessity be subject to death. How can the unborn and deathless Ātman of the very nature of Be-ness become subject to death, that is, become nothing? Death can never accrue to Ātman, it being opposed to its very nature of Be-ness.

One may note here what John Dewey says in his "The Quest for Certainty". "The realm of the practical is the region of change and change is always contingent; it has an element of chance that cannot be eliminated. If a thing changes, its alteration is convincing evidence of its lack of true or complete being. What *is*, in the full and pregnant sense of the world, is always eternal. It is self-contradictory for that which *is*, to alter. If it had no defect or imperfection in it, how could it change? That which becomes, merely *comes* to be, never truly *is*. It is infected with non-being: with privation of being in the perfect sense. The world of generation is the world of decay and destruction. Wherever one thing comes into being, something else passes out of being."

In our experience in this world, the immortal never becomes mortal and so also the mortal never becomes immortal. Just as the heat-giving property of fire never

undergoes change, a thing is never and in no way seen to give up its original nature and acquire another nature quite opposed to it.

Some may hold that before birth, Brahman is of the nature of immortality and is immutable and yet Brahman may become mortal by being born. But this assertion of the natural immortality of Brahman is futile; for, when born, he cannot remain immutable, as birth means undergoing change.

Some dualists credit the deity with the function of creating fresh souls each time that a human child is born. If this creation is out of nothing, the souls ought to end in nothing. Immortality of souls thus becomes an illusion, as everything which has an origin must come to an end. This is all the more so, when death occurs in infancy and childhood, the souls become extinct, that is, end in nothing.

To those who argue that Ātman is born, there can never be such a thing as being unborn. Everything is mortal. This means that, according to this view, there can be no liberation from Samsāra.

The Brihadāranyaka Upanishad uses the terms "not this" and "not that" in describing Ātman. In doing so, the Sruti wishes us to understand that Ātman cannot be grasped by the senses or words. It points out that all that appeals to one's intelligence, bound by the law of cause and effect, cannot really be Ātman. One may mistake the means employed for the end in view and to prevent one from wrongly understanding the means to be the substance intended to be properly understood, the scripture insists on the incomprehensibility of Ātman. But to one who understands that, the means employed are mere indications of Ātman, the Ātman remains always one and unchanging and the unborn reality of Ātman is self-luminous inside and outside, in fact everywhere. One may say that, if the reality of Ātman can never be grasped by the senses, it comes to be altogether non-existent. This, however, is not true; for, we see the effects superimposed on Ātman. When we see the hypnotic effects produced by a hypnotist, we

know that there is a real hypnotist who gives rise to them. Similarly, when we see the world spread out before us in our waking and dreaming states and disappearing in deep sleep, we are justified in saying that there must be, like the real hypnotist, a real Ātman forming a basis for the superimposition of the world. It is only on a real basis of the nature of Be-ness or existence, that the world can be superimposed, that is, be born. It is inappropriate to say that any superimposition or birth can occur without a real basis. It is also inappropriate to say that a real birth of the world occurs in Ātman. Just as a real rope may be said to give rise to a snake and other things, so the real Ātman incomprehensible to the senses may be said to give birth to the phenomenal world which is like the snake superimposed on or born of a rope. A real birth cannot be attributed to the unborn Ātman. If one holds that the unborn reality Ātman becomes evolved into the phenomenal world, he would contradict himself by saying that the unborn becomes born. Therefore, by holding such an opinion, he would be saying that what is born is born again which ends in infinite regress. If we apply the law of causation, in describing the cause of the origin of the universe, we find no trace of a cause that was not itself the result of antecedent causes. As M. Clemenceau says "All we need do is to accept phenomena, no matter at what point in the order in which they happen to present themselves." Therefore, it must be held that the Ātman Reality is One and unborn.

Vaiseshikas and Bouddhas hold that non-existence gives birth to everything. It is sufficient to show from our experience that 'nothing' cannot give rise to something either really or through Māya. For instance, a barren woman's son is not born either really or through Māya. Hence, this theory of something arising out of nothing is untenable.

Just as a superimposed snake, considered from the point of view of the rope, is of the nature of Be-ness or existence, so the mind, when considered from the point of view of Ātman

of the nature of reality or consciousness, is of the nature of Be-ness or existence. In a dream, the mind assumes the dual form of the cognizer and the cognizable through its own activity. In the waking state also, through its Māyic activity the mind assumes the appearance of duality.

From the real point of view, the mind is non-different from Ātman and gives rise to the appearance of duality in dream. This is because objects of perception, such as an elephant in a dream, and the perceiving senses, such as the eye, etc., do not both exist independent of consciousness. It is exactly the same in the waking state, as the perceiving consciousness is the same in both.

To establish the point that all the phenomena are fictitiously created by the mind and appear only to the mind, we make use of the principle of the determination of the variable and the invariable. When the mind is present, the phenomenal world is present. When there is no mind, there is no duality. When by the light of discriminative knowledge, discipline and non-attachment, the mind ceases to be mind, that is, when it is controlled and withdrawn into the Ātman, or when the mind by itself becomes latent in Ātman as in deep sleep, the duality ceases to be manifested. Therefore, as it ceases to be, duality cannot have a real existence.

The knowledge that Ātman is the only reality or Be-ness can arise only from the instruction given by the scriptures and by the teachers. In the absence of fuel, fire remains without burning. Similarly, in the absence of the functioning of the mind, it ceases to be mind. When there are no objects to be cognized, that is, when the mind does not create objects, it ceases to function as the cognizing agent and becomes one with Ātman.

Various scriptural texts and knowers of Brahman say that knowledge devoid of all differentiations, such as the knower and the known and therefore unborn and of the nature of pure consciousness, is non-different from the real Brahman to be known. Just as the sun of the nature of eternal light is known by its own luminosity, Brahman who is of the

essence of consciousness requires no other consciousness to know it.

It is not to be supposed that the subdued and controlled mind, free from all kinds of activities and their objects, is exactly like the mind in the state of deep sleep in which also there is no duality. In deep sleep, the state of the mind is different being under the influence of illusory darkness of wrong knowledge of Avidya. There will still be latent in the mind the impressions and root-causes of the activities giving rise to undesirable things. In the fire of realization of the Reality Ātman will be burnt up all wrong knowledge or Avidya and the root-causes of activities giving rise to appearances in the wakeful state. The state of the controlled mind is thus quite different, activity or Rajoguna and sources of sorrow having become quiescent. Therefore, it is not like the state of mind in deep sleep.

In deep sleep, the mind becomes latent being covered by Tamoguna. But in the state of realization of Ātman, the mind does not become latent and there is no Tamoguna or Avidya to cover it. When the two evils of the cognized and the cognizer due to Avidya or wrong knowledge disappear, then it becomes one with the non-dual supreme Brahman. That is the Fearless as there is no reason to fear in the absence of duality. Brahman, being of the nature of Eternity, Purity, Consciousness and Freedom, never requires any kind of action after the destruction of Avidya or wrong knowledge.

The absence of Avidya is what is known as Samādhi. As Brahman rests in Samādhi, he is known as Samādhi. As Brahman is Samādhi, immovable and fearless, there can be in Brahman no such action as grasping anything or giving up anything.

Yogins, seeking to know Brahman and not well-grounded in the teachings of Vedānta find it very difficult to understand Brahman. Though Brahman has been described as fearless, the Yogins are afraid of seeking Brahman thinking that it would lead to their own destruction. As such people are devoid of discrimination, there can be no freedom from

misery and fear while the mind, which is related to Ātman, is active. To them, a true knowledge of Ātman and eternal peace known as Mōksha are dependent on the control of the mind.

Control of the mind may be effected with determination, perseverance and without discouragement. The mind, which is engaged in forming desires and enjoyment of the fruits of action, should be turned back from them with proper means and care. Though the mind may be at perfect ease in sleep, it must be controlled even there, that is, it must be brought back to Ātman. Allowing the mind to remain latent in sleep is the same as encouraging it to indulge in the miseries attendant on Avidya. Therefore, the mind must be controlled even in the matter of sleep in which Vasanas or impressions of waking experience persist.

The mind should be brought to a state of equilibrium. One should not indulge in any happiness that may result from this state, as this also takes its source in Avidya. Through knowledge one should practise non-attachment to external objects. When the inactive mind shows signs of forming any attachment to external objects, it should be forcibly brought back into union with Ātman.

When the mind does not become latent in sleep nor active as in external experience but is absolutely quiescent and nothing appears before it, it is Brahman.

This Ātman is centred in itself, is ever at peace, as there is no evil in it. It is indescribable in words, as it is entirely unlike anything and unconnected with any external object.

All that has been described till now is to enable us to understand that the only reality or truth is Brahman or Ātman. No Jīva or actor or enjoyer is ever born in any way. Nor is any relation of cause and effect ever known about him. As Ātman is non-dual, there can be no cause of birth of a Jīva. When there is not the least thing like birth, that is the supreme Being or Existence.

Advaita has been proved to be real on the authority of Scriptures or Srutis and of reasoning. There are schools

of thought other than Advaita, such as dualists and nihilists whose doctrines are false and opposed to each other and give rise to desire, anger, misery, etc. What follows is intended to show that, in the absence of contradictions characteristic of dualists and nihilists, Advaita is the only true philosophy.

The Sāmkhyas among the dualists maintain that perceived objects, that is effects, were previously in existence but as causes. Others such as Vaiseshikas and Naiyayikas, being bolder and thinking themselves to be very wise, hold that the existing world came out of nothing, non-existence. Holding such opposite views, they are bound to quarrel with each other hoping to gain victory over the opponent.

As the result of these disputations and attempts to overthrow each other's doctrines, what tends to be established is Advaita. The Sāmkhya doctrine of the birth of an existing thing is overthrown by the holders of the theory of 'asat' or non-existence by saying that that which is does not need any production or birth. The Sāmkhyas, in turn, overthrow the theory of 'asat' or non-existence giving birth to an existing thing, by saying that an unperceived non-existence, like the unknown horn of a hare, cannot possibly give rise to any object. If something can come out of nothing, then since nothing has no distinctive nature, the whole world may result from the non-existence of anything, say a jar. Overthrowing by their disputations the mutually antagonistic theories of birth from existence and birth from non-existence, they tend to approach the non-dual position of the Advaitin and proclaim that, in truth, there is no such thing as birth.

What their arguments tend to establish non-birth or Ajāti of anything, the Advaitins gladly accept and do not care to engage in any more disputes.

Some disputants predicate birth to that which is unborn and has no birth. How can that which has no birth and consequently immortal come to be mortal? The immortal cannot become mortal; nor can the mortal become immortal.

A thing of a certain nature cannot change into something just the opposite. Believing that a thing naturally immortal can achieve mortality, how can one maintain that a thing can remain immortal and unchanged while passing through birth?

Heraclitus believed in incessant change without any underlying permanent identity or unity. Plato conceived of two worlds, one real and unchanging and the other consisting of change, confusion and instability, though the connection between the two is not clearly stated. Parmenides and his Eleatic successors held that change being impossible in a permanent, homogeneous substance, the reality of the world including our own bodies must be a mere illusion of our deceptive senses. Bergson is the apostle of the reality of incessant change and appeals to our ordinary experience, though it never gives us mere change without persistence. All change must be a change of or in something. If there is no underlying identity, there is nothing to change. It may appear paradoxical, but only what is permanent can change. The Self which changes with the flux of time and circumstance is still at the bottom the same old Self. If each change meant a quite new self, there would be no reason for joy in a transition to a better or sorrow in a change for the worse.

The Buddhists believe in the momentariness of sensations and knowledge. There is no self to feel them, compare them or experience joy or sorrow. If everything is momentary, why should one continue in a course of right conduct or feel responsibility for one's actions? A. E. Taylor in his "Elements of Metaphysics" defines change "as succession within an identity, the identity being as essential to the character of the process as the succession." He also thinks that a single coherent end welds the series of changes into a unity which underlies permanent identity of character. One may ask, how can that which is subject to a succession of changes have a permanent identity? What about the series of events forming a connected dream? Is there a permanent underlying identity of character peculiar

to dream and separate from that of the waking state ? The only way out of these difficulties is to assume that the changes are merely superimposed on an unchanging and eternal Brahman. This perception of the so-called changes and considering them real is Māya.

Many theologians seem to be at a loss to account for the immortality of the soul. It is one of the Christian tenets that God confers immortality on the souls he creates. But since the doctrine of the evolution of man from the lower animals came to be generally accepted, many religiously-minded persons are perplexed to believe in the immortality of the soul. They began to ask, at what stage of man's evolution from the ape did the soul in man become worthy of eternal life ? An answer is furnished by Bishop Barnes. While preaching in Manchester Cathedral in March 1930, he gave out his discovery that when in the developing ape there appeared the first understanding of moral law, there arose a state of things in which immortality for the first time came into being. "Then the process of soul-making began and the animal began to put on humanity." "Belief in personal immortality has its basis on man's loyalty to goodness and truth. Man claims eternal life as a reward of righteousness which has a survival value. Otherwise, the universe would cease to be rational and the creator will be only capricious making useless experiments. Obedience to the moral law was man's gift to his maker." So, mortal man in the course of his evolution from the ape and the lower animals claimed immortality achieving it by his own exertions and transmitting it to all his successors. Bishop Barnes must be well aware that for every one man that obeys the moral law, there are ninety-nine who deliberately disobey it. What is the reward for such unrighteousness ? Is it also immortality but only in hell ? Having thus announced his discovery of the origin of immortality, Bishop Barnes declares that he does not believe in a static future but looks forward to development, achievement and enrichment. But as to where all this development, etc.,

is to take place, the Bishop is discreetly silent. He is satisfied with vaguely speaking of "a realm of God where nothing of value was ever wasted". The above is a fair sample of the way in which even educated, thinking men flounder in trying to account for the immortality of the soul.

Even in Vyavahāra or worldly experience, the nature of a thing is not known to change. The natural property of fire is to give out heat and light. This never changes at any time or place. The natural property of water is to flow from a higher to lower level and always remain constant. In all objects of worldly experience, which are merely objects superimposed on Brahman, this is recognized to be the meaning of the nature of a thing. So in the case of the real substance having no birth, immortality forms its very nature.

All the Jīvas whose nature is that of Ātman are, on account of that very nature, free from all changes, such as old age, death, etc. Being of such a nature, if on the Ātman are superimposed old age, death, etc., just as the snake is superimposed on a rope, they will be giving up the very nature of Ātman. The very thought of old age and death in relation to Ātman is committing the error of superimposition, that is, thinking one thing to be another.

The Vaisesika shows how the Sāmkhya theory of an existing thing being born as the world is self-contradictory. The cause which, according to the Sāmkhya, is the material like clay, the cause of the jar is verily the effect. That the cause only becomes transformed into the effect is what they say. The unborn and ever-existing Pradhāna is born in the form of Mahat and other effects, though originally it has been taken to be changeless and permanent. If this is so, how can it be said to be unborn? It is a contradictory thing to say that an unborn thing is born. Moreover, Pradhāna is said to be immutable. When it breaks up in one part into a variety as the world, how can it continue to be immutable? It is not in conformity with experience in this world, that jars which have parts and broken in places

are ever said to be immutable. There is thus a two-fold contradiction in saying that a thing is unborn and born (that is transformed at the same time) and that a thing with parts is capable of being broken up into pieces and at the same time remain unchanged. In other words, if the Sāmkhyas wish to hold that the effect is non-different from the unborn cause, it would be as good as asserting that the effect is also unborn. This is contradicting the experience that a thing is an effect and yet unborn. Effect and cause being non-different, how can there remain the immutability of the cause in the effect that may be born? For half a hen cannot be cooked, allowing the other half to lay eggs.

Moreover, in support of the assumption that from an unborn substance an effect is born, there is verily no illustration. In the absence of an illustration, it may be taken as settled that from an unborn cause no effect can be born. Again, if a born thing is said to give rise to another the question will be asked, what gave birth to the first? There being no limit to such questions, the whole argument ends in infinite regress. A so-called cause must be preceded by antecedent event, which again must be preceded by others and one can go on infinitely backwards. So, it is absurd to speak of a first cause.

It may be argued that, from merit and demerit as causes, the aggregate of elementals known as the body is produced. From this body again are produced merit and demerit. Those who argue thus attribute to the causes in the form of merit and demerit and to the effects in the form of bodies an interdependence and mutual origin. How can such people predicate birthlessness either to causes or effects? Therefore, the eternal and unchanging Ātman can never become either effect or cause. The saying that from the result born of a cause the cause is reborn is quite as absurd as saying that from the son is born the father. Therefore, to prevent such an absurd conclusion, the order of succession of cause and effect must be first established, the cause being the prior one and the effect the subsequent one.

According to A. E. Taylor, causation means "that the occurrence and the character of every event in the Time series is completely determined by preceding events." In other words, the present depends on the past and the future on the present. Cause is not the whole true logical ground but the ground so far as it can be discovered in the train of temporarily antecedent circumstances. Thus, cause is incomplete ground and the principle of causation is not, like the principle of sufficient reason, axiomatic. Actual experience cannot prove the principle of causation. Cause is assumed, as it is practically useful. So, cause is a postulate which experience may confirm but cannot prove. The conception of cause is anthropomorphic in origin and owes its existence to practical needs.

If the cause and effect are said to arise simultaneously, they cannot bear the relation of cause and effect but will be like the right and left horns of a cow growing at the same time. Two things, each depending on the other for its production, can never come to bear the relation of cause and effect, nor indeed any other relation.

The illustration of seed and the sprout is sometimes brought forward as showing the relation of cause and effect. But, it does not serve the purpose; for, the relation between the seed and the sprout is not beginningless at all, as we see that all the previous ones had a beginning and all the succeeding ones likewise. At any moment, a sprout arises from a seed and sprout later on gives rise to seeds. The succession of seeds and sprouts shows always a beginning and nothing can be said to be without a beginning. This also applies to cause and effect.

There is no such thing as a series of seeds and sprouts without a beginning; for, apart from individual seeds and sprouts, there can be no such independent thing as a series of seeds and sprouts without a beginning. Similarly, a series of causes and effects cannot be maintained as apart from individual antecedent causes and subsequent effects.

To the scientific mind, causes and effects are alike events. Causation, in the scientific sense, means sequence of events under definitely known conditions. But, as popularly conceived, a cause is a person or something into which we can mentally project a conscious life akin to our own. A cause is never thought of as merely preceding the effect but it is supposed to *make* the effect occur, that is to say, to bring it about by an exercise of activity. So, a cause is conceived as being active and the effect passive.

The mere absence of knowledge of the antecedence and consequence, as regards cause and effect, is itself enough to bring into prominence the doctrine of non-birth. If the properties of a thing born are perceived, how can its preceding cause not be grasped? The perceiver of a thing born must needs perceive that from which it is born; for, the thing born and that from which it is born must be in a closely intimate relation with each other.

The birth of anything cannot be established by any manner of means. Nothing can be born from its own form. Nothing can reproduce itself, as one jar does not form another jar. Nor is anything produced from anything else, as a cloth is not produced from a jar. In the same way, two different things cannot together produce a new thing, as it is opposed to experience. A jar and a cloth together do not give rise to a new jar or cloth or a third thing.

In Vyavahara, we speak of a jar being produced from clay and of a son being born to the parents. But these are mere ideas and words. When properly examined, the basis of ideas and words and the corresponding attributes of objects such as a jar, a son, etc., are found to be nothing more than mere words. As the Sruti says, "All effects are mere words and names."

If effects like a jar, a son, etc., are supposed to be present in clay, parents, etc., birth need not be predicated of them, as they are already existing. Effects cannot be said to be born from 'asat', non-being, as like the horns of a hare, they have no existence whatever. No effects can

be produced from 'sadasat', being and non-being, as such a combination is contradictory and destructive in its very nature. Therefore, no object whatever is ever born or produced.

According to J. S. Mill, cause and effect are not distinct events or phenomena but the earlier and later stages in a continuous process. This, in fact, does away with the principle of causation. You cannot say where a cause ends and an effect begins or where one stage ends and the next begins.

Plurality of causes is ultimately a logical contradiction but, in any form in which the causal postulate is of practical use, it must recognize plurality. The causal postulate, according to which events are completely determined by antecedent events, leads to the belief that the stream of events is discontinuous. This belief is inherently self-contradictory and so ultimately untrue.

When the relation between cause and effect is said to be a necessity, it simply means that if you assert the existence of the conditions, you are logically bound to assert the existence of the result. It was Hume that first brought out this subjective character of the "necessity" of causal relation.

Some maintain that an object is produced by the union of action, actor and result; and that it is of a transitory nature. This is contrary to reason and experience. For, as the objects produced disappear immediately after their production and before their cognition and determination, they cannot at all be experienced and thus memory is rendered impossible.

Admitting the beginninglessness of causes, such as merit and demerit and of effects such as bodies is equivalent to accepting their non-production or non-birth, no effect can arise of itself without an external cause or from a cause having no beginning and therefore no birth. Worldly experience also supports the view that, where the cause is not known in the beginning, its birth also cannot

be known. Only that which has a cause has a beginning and not that which has none.

Ordinary people may consider that external objects apart from the perceiving subject are necessary for giving rise to sensation, to percepts, and feelings of joy, sorrow, etc. But thinkers know that, independent of consciousness, there can be no perceiving subject or perceived objects or perceptions. In dreams, we know that there are no external objects and yet the dreamer experiences sensations, percepts, etc. In deep sleep, we are not aware of a perceiving subject nor of any objects. This is also true of persons in the state of Samādhi or enlightened reflection and of Muktas or persons released from Avidya. Therefore, the so-called external objects of the waking state are as much causes of cognition as a rope is a cause of the appearance of a snake. The appearance of objects is due to Māya or Avidya and even a cause may not be a cause, as it disappears when the illusion goes.

(To be continued.)

SUMERO-DRAVIDIAN AFFINITIES

BY A. S. THYAGARAJU, M.A.

THE discovery of a large number of seals at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro has set scholars on the interesting track of deciphering them and discovering the origin of the mysterious people who have been termed 'Sumerians'. It is now found out that the Indus valley civilization was substantially the same as the civilization of the Mesopotamian plateau; but the writings on the seals have baffled scholars.¹ Nevertheless Professor Waddell claims to have been able to read the script. He says how he discovered "that the 'Sumerian' language with its writing was the early Aryan speech and script and the parent of the Aryan family of languages, ancient and modern, with their writing, and in particular the parent of the English, Anglo-Saxon, 'Celtic', Gothic, Norse, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and all unsuspectedly also, of the ancient Egyptian languages and writing; that this Aryan speech with its writing was spread over the ancient world by the Phœnicians, who were not Semites, as hitherto supposed, but the leading sea-faring branch of the Sumerians or Early Aryans."² He says in an earlier publication of his: "That the writing on these seals was 'Sumerian' and of an archaic type I recognized on the first glance at their photographs.... Having in my search for Aryan origins been led by various clues to the conclusion that the Sumerians were Aryans, . . . the problem of the Indus Valley script was to me a comparatively easy one."³ Professor Waddell has carried his study so deeply into the origins that

¹ *Illustrated London News*, December 19, 1931. Review of Sir John Marshall's "Mohenjodaro", by Sir Arthur Keith.

² *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*. L. A. Waddell. Part I, A—F, 1927, Introduction, pp. ix-x.

³ *The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*. L. A. Waddell, 1925, Preface, pp. v-vi.

he has been able to publish a dictionary of Sumer-Aryan terms.

But some other scholars have arrived at a conclusion which tries to equate Sumerian with Dravidian, it was Caldwell who first drew the attention of students of philology to certain affinities between Dravidian and Indo-European, and suggested that these must have been very early borrowings into the Indo-European of Dravidic terms. The discovery of the existence of an unknown people in the Indus Valley naturally had led some to suppose that these were the ancestors of the Dravidians, the dark race of South India. Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar has an interesting article on 'Sumero-Dravidian and Hittite-Aryan Origins'.⁴ That there are affinities between the Dravidian language and many branches of the Indo-European family is being proved by many Indian scholars. Some claim a Sanskritic origin for Dravidian while others give it a contemporary development with Indo-European from a common mother-tongue, which is variously termed 'Sumerian', 'Scythian', etc. Some others⁵ claim for it a close family connection with the eastern and northern branches of the Germanic family, i.e., with Gothic and Old Icelandic.

A German Professor⁶ considers that the Dravidians were the predecessors of the Aryans of Mesopotamia. Basing his conclusion on the study of place-names he says "where history is silent place-names might speak". Mr. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar in a notice of this book speaks as follows about the professor's conclusion: "He is inclined to think that the original Dravidian peoples must have inhabited the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris and that from thence, pressed outwards by other races like the Semites, the Sumerians and the Aryans, they must have

⁴ *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1929.

⁵ *South Indian Research*, July 1920, p. 178. cf. the issues of August 1919 p. 7 ff. and February 1920, p. 54 ff.

⁶ *Alt-dravidisches—Eine namenkundliche Untersuchung*. Von A. Clemens Schœner. Partenkirchen, Germany.

spread over the plateaux of Persia and thence penetrated into India . . . In his book he traces a large number of ancient place-names in Afghanistan, the highlands of Persia, the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris and Mesopotamia generally, to Dravidian forms . . . He also suggests that Dravidian words like *ār* : river, are discoverable in pre-Indo-Germanic names of places and of rivers, in Central Europe also."⁷ Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyar quotes some very interesting parallels from Herr Schœner's brochure. Such, for example, are the name of the King, Sargon (*cf.* Drav. *sari* : straight, *kon* : king) the just king; Chinnaran, the name of a small fort (*cf.* Drav. *chinna* : small, *aram* : fort); Talar, the name of a spot where two small streams originate (*cf.* Drav. *talai* : head, *ār* : stream.); Chinnar; Bambur (*cf.* Drav. *pāmbu* : snake, *ūr* : town; Ur of the Chaldees, etc.

Professor Waddell has not thought of a possible connection of Dravidian with the ancient Sumerian. While studying his *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*, it struck me that many of the Sumerian roots that he had listed had cognates or derivatives in the Dravidian languages. I cannot make bold to draw conclusions from these affinities, for there is every possibility of such resemblances being merely accidental; but perhaps it will be possible one day, after a thorough and systematic study of the grammar and syntax of Sumerian is made, to equate Aryan—Sumerian—Dravidian, especially when researches from other vistas of approach seem to point to the same end.

I give below a list of what seem to me to be Sumero-Dravidic Affinities. I follow the word order of Professor Waddell's *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*. The Sumerian, Egyptian and Akkad roots are taken from the same book. The most striking English cognates, selected from Professor Waddell's list, are given in brackets, along with each root that is considered. I have used the "Āndhra Pada

⁷ *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XX, No. 1, July 1929, pp. 49-53.

Pārijātamū”⁸ for deciding whether a word is Dravidic or of Sanskrit origin. I have selected only words from the Telugu language, though I have also added a few Tamil cognates here and there.

A

Su. *a*: interjection. *cf.* Dr. *āh*: *abba*, *ayya*, *amma*, *arē*. (ah).

Su. *ab*, *aḥ*, *abba*: father. *cf.* Tel. *aḥḥa*, *abba*: father. (abbot).

Su. *ab*, *aḥ*: beget, cattle, create. *cf.* Tel. *aḥḥa*, *abba*: father; *abbāyi*: boy; *ammāyi*: girl; *āvu*: cow (have, heifer).

Su. *aba*: off, after, behind. *cf.* Tel. *avatala*: afterwards. Tam. *aḥḥaram*: afterwards (after, apology).

Su. *ad*, *at*, *adda*: father, mother. *cf.* Tel. *atta*: aunt (Dad, atavism).

Su. *aka*, *ang*: cry, howl, pain. *cf.* Tel. *ayyo*: cry of pain, *ēḍuḥu*: cry. Tam. *aḥei*: cry. (ache, agony, awe).

Su. *al*: high, lofty, hill. *cf.* Tam. *āḥam*: deep (altar, altitude).

Su. *ala*, *alal*: all, full, totality. *cf.* Tel. *ella*: everything. Tam. *ellām*, *alla*: all (all, almost).

Su. *ame*, *eme*: mother, love, grace. *cf.* Tel. *amma*: mother, *ammi*: woman (mamma, mammalia).

Su. *ama*: womb, wide, hold. +Egy. *am*: to swallow. *cf.* Tel. *ummi*: spittle; *ubbu*: to swell (womb, ample).

Su. *ana*: one. +Sans. *ani*: a pin. *cf.* Tel. *āṇi*: axle pin (an, one, unit).

Su. *ar*, *ar*, *ara*: plough, bond uplift. *cf.* Tel. *eddu*: ox; *enumu*: male buffalo; *eru*: to plough. Tam. *arisi*: rice (ear, arable, harrow).

Su. *ara*: copper, bronze. *cf.* Tel. *eṛa*, *eṛṛa*: red (ore).

Su. *arata*, *aratta*: earth, land, massive, heavy. *cf.* Tel. *ārāṭamu*: sadness; *araṭi-chetṭu*: plantain tree; the village name ‘Araṭla-kaṭṭa’ (earth, arduous, orthodox).

⁸ *Āndhrapadapārijātamū anu Suddhāndhranighaṇṭuvu*, by Ogirala Jagannadhakaviḡaru and Gurujada Sree Rāmamurthygaru, 1888.

B

- Su. *bad*, *bat* : stave, wooden tool. *cf.* Tel. *badda* : bamboo splinter ; *bettamu* : rattan, cane (bat, battledore).
- Su. *bad*, *bat* : strike, destroy, kill. *cf.* Tel. *bādu* : to strike ; *poḍu* : to poke ; *paṭṭu* : to hold. Tam. *puḍi* : hold (beat batter, butt, pat).
- Su. *bad*, *bat* : deep, dark. *cf.* Tel. *bottiga* : totality (bottom, buttock, fathom, pathos, pedal).
- Su. *bal* : to turn. *cf.* Tel. *malupu* : bend. Tam. *vaḷi*, *vaḷ* : to bend (ball, bowler, voluble).
- Su. *ban*, *pan* : bow. *cf.* Tel. *baṇḍi* : bullock cart, 'bandy', *banti* : ball ; *vonṅu* : to bend ; *vonkarā* : crooked. Tam. *vanḍi* : cart (bandy, bent, banjo).
- Su. *bar* : city. *cf.* Tel. *vūru* : town ; *prōlu* : city (borough).
- Su. *bar* : see, look, inspect. *cf.* Tel. *pāruva* : sight ; *pāruvamu* : pigeon. Tam. *pāru* : see (peer, pry, pore).
- Su. *bil*, *pil*, *bi* : blaze, flame, fire. *cf.* Tel. *vella* : white. Tam. *velli* : silver ; *velichem* : light (blaze, bliss).
- Su. *bir* : break, tear, cut off. *cf.* Tel. *viruchu* : to break ; *piruchu* : to tear ; *puruḍu* : child-birth (break).
- Su. *bir* : offspring, child, brood. *cf.* Tel. *puruḍu* : child-birth ; *biḍḍa* : child ; *pilla* : child, girl ; *piṭṭa* : bird (breed, brood, bred, bird, birth, brat).
- Su. *bur*, *buru* : bore, open, dig. *cf.* Tel. *purugu* : worm. Tam. *pūru* : to enter (bore, perforate, burrow, prick).
- Su. *bur*, *bu*, *buru* : worm, serpent. *cf.* Tel. *purugu* : worm. Tam. *puṟuvu* : worm (worm, vermin, vermicelli, Ormes-head).
- Su. *buru* : fruit, berry, many-fold. *cf.* Tel. *palu* : many. Tam. *paṟam* : fruit (berry, fruit).

D

- Su. *dab*, *dib*, *tab* : dwelling, surround, tent. *cf.* Tel. *dibba* : mound ; *dāba* : terrace. Tam. *teppa* : raft (tabor, tapis, tavern, tabernacle.) •.

- Su. *dag, tak*: spread out, extend, cover. *cf.* Tel. *tāku*: touch; *dāgu*: hide (deck, decorate, detect, thatch, toga, protect).
- Su. *dam*: consort, wife, husband. *cf.* Tel. *tammudu*: brother. Tam. *tambi*: brother (dam, dame, damsel).
- Su. *dar, tar*: wound, cut open, tear. *cf.* Tel. *tera*: weapon. *tora*: danger, *toragu*: to fall (tear, torn, thorn).
- Su. *dar, tar, dara*: weave, cloth, colour. *cf.* Tel. *dēra*: tent (drape, trap, drab).
- Su. *dar, dir, tar*: look up, shut, door. *cf.* Tel. *talupu*: door (door).
- Su. *dara, daru*: fether, band, net. *cf.* Tel. *dāramu*: thread; *trāḍu*: rope (draught, draft, draw, drag, dragon).
- Su. *de, di*: shine, destroy. *cf.* Tam. *tīy*: fire (devil, demon, diabolic).
- Su. *del*: cutting. *cf.* Tel. *tēlu*: scorpion (dale, delve, dell, dole, doll, idol, tool).
- Su. *dib*: enclose, hold, retain. *cf.* Tel. *dibba*: mound; *tip̐pa*: hill (dwell).
- Su. *dim*: pillar, post, bar, log. *cf.* Tel. *dimma*: log, bar (timber).
- Su. *dim*: erect, build of houses, etc. *cf.* Tel. *dimma*: a platform, 'payal', a support. *tinne*: a payal; *dinne*: a mound as in the village name 'Dipal-dinne' (dome, domestic).
- Su. *dim*: overwhelm, crush down, cut. *cf.* Tel. *dim̐misa*: an instrument for levelling the ground; *dim̐pu*: to put down; *tinu*: to eat (doom, damn, timid, damage, condemn).
- Su. *dim, dimma*: weak in body and mind. *cf.* Tel. *dim̐mari*: an unconscious person; *dimma*: to be stunned (dim, bedim).
- Su. *dirig*: bend, bow down, dark. *cf.* Tel. *tirugu*: turn back (dwarf).
- Su. *du*: go, come. *cf.* Tel. *dūku, dumuku*: to cross (dawdle).

- Su. *dub, tub*: tablet, platform, table. *cf.* Tel. *tapēlā*: brass, utensil; *tabuku*: plate (table, tableau, tablet).
 Su. *dur, tur*: prince, king, the great, lofty. *cf.* Tel. *dora*: lord, great man, rich person (Tyrant, Thor).

E

- Su. *edin, etin*: plain, field, desert. *cf.* Tel. *edāru, edāri*: desert (Garden of Eden, Aden).
 Su. *ega, egura*: black-water, high tide. *cf.* Tam. *ēri*: lake. (aqua, ocean, Euxine, Ægean).
 Su. *edir*: backwards, after, walking away. *cf.* Tel. *eguru*: to fly. Tam. *ēru*: to ascend (vagary, vague, vagrant, extravagant).
 Su. *ela-mu*: mount, rise up, hill. *cf.* Tel. *ettu*: high. Tam. *ēru*; to ascend (Alp, Elam).
 Su. *elim, ilim*: ram, leader of the herd. *cf.* Tel. *ēlu*: to rule (billy, William, Elk. eland).
 Su. *eme*: tongue, language, mouth. *cf.* Tel. *ummi*: spittle; *mu, mūti*: mouth. Tam. *mudal*: first, mouth (ahem, hem, amen, yammer).
 Su. *er, eri, ir*: hurry, hasten. *cf.* Tel. *ēru*: river; *āru*: river. Tam. *ēri, ār*: river (hurry, hurricane, hurl, urge, whirl).
 Su. *er, eri, uru*: fortified city. *cf.* Tel. *ūru*: city. Tam. *ūr*: city. (—)
 Su. *erim*: army, warrior. Pictured by the Lightning sign. *cf.* Tel. *urumu*: thunder (army, armada).

F

- Su. *fi, pi*: serpent, bite, afflict. *cf.* Tel. *usuru*: life, agony. Tam. *virian*: asp. (viper, vile, virus).
 Su. *firiq, piriq*: frightful, kill, grief. *cf.* Tel. *piriki*: coward (fright, fierce, ferocity, brigand, prig).

GAUTAMIPUTRA, RUDRADĀMA AND KĀNIṢKA.

BY S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.

IN a previous issue of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Vol. XVII, p. 334), I pointed out that the evidence of the Purāṇas leads us to believe that Hāla-Śālivāhana is the founder of the era named after him. That Hāla was also a powerful monarch who extended his power as far as Ceylon is proved by other literary evidences (*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, Pt. I, July 1927). If we push this point to its logical conclusion, it leads us to the fact that Gautamīputra must be placed in 108 to 130 A.D. and Puṣamāvi from 130 to 158 A.D. This means that Puṣamāvi, Rudradāman who must certainly be placed in 130 to 150 A.D. and Kāniṣka (accession in 128-29 A.D. according to Sten Konow and Wijk) were contemporaries.

Several objections are urged against this theory. The first is that Chaṣṭana or Tiasenes is mentioned with a Puṣamāvi by Ptolemy as contemporaries. Ptolemy relied upon inaccurate reports of sailors from whom he drew his information for his works which he wrote between 104-147 A.D. Therefore it is possible that Ptolemy was recording facts of history forty or fifty years old. Thus there is no sufficient basis for the conclusion that Ptolemy, Chaṣṭana and Puṣamāvi were living in c. 110 A.D.

There are three Puṣamāvis mentioned in the Purāṇas. According to my chronology given in connection with the discussion of Śālivāhana era, the list of kings from the beginning of the Christian era is as follows:—

No. 11	Skandasvāti	...	2 B.C. to 5 A.D.
„ 12	Mṛgēndra	...	5 A.D. to 8 „
„ 13	Kuṇṭala	...	8 „ to 16 „
„ 14	Svātikarṇa	...	16 „ to 17 „
„ 15	Puṣamāvi I	...	17 „ to 53 „

Chaṣṭana was most probably the contemporary of this

Puḷomāvi about the year 50 A.D. There is no evidence to prove that Katch was ever under the Śātavāhanas. Ujjaini was probably captured by Chaṣṭaṇa which enabled him to call himself a Mahākṣatrapa whereas in his early days he was merely a Kṣatrapa. But under Jayadāman, who was merely a Kṣatrapa, Ākara or Eastern Mālva was once again taken by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and was held in his grasp as is evident from the inscription of Balaśrī. This reconquest of Ujjaini by Gautamīputra must have been after his eighteenth year, for till then he was staying at Benakaṭaka near Vaijanti in the south of the Kṛṣṇa.

It is agreed that Jayadāman who succeeded Chaṣṭaṇa must have reigned for at least fifteen or twenty years before the accession of Rudradāman some years before 130 A.D. Mr. R. D. Banerjee is most probably right in holding that the Andhau inscription of the year 52 is that of Rudradāman himself and there is nothing to prove the joint rulership of Chaṣṭaṇa and Rudradāman. I believe that most probably more than half a century was covered by the closing years of Chaṣṭaṇa, the rule of Jayadāman and some years of Rudradāman before 130 A.D.

The *Periplus* mentions Mambarus (identified with Nahapāṇa) and an elder Saraganes (probably Skand Svātikarṇa). If we assign the Junnar inscription of the 46th year to the Vikrama era, Nahapāṇa should be placed in the last decade of the first century B.C. and probably in the beginning of the first century A.C. The evidence of the Joglethembi hoard has conclusively proved that more than a century must have elapsed, during which time the successors of Nahapāṇa impressed their own figures on the coins and passed them into circulation, before the coins were restruck by Gautamīputra (*Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXII). Therefore there is no difficulty in placing Gautamīputra in c. 110 A.D. Rudradāman cannot have wrested Ākara from Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi who was a very powerful ruler. He is assigned a rule of nearly thirty years in the Purāṇas and his coins bearing the figure of

a ship speak of his naval power also. Yajña Śrī seems to have retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family after the comparatively weak rule of Puṣumāvi the successor of Goutamīputra, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda, as his coins are found in Kathiawar and Gujarat.

The vicissitudes of Śātavāhana power in the north must have been as follows. Chaṣṭaṇa during the closing years of Puṣmāvi I was probably deputed by Kuzula Kadphises to rule Kutch and Eastern Mālava. He conquered Ujjaini and called himself a Mahākṣatrapa during the rule of Maṇḍalaka, Purikasēna, Sundara Śāta, Chakora and Śivasvāti who seem to have been merely nominal kings soon deposed, as very brief reigns are assigned to them. Gautamīputra, however, determined to root out foreign rule. During these dark days, the Śātavāhana capital was removed to Benakaṭaka which was probably the earliest home of the Śātavāhanas. Gautamīputra's inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, Nasik Inscriptions, No. 4) refers to him (as the lord of Benakaṭaka in Gōvardhana) and to the camp of the Vaijayanti army. To interpret both *Vējayantiye* and *Vijaya* before *Skandhavāra* as meaning victorious, would mean that the word has been repeated by the composer of the inscription merely to emphasize the success of the army, whereas a single word would have been more than enough. Therefore *Vējayantiye Senaye* undoubtedly refers to Banavāsi. Banavāsi was a place of importance long before the rise of the Kadambas, under the rule of Haratīputra Viṣṇukaḍa Chūṭu Kadānanda and Haritīputra Śiva-skandavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, XLVI, p. 156 ff.) who certainly belonged to the Śātavāhana and Chūṭu families. Therefore we must look for Gōvardhanagiri and Benakaṭaka round about Banavāsi. It is interesting to note in this connection that the word *Vijaya* is connected with Vaijayanti or Banavāsi in early Kadamba inscriptions "*Svasti, Vijaya Vaijayantyām Swāmi Mahāsēna mātṛgaṇānudhyātābhishiktānam*" etc. (*Epi. Car.*, Shimoga, Vol. II, SB. 33). Similarly Jinasēna in his Mahāpurāṇa while describing the conquests of Bharata, speaks of Vaijayanti and its sea-port *Vaijayanti Mahādvāra*,

In the Kadamba inscription of Mṛgēśavarman referred to above, there is mention of a Venṇā river, obviously the stream Yenṇe which joins the Śarāvati, and here also is found Gōvardhanagiri on the borders of the Shimoga district just below the place where the Śarāvati joins the sea. Therefore I believe that Gautamīputra called himself the lord of Benakaṭaka and Gōvardhanagiri and with his army from Banavāsi marched on the Khakarātas and other rulers and regained the other capital Pratiṣṭhana. Gautamīputra put an end to the line of Khakarātas and wrested back the provinces that had been lost. The provinces mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman and Nasik inscription of Balasī are as follows (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII):—

Gautamīputra (c. 106—130 A.D.)	Rudradāman (130—150 A.D.)
(1) Ākara	(1) Pūrvāparākara
(2) Avanti	(2) Avanti
(3) Anūpa	(3) Anupa
(4) Ānarta	(4) Anarta
(5) Surathā	(5) Surāṣṭra
(6) Kukara	(6) Kukura
(7) Aparānta	(7) Aparānta

Other provinces mentioned by Gautamīputra are Asika, Aṣaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha. Those mentioned by Rudradāma are Maru, Kachha, Sindhu, Sōvīra, Nishāda and Youdheya. The provinces, Rudradāma says, were taken by himself unaided (*Śvavīryārjita*). Evidently all the western provinces even as far as Aparānta were wrested from Puṣāmāvi who was driven back to the ancient capital Benakaṭaka where he stayed till his 19th year (No. 3, Nasik Inscriptions), when having rebuilt Pratiṣṭhāna he called it Navanagara or new town. Therefore it is apparent that while Aparānta was in the possession of the Kṣatrapas, Puṣāmāvi could not have been at Paithan. Indeed Rudradāma seems to have harried the Śātakarṇi into the Dakṣiṇāpatha twice without any provocation (*nirvyāja*) but left him alone because of his relationship.

In arriving at the above reconstruction of history of the Kṣatrapas and Śātavāhanas we have taken for granted first that Nahapaṇa lived before Sodāsa; secondly, that though a century elapsed between Nahapaṇa and Gautamīputra, the successors of Nahapaṇa were content with merely changing the figures on the coins without changing the legends; and thirdly, that Chaṣṭaṇa and Jayadāman had probably very long reigns. Each one of these points can be disputed, but thereby the dates here assigned to Goutamīputra are not much affected (*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 230).

As soon as the powerful hand of Goutamīputra was removed by death in 129-30 A.D., Rudradāman became aggressive in Sindh and Gujarat and sought to extend his sovereignty at the expense of Puḷamōvi II. He took Ākara from the Śātavāhanas some time before 150 A.D.; but in his old age or perhaps in the time of his weak successor, Eastern Mālva was lost to the Kṣatrapas. Kāniṣka I who started his own era in 128-29 A.D. grew in power; and in the 28th year of his reign, i.e., in 126 A.D. we find Vasiṣka ruling there. The Śātavāhana power suffered an eclipse during the reigns of Puḷmāvi II, Śiva Śrī and Śiva Skanda and they had to retire south of the Kṛṣṇa to their original home near Benakaṭaka and Vaijayanti. It was only under Goutamīputra Yajña Śrī, who taking advantage of the weak rule of Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas, managed to reconquer all the old Śātavāhana possessions—Ākara, Sourāṣṭra, Aparānta, etc., that the Śātavāhana power revived. Aśmaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha were too far from the centre of Kṣatrapa, Khakarāṭa and Kuṣāṇa activities and were never subject to these foreign powers with the occasional exception of Pratiṣṭhāna which was the capital of the Mulaka country from the earliest times.

The *Jātakas*, *Mahābhārata*, etc., refer to Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of Mulaka country as contrasted with Pouḍana, the capital of the Aśmaka country (*Jātakas* III, 3-3 & 4). Kaniṣka's power never extended into Sindh or Ākara or Eastern Mālva during his own time. But the real bone of contention between Kaniṣka and Rudradāman seems to have been Sōvira,

According to the Vihāra record of the year 11 (140 A.D.), Bhāvalpur on the Sutlej must have been in possession of Kaniṣka. This was in the country of Sōvira in which, according to Al-Beruni, was included Multan. In the year 150 A.D. we find Rudradāman claiming it. In 156 A.D. we find Vasiṣka extending the Kuṣāṇa power as far as Ākara (Eastern Mālva). Therefore we have to conclude that some time after 140 A.D. and before 150 A.D. Sōvira was taken from Kaniṣka, but later, before 156 A.D. Vasiṣka repulsed the Kṣatrapas and took possession of Ākara. If on the other hand accepting the statement of Yuvan Chwang, we say that Sōvira was a part of the kingdom of Takka with its capital at Sakala near Jalandhar on the Bias, we will be forced to conclude that Rudradāman's dominions extended even into the Punjab. This is manifestly impossible. Therefore the river Sutlej was most probably the northern limit of his territory beyond which Kaniṣka held sway. Rudradāman held Sōvira in the north and Aparānta in the south only for a short time with the might of his power. These frontier provinces, however, were taken by Vasiṣka and Pulomāvi, respectively, probably after his death.

PRATIJÑĀ-YAUGANDHARĀYAṆA : A CRITIQUE

BY H. L. HARIYAPPA, M.A.

I. Introduction

Bhāsa and his Plays.—Bhāsa was only a name two decades ago. We are indebted to Prāktana Vimarsa Vicakṣaṇa Rao Bahadur R. Narasimbachar and Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri for unearthing Bhāsa and securing for him and his works their deserved position in Sanskrit literature¹. Searching enquiry has been made and divergent theories have been put forth by scholars these two and twenty years regarding the age and authenticity of the plays. It cannot be denied, however, that they form an excellent and sumptuous addition to the Sanskrit drama. It is proposed to consider here one of Bhāsa's thirteen plays—Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa.

The great epics of India, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have, from time immemorial, been the perennial source of Indian poetry. Poets have vied with one another in working upon incidents and anecdotes selected from these vast store-houses. Some have gone to other sources and even to real life for their theme. Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, for instance, draw from *Kathā* literature, while Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* picture from life. Some works like Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* have also given us history.

The Theme of the Plays.—Bhāsa has drawn from all these sources. Six of his plays are based on the Mahābhārata, two on the Rāmāyaṇa, three on the *Kathā*, one on the Kṛṣṇa legend and one on social life. Some historical facts are also met with in these plays, notably in *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* and

¹ Vide Mysore Archaeological Report for 1909-10, paragraph 116. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 40, pp. 87-89. *Svapna-Vāsavādatṭa*, edited by T. G. Sastri, Triyaṇḍrum, 1924, Introduction, ••

Svapna-Vāsavadatta. The subject-matter of *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* is from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*², which is said to be in *Paśācī* Prākṛt and appears to be as interesting as it is voluminous. Says Bāṇa in the introduction to his *Harṣacarita*—

समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।

हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥

“For whose wonderment will not the *Bṛhatkathā* be—the Great Story which kindles the (sense of the) Beautiful and embellishes the *Garurī Vidyā*³ (so called), even as God Śiva's sport which burns Kandarpa (Cupid) and (yet) decorates Pārvatī?”

The Legend of Udayana.—The legend of Udayana Vatsarāja seems to have been very popular in early Sanskrit and Pāli literatures. References to him or to incidents in his life are found in technical works like Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, as well as in literary works like *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Meghadūta*, not to speak of whole works on the subject like *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*. Udayana, besides, figures in history as having ruled at Kauśāmbī just after the decease of the Buddha and as having been a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Magadha and Pradyota of Ujjayinī. Buddhist and Jain works relating to the period, as well as the Purāṇas, refer to this aspect in great detail.⁴

² The Great Story is handed down through three adaptations or abridgements thereof, viz., Somadeva's *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara* (composed between 1063-87 A.D.), Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (slightly earlier than the former) and Budhaswamin's *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha* (earlier than 1000 A.D.). The last-named work was brought to light and its relative merits thoroughly discussed by Felix Lacôte in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, translated into English by Rājasabhābhūṣaṇa the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E., and published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore (1923).

³ Cf., Com. Śaṅkara—कृतं गौर्या विद्यामैदस्याराधनं यस्याम् । On the interpretation of the stanza compare also foot-note on p. 17, *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkathā* (Father Tabard's Translation).

⁴ For fuller information see *Priyadarśikā* of Śrī Harṣa, edited and translated by G. K. Nariman, A. V. W. Jackson and C. J. Ogden. (Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Series.) Introduction, pp. lxii-lxxvi.

II. The Play

The Plot.—Vatsarāja was an accomplished person and an expert in the art of music, able to entice the elephant with the mysterious viṇā known as *Ghoṣavatī*. He was a formidable king and the country prospered under his rule supported as it was by the able minister Yaugandharāyaṇa. His neighbour, King Pradyota, also known as Mahāsena owing to his possessing a large army, was anxious to give in marriage to Vatsarāja his fair daughter Vāsavadattā. But Vatsarāja, out of sheer self-esteem (Act II, pp. 60-61), would not even regard him. Pradyota had, therefore, recourse to stratagem and enticed Vatsarāja to the borders of the kingdom, unaware and unsupported, by means of a blue elephant, which in the imagination of the royal hunter, corresponded to the type of elephants (नीलकुवलयतनुः) described in the śāstras. He was easily drawn to it and overwhelmed by the enemies lying in wait. Yaugandharāyaṇa, his minister, learnt through his spies about the intended ruse but he was late in warning the king of the danger. The capture of Vatsarāja was, therefore, inevitable. Once while he was in prison, he accidentally saw the princess and fell in love with her.⁵ Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, who excelled his contemporaries in stratagem and statesmanship, entered Pradyota's capital with his friends and servants, all in disguise, and won over, by liberal presents, all the guards of his master's prison. Secret communication was thus established between the minister, disguised as a mad man, and Vatsarāja through the Vidūṣaka disguised as a buffoon. Vāsavadattā, in her love⁶ for Vatsarāja, consented to run away with him and the escape was effected

⁵ The Vidūṣaka's reference to the romance is not without humour—यौ—ततस्ततः । वि—किं ततस्तत इति ? बन्धनमिदानीं प्रमद्वनं सम्भाव्य प्रवृत्तो रागलीलां कर्तुम् । Act III, pp. 94 (Text edited with commentary by T. G. Sastri, Trivandrum).

⁶ So ardent was it that she denied herself later on all comfort in order to help Yaugandharāyaṇa in redeeming her noble lord's suzerainty. The whole of the *Śaṅkha-Vāsavadatta*—a companion play to this—is devoted to celebrate the triumph of this love.

at the earliest opportunity. In their attempt to recapture Vatsarāja, Mahāsena's guards could only take away as prisoner Yaugandharāyaṇa, who, with the small party of his soldiers, engaged them in severe fight. Bharatarohaka, the minister of Mahāsena, wished to take revenge on the prisoner, but Mahāsena, being pleased to find that Yaugandharāyaṇa employed the trick not to harm him but to save his master, acquitted him with honour. Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā lived happily as king and queen.

First Act.—The play is short enough and the dramatist nowhere indulges in elaborating any single sentiment with the result that the interest of the audience or the reader is never allowed to flag. The first act, besides giving a clear idea of the relative position of Vatsarāja and Mahāsena through the conversation between Yaugandharāyaṇa and Hamsaka, also indicates the conclusion through the oath taken by Yaugandharāyaṇa. The graphic narrative of the fall of Vatsarāja fully arrests attention.

Second Act.—In the second act, Pradyota's position is further revealed and the dénouement rendered hopeful by the equitable treatment afforded to the royal prisoner and by the fact that Mahāsena and his queen desire to make him their son-in-law. Mahāsena's discussion of the marriage problem with his chamberlain, Bādarāyaṇa, and then with the queen, her enthusiasm regarding musical instruction being given to the princess and her assumed indifference regarding the choice of a suitable bridegroom after Vatsarāja was brought a captive are presented in a homely way and are characteristically modern. The whole act is pleasantly realistic.

Third Act.—The third act, called the *mantrāṅka* (consulting scene), describes, by *suggestion*,⁷ how the goal is within reach, clear of all obstacles. Its attainment is further assured

⁷ The learned translators of the Punjab have ignored altogether the suggestive aspect of this act in their translation. Though it could be well regarded that the Vidūṣaka's prattle and the Unmattaka's outbursts meant only fun and nothing more, yet the *śrce* of *dhvani* underlying it cannot be resisted. Compare Pandit T. G. Sastri's commentary.

by the final instructions given by Yaugandharāyaṇa (p. 90). The first part of the act is at once humorous and suggestive. First enters the Vidūṣaka, disguised as a buffoon, complaining of the loss of his pudding bowl (मोदकमल्लक), suggesting thereby his not having found Yaugandharāyaṇa, to whom he is anxious to deliver the king's message. Yaugandharāyaṇa, on the other hand, having laid out his plan by that time, seems to take matters easy. The Vidūṣaka holds within himself a catechismal inquiry as to what might have happened to the pudding bowl. Yaugandharāyaṇa enters as a mad man and in their dialogue, which is strictly in keeping with their assumed rôles, a private conference is suggested as urgent to consider the situation. Rumaṇvān is also cleverly introduced as Śramaṇaka. They all adjourn to the secret Fire Chamber (अग्निगृह) where they confer. The king's message that the escape can be only with Vāsavadattā is delivered; and though at first the conferrers despair, their loyalty asserts itself and Yaugandharāyaṇa takes his second oath to see that Vāsavadattā also escapes with Vatsarāja. They disperse and the act fittingly closes by the resumption of the mad man's rôle by Yaugandharāyaṇa.

The dramatist has skilfully managed the scene in all its details, though sometimes, as in the opening speech of the buffoon, the humour is rendered heavy by the suggestion involved. Also there is no consistency in the words used for particular hidden ideas. मोदकमल्लक (pudding-bowl) is intended to refer to Vatsarāja or Yaugandharāyaṇa or even the intended conference; and मोदकः point to the king's message or the secret soldiers. It may render the passage very difficult for ready comprehension and may even mean a failure on the stage. But this disadvantage is more than compensated by the suggestion involved and the skill exhibited. Further, the success of any piece, easy or difficult, depends on the actor as well. Let alone the Vidūṣaka's soliloquy. How natural is the ensuing dialogue between the Vidūṣaka and the Unmattaka (Yaugandharāyaṇa), full of fun and transparently suggestive of the secret purpose! The double rôle gets more

and more interesting and every line bears testimony to the masterly mind that conceived it.

Fourth Act.—In the last act also the action is rapid. Vatsarāja has escaped and is doubly happy with his love ; Yaugandharāyaṇa's efforts are crowned with success though he falls a captive and is brought for trial. Happily the chamberlain announces that Mahāsena is pleased to recognize his merit and requests him to accept the king's present. Mahāsena's queen desires to die for the loss of her dear daughter but the king consoles her by proposing to celebrate the marriage of the run-away couple in a painting.

Characteristics of the Play.—The story is plainly one of love as the ultimate result is the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Vatsarāja. The play primarily celebrates the greatness of Yaugandharāyaṇa as a diplomat and incidentally the marriage, though behind the screen. Neither the prominence of the minister nor the love between Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā is anywhere lost sight of. Yaugandharāyaṇa himself countenances the love affair and aids it. How interesting again is the fact that King Mahāsena and party have the same end as the enemies themselves and how the effect of the romance is very much heightened by the harmonious blending of the *Vīra* and *Śṛṅgāra rasas* consequent on the heroic activities of the minister and the romantic relationship between Vatsarāja and the princess !⁸

Unlike an ordinary story depicting a conflict between two parties where one triumphs and the other loses, here there is something more ; while the one has triumphed, the other has by no means lost as both achieved their object—the marriage between Vasavadattā and Vatsarāja. Besides,

⁸ Cf. Com. (Tri. Edn., 1920) Act IV, p. 128.

यदस्य कार्यस्य कुक्षिगतं कार्यान्तरं—वत्सराजाय वासवदत्ताप्रदानं नाम, तत्तु महासेनस्य साध्यम् । वत्सराजस्याविधेयस्य सतो विधेयत्वापादनार्थं छलयित्वापग्रहणं वासवदत्तावीणोपदेशाचार्योक्तिरूपेण च तस्य साध्यस्य साधनोपायः, वासवदत्तावत्सराजयोगान्धर्वविधिना विवाहनिष्पत्तेश्च तत्सिद्धिरिति महासेनकार्यसिद्धिर्भाकरणात् कामपि विच्छित्तिं यौगन्धरायणकार्यसिद्धिरस्यां नाटिकायां नीयत इति वेदितव्यम् ।

Mahāsena employs stratagem to capture Vatsarāja not to humiliate him but to secure him as his son-in-law. He means it unmistakably when he says—

भोः ! काशिराजदूतसंप्रेषणेन वत्सराजग्रहणार्थं गतं शालङ्कायनं प्रति गता मे बुद्धिः । किन्तु खल्वद्यापि वृत्तान्तं न प्रेषयति स ब्राह्मणः ॥

(Act II, p. 50.)

“Ay, the king of Benares sending an envoy, my mind turns towards Śālaṅkāyana who has gone to capture Vatsarāja. How is it that the Brahmin sends no information yet?”

While, on the one hand, Mahāsena feels unable to disoblige the king of Benares whose virtues as related by his ambassador, Jaivanti, are enticing, on the other, he feels assured that he cannot secure a better bridegroom than Vatsarāja. The queen's regard for him is noteworthy.⁹

देवी—किन्तु खल्वेनमुत्सेकयति ?

राजा—उत्सेकयत्येनं प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारतो वंशः । दर्पयत्येनं दायाद्यागतो गान्धर्वो वेदः । विभ्रमयत्येनं वयस्सहजं रूपम् । विस्त्रंभयत्येनं कथमप्युत्पन्नोऽस्य पौरानुरागः ।

देवी—अभिलषणीया वरगुणाः ॥

(Act II, pp. 60-61.)

Queen—What is it that elates him, I wonder ?

King—Well, the Bhārata dynasty (whose scion he is) elates him—a dynasty which is mentioned in the Vedic lore and which counts among its numbers many an esteemed royal sage. A knowledge of music which he inherits invigorates him. A personality well becoming his age deludes him. (More than all) the love of his subjects somehow earned inspires him with confidence.

Queen.—Desirable are these noble qualities.

A young athlete, an accomplished musician, a high-born prince, a beloved ruler, an ardent hunter but a complete stranger to what later makes him the most famous prince of

⁹ Compare the Queen's message of condolence to Vatsarāja on the reported death of Vāsavadattā in the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* (Tri. Edn., 1924), p. 133.—

धात्री—आह भट्टिनी 'उपरता वासवदत्ता । मम वा महासेनस्य वा यादृशौ गोपालकपालकौ तादृश एव त्वं प्रथममेवाभिप्रेतो जामातेति ॥'

romance ; such is Vatsarāja. His capture comes quite opportunely, a blessing in disguise. Likewise, Yaugandharāyaṇa's effort to liberate his master is but a friendly act to Mahāsenā. Therefore it is that he honours the minister in these words :—

कारणैर्बहुभिर्युक्तैः कामं नापकृतं त्वया ।

गुणेषु न तु मे द्वेषः शृङ्गारः प्रतिगृह्यताम् ॥

(Act IV, p. 120.)

“ For many reasons worthy, (I consider that) truly no harm was wrought by you ; virtues I despise not ; pray, accept this golden vase.”

Another point of note is that the two lovers, Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā, do not appear on the stage at all though their love is of the essence. Bhāsa could well have allotted a scene to depict their first meeting as teacher and taught. But he rightly realized that it would detract from the adventures of Yaugandharāyaṇa and left the whole picture to the imagination of the audience. Humour, ‘which is one of the greatest endowments of genius and the one which beyond all others should help to keep a work sane and wholesome,’ is richly scattered throughout the play and Yaugandharāyaṇa's ready wit and sarcasm afford an intellectual treat.

The Five-Fold Structure of the Play.—The play is typical of a drama with its five-fold structure of the Initial Incident, Rising Action, Climax, Dénouement and Catastrophe. The attempt to capture Vatsarāja is the Initial Incident. Yaugandharāyaṇa's address to Sālaka—‘सालक ! सज्जस्त्वम् ?’ indicates the beginning of the Action (आरम्भः). The capture and Yaugandharāyaṇa's determination to liberate his master from the hands of the enemy, as embodied in his declaration—

यदि शत्रुबलग्रस्तो राहुणा चन्द्रमा इव ।

मोचयामि न राजानं नास्मि यौगन्धरायणः ॥

(I, 16.)

represent the Rising Action (यत्नः). The minister and his assistants, Rumaṇvān and the Vidūṣaka, entering the enemy's capital and making an elaborate plan of escape leading to the second oath taken by the minister mark the Climax of the play. (प्राप्याशा), inspiring the hope that the party will

attain its object. The *praveśaka* (Introductory Scene) of the fourth act assures us of the success of the minister's plans, as a result of which the whole of Ujjayinī (the capital of Pradyota) became Kauśāmbī (the capital of Vatsarāja) except the rampart and the gates. This forms the Dénouement or Resolution of Action (नियताप्तिः). Finally, the Catastrophe or the Conclusion of the play (फलागमः) is stated in the announcement of the escape of Vatsarāja with Vāsavadattā—एष भर्ता वत्सराजो वासवदत्तां गृहीत्वा निर्गतः —and in the consolation offered by Mahāsena to his queen in proposing the celebration of the marriage in an effigy—क्षत्रधर्मेणोद्दिष्टे दुहितुर्विवाहः । किमिदानीं हर्षकाले सन्तप्यसे ? तच्चित्रफलकस्थयोर्वत्सराजवासवदत्तयोर्विवाहोऽनुष्ठीयताम्—इति ॥

Criticism of the Plot.—The plot of the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* is not accepted by all critics as perfect. Witness the charge levelled by Bhāmaha in his *Kāvya-lankāra* (Ch. IV) where he cites the incident of the blue elephant trick as an instance of a literary defect called *Nyāyavirōdhu*.¹⁰ Prof. A. B. Keith, though dissociating himself from Bhāmaha, is obliged to remark—“Neither the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* nor the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is construed in so clumsy a manner but in some cases the working of the plot is entirely open to criticism,”¹¹ and proceeds to illustrate the point by discussing some details connected with only the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. Prof. A. C. Woolner, while introducing the translation of the play,¹² notices, however, some defects in plot construction—“Indeed, there seems to be some inconsistency”; for “it is not quite clear what is supposed to have happened between Act ii and Act iii or between Act iii and Act iv.” But it is some satisfaction that a note is added at the end to say that ‘Dr. Sarup will not admit any inconsistency’.

¹⁰ *Vile* Introduction to *Pratijñā*, Tri. Edn. (1920), pp. 1-3 ; also A. B. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 102.

¹¹ A. B. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 113.

¹² *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhāsa*. Translated into English by Prof. A. C. Woolner and Dr. Lakshman Sarup. Published for the University of the Punjab (1930) by the Oxford University Press.

The music lesson (the exact period of whose occurrence is one of the points raised) comes about certainly between the third and the fourth acts. While considering the plot of this play, it is important to keep out of mind the versions contained in other books dealing with the legend. For Bhāsa many a time deviates from the traditional story as found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha*, which are but later versions of the great original. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*,¹³ for instance, tells of Udayana being anxious to marry Vāsavadattā as much as Mahāsena himself was to marry her to him. In the play, the latter aspect is emphasized and the former not even indicated, nay, quite ignored, probably deliberately.¹⁴

At the end of the second act Udayana is a prisoner of war lying wounded in a precarious condition in the palace of Mahāsena who is filled with remorse at the fatal turn his plans have taken. Hence, he orders that the captive should be treated with every consideration. It must have taken a considerable time for the wounds to heal and the patient to recover completely. One day, perhaps when he was yet convalescing, he sees the princess being borne in a palanquin in front of the prison. This is the first sight he ever has of her. It is, of course, a case of love at first sight. Then taking the prison for a pleasure garden he begins to think of making overtures to his lady-love. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka are busy with their scheme. The details of the plan and the gradual success thereof are being reported to the king in prison from time to time through the Vidūṣaka and it is at the very last

¹³ Vide Appendix to *Vasavadatta* translated by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (Ox. Uni. Press, 1923), p. 86. Cf. also *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, II, ii. 5 and 30—
कन्या वासवदत्तेयं तद्योग्यैव सुता मम । निसर्गशत्रुर्नाथ्यो मे मानी स च न याचते ॥
... यौगन्धरायणस्येति श्रुत्वा राजसुतां नृपः । प्रदध्यौ मनसा हृष्टः स्मरो हि
ज्ञानलोचनः ॥

¹⁴ Cf. also Introduction to *Priyadarśika* (Col. Uni. Indo-Iranian Series), p. lxxii—"There had been no previous negotiations by Udayana for Vāsavadattā's hand."

stage of giving effect to the plan that the king, who is mad with love for the princess, refuses to go without his beloved. Yaugandharāyaṇa decides to achieve that end also. He, however, puts the plan into execution as already contemplated with only this change that Udayana need not bolt away on the subdued Nalāgiri.¹⁵ Thus, 'the next day,' Nalāgiri is infuriated. Pradyota seeks Udayana's assistance, restoring to him his *ghoṣavatī* with whose help he tames the beast. In grateful recognition of his services Udayana is granted his freedom¹⁶ but is requested to live in the palace and to instruct the princess in music. The request is made and accepted solemnly before the sacred fire.¹⁷ Then, on a convenient day, the escape is effected.

Prof. Woolner does not seem to be convinced about the perfectness of the plot because he would not give independent consideration to it. He hastens to think of the 'usual account' too often;¹⁸ and the result is 'inconsistency'. Again, there is the question—'When did Udayana recover his famous lute?' Prof. Woolner seems to think that he was in possession of it even before Yaugandharāyaṇa sent the final message to the king regarding the execution of the plan the following day, whereas in strictness of fact it could be that the instrument was restored at the time when Nalāgiri ran amuck. The supposition that the king was in possession of the lute even before makes it, no doubt, probable that the music lesson was already a reality. But it is to be noted

¹⁵ Not a female elephant as mentioned in the introduction under review. It is evidently an error (see p. 2, para 4).

¹⁶ Suggested in Act IV, p. 122—न पुनर्बद्धस्ते स्वामी.

¹⁷ यदग्निसाक्षिकं महासेनस्य दुहितरं शिष्यां प्रतिगृह्य

(*Ibid.*, p. 121.)

¹⁸ P. 3, lines 6-8. 'Lead up to the well-known incident of the music lesson—in which Udayana introduced behind a curtain as a teacher of the lute is taunted by his pupil and lifts the curtain'. P. 4, lines 6-7, 'Indeed the usual account is that Yaugandharāyaṇa arranged it'. *Ibid.*, lines 12-14, 'It involves a modification of the usual account of the music lesson as the occasion of the first meeting of the lovers.'

that this supposition is based apparently on the misunderstanding of the expression—‘सहव्यापनां घोषवतीं हस्तगतां कृत्वा’ which Prof. Woolner translates ‘grasping the lute, which shares his sorrows’. But a more accurate translation would be ‘taking possession of the lute which suffered calamity simultaneously with him’,¹⁹ meaning that it was taken away as booty just when he was taken away as captive. There is no doubt, therefore, that Vatsarāja continued to be a prisoner until his services were required to tame the elephant; that, as a return, he earned his freedom and that the music lesson came about only after that. In the interval between Acts II and III, Udayana is supposed to be recovering under the tender care of Mahāsena, and Yaugandharāyaṇa with his assistants has established secret communication with their king and has been planning for his escape. Between Acts III and IV Nalāgiri is infuriated and tamed; Vatsarāja, freed from prison, agrees to be tutor to the princess and finally comes the elopement.²⁰

Prof. Woolner would have us speculate on another point—‘Is it possible that Act II is by a different hand?’ How this question arises one is at a loss to know. The question is sufficiently answered when the Professor himself observes, “At the same time, it must be admitted that the Court Scene is clever and if it be by a second hand that second hand was skilful and reminds us of the delicate handling of several scenes in *The Vision of Vasavadatta*’. If the several scenes in *The Vision of Vasavadatta* be from the pen of Bhāsa, then there is no doubt that the second act of our play is also from the

¹⁹ Knowing fully that the wronged elephant could be subdued only by means of the lute, Pradyota has but to make it over to Udayana at the time. Cf. T. G. Sastri's Com.—‘सहव्यापनां स्वामिना सह ग्रहणविपत्तिं प्राप्ताम्’

²⁰ Cf. Commentary by Pandit T. G. Sastri, Tri. Edn., pp. 102-103. Compare also Introduction to the *Priyadarśika* (Col. Un. Indo-Iranian Series), p. lxii, “It is through an accident that the prisoner sees Vāsavadattā and falls in love with her; and he apparently obtains his position as her music teacher only after he has tamed the royal elephant Nalāgiri in consequence of a scheme devised by Yaugandharāyaṇa.”

same source. Truly, as Dr. Sarup has thought, "Acts III and IV form a harmonious whole with Act II and give a logical development of the course of events in continuation of Act II." The nature of the first two acts is one of exposition. The first act acquaints the audience with the position of Vatsarāja and the second with that of Mahāsena. Each party has its own fate to suffer; its own plans to achieve. For the logical development of the plot and the happy resolution thereof, as we witness in the last act, the second is as indispensable as the first. And an act which has so much in common—too patent to need mention—with the rest not only of the play itself but of the whole group in thought, style and diction; an act which displays remarkable subtlety in the construction of the plot and striking realism in the portraiture of life; an act, again, which reveals the dramatist's conception of an ideal man,²¹ nay, which reveals the very personality of the dramatist,²² can hardly be the work of a person other than Bhāsa.

(*To be continued.*)

²¹ Cf. II, 4.

²² Consider, for example, the nobility and benevolence (अनुक्रोश) infused into the character of Mahāsena who, according to the originals, is rather a cruel monarch. He is referred to, for instance, in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, as कूरविजयी (II, ii, 45), *i.e.*, a conqueror who deprives the enemy of his kingdom as well as his wealth. *File* Commentary on Raghu, IV, 43.

TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

I. The Druta Classification in Literary Telugu.

TO the student of comparative Dravidian linguistics, no topic of Telugu phonology is more full of historical significance than the one which deals with what is known as the *druta* category of words in the literary dialect. The uniqueness of this category lies in the fact that all words belonging thereto possess a final consonantal *n* which in sentence-constructions may itself undergo, and bring about, assimilative changes. Into this category have been brought together words with final *n* belonging to different morphological types. The rules relating to this category have formed the subject of classification and discussion in all Telugu grammatical studies from the time of *Āndhra-śabda-cintāmaṇi* the earliest grammar of Telugu, attributed to Nannaya) downwards; and these rules have received meticulous application in all Telugu compositions wherever the literary dialect is employed. These rules had already developed into something in the nature of a linguistico-stylistic convention or *cliché* in the period of the earliest extant literary inscriptions and compositions, and we know of no linguistic stage in Telugu anterior to this. The conventionalization of these rules by scholars and literary men may, in some instances, have resulted in a rigidity foreign to the actual conditions of the living speech; but we shall see below that in quite a large number of instances the *druta n* was not of artificial origin but was a part of the heritage of Telugu either directly handed down to it from the parent speech or modified by it in accordance with its own particular "genius".

The question of the origin of the *druta n* in the words concerned has so far not been enquired into by any scholar, Indian or European. Investigations into this question have primarily to depend upon the comparison of the Telugu instances with cognates of other Dravidian speeches, in as much

as the available material in Telugu offers little internal historical evidence of the development of the *druta n*. In a few cases the comparison of the literary forms with those of the popular dialect (as used in the living speech and in some of the inscriptions) may be helpful in clarifying ideas; but a proper consideration of the question of the nature of the *druta n* would become possible only through comparisons with other Dravidian speeches.

The historical and comparative standpoint was foreign to the outlook of old Telugu grammarians; and their treatment of this problem has been confined exclusively to the interpretative and classificatory aspects. Among European students of Telugu, C. P. Brown, whose valuable pioneer work in the field of Telugu lexicology deserves to be recognized with gratitude, was not a comparativist; further, he was too little interested in the literary dialect to bestow adequate attention on the *rationale* of the *druta* problem. Caldwell grievously misunderstood the nature and the significance of *druta n* when he described it as a hiatus-filler (*Comp. Gr.*, p. 175), and dismissed the entire problem in a few sentences. Arden's work, excellent in its own way, is purely a descriptive treatise and is mainly concerned with the popular dialect of Telugu.

The Druta Prakrtamulu

The following groups evidence the *druta n* :—

(a) Inflexional particles:

- (i) Accusative ending *-an*.
- (ii) Locative-instrumental ending *-an*.
- (iii) Dative-instrumental ending *-kin*, *-kun*.

(b) Certain post-positional terminations, some of the more important among which are given below:

- (i) *cêtan*, *cên* used with an instrumental force.
- (ii) *tôḍan*, *tôn*, used with an instrumental force.
- (iii) *mayan*, *main*, used with an instrumental force.
- (iv) *koṛakun*, used with a dative signification.
- (v) *valanan*, *valnan*, *vallan*, used ablatively.
- (vi) *lônan*, *lôn*, *lôḍalan*, used locatively.

(c) Pronouns :

- (i) First person singular *ên* and *nên*.
- (ii) Reflexive *tân*.

(d) Tense endings :

- (i) First person singular past *-tîn*.
- (ii) Third person past, singular and plural *-ên*.
- (iii) First person singular indefinite *-edan, -udun*.
- (iv) Third person indefinite *-un, -edun, -edin*.
- (v) First person singular negative *-an*.

(e) Other verb-endings :

- (i) Present adverbial participle *-cun*.
- (ii) Infinitive participle *-an*.
- (iii) Conditional *-inan*.
- (iv) Optative *-tan, -edun*.
- (v) Sequential *-dun*.

(f) The *samuccaya* or conjunctive particle *-un*.

(g) A number of *avyayas* or particles which are case-modified nouns, or old infinitives of verbs, or old words with a *samuccaya* ending : all these are used with fixed and well-defined meanings in the literary dialect.

(h) The *druta* features are also associated with compounds formed with Telugu literary bases, like *prā-* (old), *lē-* (young), etc. Similar *druta* characteristics appear in certain other compounds like *mun-goṅgu, kañ-jikāṭi*, etc.

Druta Sandhi

In combinative positions of sentence-constructions, the *druta n*, as a rule, combines with the initial vowel of the immediately following word, wherever such a vowel appears. In the following instances, however, the *druta n* is optionally dropped in such circumstances :—

- (i) Dative *-kin* and *-kun*.
- (ii) Post-position *-koṛakun*.
- (iii) Present adverbial participle ending *-cun*.
- (iv) A few *avyayas* like *ikan*.

When followed by words with initial consonants, the *druta n* may

- (i) be dropped before voiced plosives and sounds other than plosives ;
- (ii) be represented by the *ara-sunna* or by the *niṇḍu-sunna* before plosives (according to certain circumstances, for which, see below) which plosives (if surds) become voiced in the process ;
- (iii) become *samsleṣa* (in script) before original surd plosives (which become voiced in the process), except in the case of the personal pronouns *én*, *nén* and *tân* ;
- (iv) become *svatvam* in comparatively recent stages of the evolution of the language by incorporating an enunciative, whenever followed by consonants ; and
- (v) in poetry, be dropped sometimes in final positions characterized by pauses.

(a) Inflexional Particles

(i) The accusative ending in Telugu is formed of a particle with final *n*, the initial vocalic portion of which appears to vary with the character of the final vowel of the noun-base. The exact value of the original particle may have been *-an*. The history of this particle goes back to a very remote past in Dravidian in as much as cognate accusative particles appear in different Dravidian dialects separated by wide cultural and chronological divergences among themselves.

Kannaḍa : old *-am*, *-an*, mediæval *-an*, modern *-an(nu)*,
 Tuḷu *-n(u)*, *-n(u)*, as in *maronu* (tree), *gellunnu*
 (branch), etc.

Gōṇḍi *-(u)n*, *-n*, as in *mars-t-un* (axe), *marri-n* (son).
 Kurukh *-n*, as in *kukkosiṇ*, the accusative form of
kukkos (boy).

The Telugu accusative particle is obviously related to this pan-Dravidian ending.

The *druta n* of the accusative ending of Telugu is thus seen to be an organic part of the old heritage of Telugu.

(ii) The locative particle (as distinguished from locative post-positions with which we shall deal later on in the course

of this essay) appears to be *-an*, represented in instances like the following :

(a) *cûtamunan* (at the game of dice)

grihamunan (at the house)

The grammars usually describe *-nan* as the locative particle for "inanimate" singular nouns (with final *-u*) of this type. The examination of inflexional particles and increments from a general Dravidic point of view reveals to us that the actual locative particle here is *-an* and that the *-n-* preceding it stands for the inflexional increment¹ which appears in other case-forms of this Telugu type and in words of other Dravidian speeches.

(b) The Telugu *aupa-vibhakti* verbs which embody very ancient assimilative changes in the structure of their inflexional endings show *-an* in the locative (and in the instrumental) :

ûr-an (at the village) from the noun-base *ûr* ;

kâl-an (at the leg) from *kâl* ;

kaṇṭan (at the eye) from the base *kaṇ* with which the old neuter inflexional increment *-t-* and the locative *-an* have been combined ;

iṇṭan (at the house) from *iṇ* (house).

We know that the inflexional increment does not appear in all cases and that in instances like *ûr-an*, the locative particle directly appears after the noun-base.

(c) Further, the old locative *-an* appears in a number of other instances in old texts, e.g.,

*puramu veli-n*² (outside the town)—Bhârata, Nalôpâkhyâna.

madi-n (in the mind)—Bhârata, Nalôpâkhyâna.

¹ Vide my "Post-positions in Dravidian".

² The ending in these instances is usually described as *saptamyârtham-iccu dvitîyântamu* (Accusative ending with a locative meaning) but a particle of this kind with a locative force is so frequent and common in the old texts in such instances and in *avayayas* (where the locative signification has suffered discoloration) that one cannot help conceding to it the individuality which its structural resemblance to the locative particle of *ûr-an*, etc., warrants,

... *Kuruvibhundu kâryacinta munîgi*.....(the Lord of the Kurus, having become immersed in thought.....) Bhârata, Udyogaparvam, § 16) where *kâryacinta*[*n*] shows the locative *-an*.

.....*mrânan jiguru voḍayunu* (shoots sprout from the tree) (Udyogaparvam, § 61) where *mrânan* contains the old locative.

(d) The same ending *-an* with a locative force exists in a number of *avyayas* like *eḍan*, *tôḍan*, *mîdan*, etc.

All these instances demonstrate the existence of an old Telugu particle *-an*.

I would suggest the following analogies for this particle from other Dravidian dialects :

(1) Kannaḍa *-al* used as a locative particle in very old inscriptional forms like *sthaladal*, *artha-d-al*, etc. (cited by Kittel in his *Gr.*).

(2) Kannaḍa *-al* with a definite "local" signification in words of direction like *mûḍal* (east), *teṅkal* (south), *paḍuval* (west), *attal* (there), *ittal* (here), etc.

(3) Kannaḍa locative particle *-al(i)* connected with (1) above.

(4) Cf. also the old affix *-al* which in the southern speeches is employed to form verbal nouns: Tamil *ṣey-al* (the act of doing), *kâval* (protecting or protection, etc.), Kann. *uḷal* (ploughing), *paḍal* (lying down), *aḷal* (grieving), etc.

As a change of *l* to *n* in such contexts is not impossible in Dravidian (cf. the alternative third case endings of Tamil: *-âl* and *-ân*), and as a very probable change of *-al* to *-an* (see below, for discussion) could be postulated for the *tumannar-thaka* ending of literary Telugu itself, it might not be unjustified to envisage the view that the Telugu locative particle *-an* is related to, if not actually derived from, an older *-al* appearing with a locative or "local" signification in the different Dravidian speeches mentioned above.

(iii) In the Telugu dative *-kin* and *-kun* (where the variation in the character of the vowel *-i-* or *-u-* depends upon vocalic harmony with the final vowel of the noun-base), the

final *-n* appears to be something unique in Telugu, in as much as none of the cognates in the other dialects show a nasal in organic positions. The dative ending with the consonant *-k-* (or its voiced counterpart *-g-*) exists in most Dravidian dialects :

Tamil *-kk(u)*.

Kannada *-ku, -gu, -ke, -ge*.

Tulu *-ku, -gu, -ku, gu*

Kûi *-ki*

Kurukh *-ge*

Brâhûi *-ki* (for the sake of) (Sir Denys Bray's *Gr.*, p. 53).

In none of these cases we find *-n* as an organic part of the dative ending.

The *drutâ -n* of the Telugu ending should therefore be a unique feature of this dialect.

That this *-n* was probably not a permanent part of the dative ending originally, is indicated by the *sandhi* rule that it may optionally be dropped before the initial vowels of the words that follow it in combinative positions. (See *supra*.)

Though the origin of this *drutâ n* cannot be traced with any precision, one may suggest that here we have to do with an old *samuccaya* particle. We shall see below that the *samuccaya* particle *-un* of Telugu does form part of words like *ĩkan* (yet), *ellan* (all) and also of the present adverbial participle with *-cun*; and it is very significant that these are also cases where *-n* may be dropped before vowels in *drutâ sandhi* (see *supra*) exactly like the *n* of the dative ending. In view of this, the final *n* of the Telugu dative ending probably stands for an old *samuccaya* particle.

The inherent idea of association implied in the dative case-relationship might very well have justified the original introduction of the *samuccaya* particle; subsequently the distinctive *samuccaya* meaning was probably lost sight of. Though similar instances of the permanent incorporation of the *samuccaya* particle in the *dative* ending are not available from other dialects, we do have parallels in the

ablative instrumental *indam* of old Kannaḍa and in the ablative *irundum* of middle and new Tamil :

Old Kannaḍa *ind-am*, appearing as *inda*, *inde* in later Kannaḍa.

Tamil *vīṭṭil-irund-um vandān* (he came from the house), where *irund-um* may alternatively appear without the *samuc-caya um*.

(b) Post-positions¹

Some of the more important post-positions are case-modified forms of nouns.

Both *cētan* and *cēn* are found in the oldest texts and both are employed to denote the idea of "agency", e.g.,—

Hanumantani-cēta sīta cūda[n] baḍēnu (Sita was seen by Hanumant) ;

Rāmuḍu bāṇamu-cēta vālini gūlcēnu (Rama slew Vāli with a *bāṇa*).

In *Bhārata* occur forms like *damayanti-cēn* (by Damayanti,) *kriṣṇu-cēn*, etc.

The difference in usage between *cētan* and *cēn* on the one hand, and *tōḍan* and *tōn* on the other (for the latter group also used in the so-called "third case," see below), corresponds more or less to that between the use in Tamil of *-āl* (or *-ān*) and *ōḍu* ; Tamil *-āl* or *-ān* generally expresses "instrumentality" or "agency" and Tamil *-ōḍu* denotes "associativeness" (*sahārthamu*, or in Tamil grammatical terminology *uḍanigaḷci*, see Nannūl, Sūtra 297).

(i) *Cēta[n]* is the old *aupā-vibhakti* locative of the noun *cēy* 'hand', where *-t-* is the characteristic inflexional increment and *-an* is the old locative termination with which we have dealt with above.

The shorter form *cēn* may have been a modified locative case-form of *cēy* without the inflexional increment ; this matter

¹ Some of these post-positions appear as "independent inflected words" in old texts ; this would show that the "hardened" post-positional significations must have gradually cropped up in the course of the evolution of the language.

could not be made clearer because both *cētan* and *cēn* already occur in the oldest extant texts.

(ii) *tôḍan* and *tôn* generally express *sahârthamu* or "associativeness", and they occur with this force in the old texts:

vilâsambu-tôn.

nija rūpambu-tôn (with his own form).

vedka-tôḍan (with joy).

tôḍu (aid, help) is a noun in old and new Telugu; it is also employed as a constituent of compound verbs like *tôḍu-kôn-*, *tôḍu-paḍ-*, *tôḍu-tecc-* on the one hand, and as a part of old *samâsas* like *tôḍa[n]- buṭṭu* (brother or sister) on the other. For the use of compounds with *tôḍu* in *Bhârata*, cf. *tôḍu-técc-* in stanza 16 of Viduranîti: *vâḍunu satvaram-buga[n] jani-y-atani[n] dôḍ-tecci kânpiñcinan* (and when immediately he produced Vidura, having gone and fetched him); *tôḍ-koni teccen dana-talli satyavatinin* (fetched his mother Satyavati).

-tôn is as ancient as *-tôḍan* in the extant material, so far as we know; probably it is a contraction of *tôḍan*.¹

As for the post-positional form *tôḍan* of Telugu, it is an old locative (with *-an*) of the noun *tôḍu* (help, aid).

Another form connected with *tôḍu* and occasionally employed in similar contexts in the old texts is *tôḍutan*:

ôriyaṇâkuva tôḍutan-unikiyaridi

I would consider this form to be the locative (with *-an*) of an old *tôḍuta* formed of *tôḍu* and the affix *-ta*; one may compare *tolutan* (at the beginning) for a similar formation.

¹ It is remarkable that Brâhûi, the Dravidian dialect of North-West India possesses a "conjunctive" affix *-to* denoting "associativeness" as in *î nâ mârâ-to kâva* (I your son-with shall go); *kanâ tûfak na ilum-to-n e* (my gun my brother-with is).

Sir Denys Bray has already pointed out the remarkable similarity of the Brâhûi and the Telugu post-positions; he observes (p. 12, *Brâhûi Grammar*): "Not only is *-tô*, the abbreviated form of the Telugu conjunctive identical with the suffix in Brâhûi, the longer form of *tôḍu* seems to be preserved in the Brâhûi full word *tud* 'accompanying', 'in company with'."

(iii) *main* and *meyan* are post-positions employed after 'inanimate' nouns, with the force of *tôḍan*, *tôn*. These occur in old texts:

nérpu-main (with cleverness).

bhakti-main (with devotion).

i-m-meyyan (in this manner).

samprîti-meyan-unnavârê ? (do they live happily ?)

mey and *mênu* are old Telugu nouns meaning 'body' [cf. §19 of Viduranîti in *Bhārata* : *mênun nippula[n] boralinayaṭṭayū*]. I have tried to show elsewhere that this Telugu word is a cognate of Tamil *mey*, Kann. *mey* 'body', the nasal *-n-* in *mênu* having had its origin in Telugu as in *cênu* 'field' beside Tamil *śey*.

I would regard the Telugu post-positions *mey-an* and *mai-n* as old locatives of *may*, *mey* with the signification 'body'. The meanings of the post-positions are derivable from the primary meaning 'body,' exactly as the power of forming abstract nouns has become associated with the particles *-mi*, *-me* connected with the word *mey*.

(iv) *koṛa-kun* (for the sake of) is the dative case-form of the Telugu noun *koṛa* with the meanings of 'use', 'profit'. *koṛa-kun* is used in the literary speech in the sense of 'for the benefit of', etc., as in *janakūḍu rāmuni-koṛakun sitan-iccenu*.

(v) *valan-an* (by, on account of) [*>valnan >vallan*] could be explained as an old locative of the noun *valanu* 'side', 'manner', 'grace'.

(vi) *lôn* and *lônān* appear with a locative force in the earliest extant texts.

Though it cannot be doubted that these forms are locatives of old Telugu bases allied to Tamil *uḷ*, Kann. *oḷ* (inside, etc.), it is not easy to determine precisely the lines of development along which *lôn* and *lônān* have been formed.

I would suggest that *lônān* is a locative with *-an*, of Telugu *lôn* (inside, mind), the aphæresized, accent-modified cognate of Tamil *uḷḷam* (mind, inside). *lô* with the meaning 'mind' also occurs in Telugu : cf. *taga[n] nî lô[n] ūhîmpumu* (consider well in your mind), §95 of Viduranîti, *Bhārata*.

The post-position *lô-n* may itself have been derived as the locative of *lô*.

Lôpalan is another connected form with the meaning 'amongst': *i-k-kora gâmula-lôpalan okkati nî citta-vrittin-ôndenô?* (Has any one among these evil qualities gained possession of your mind?); *talâcen hridayambu lôpalan* (reflected within the mind).

(c) Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns old *ên*, new *nên* (both of which mean 'I') and *tân* have direct cognates with final *-n* in most Dravidian dialects:

Telugu	<i>ên, nên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Tamil	<i>yân, nân</i>	<i>tân</i>
Kannāḍa	<i>ân, nân</i>	<i>tân</i>
Tuḷu	<i>yên(u), yân(u)</i>	<i>tân(u)</i>
Kûi	<i>ân(u)</i>	<i>tân(u)</i>
Kurukh	<i>ên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Malto	<i>ên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Brahûi	—	<i>tên</i>

The Telugu pronouns *ên*, *nên* and *tân* are directly allied to the widespread Dravidian forms given above.

(d) Tense-Endings

(i) The first person singular past ending in old Telugu is *-tin*¹ of which the more modern representative is *-tini* appearing as *svatvamu* with *-i* following, instead of *-u* on account of vocalic harmony characteristic of Telugu in this and similar contexts. That *-t(i)-* of this ending represents the past-denoting particle and that *-n* is a part of the pronominal

¹ In this connection, it may be noted that Nannaya's *Bhârata* shows the ending *-tin-in* (*druta*, of course, as in *aṇṭinin*) beside *-tin*. Similarly, we have an accusative ending *-nan* (instead of *-an*) as in *satyavatinin*, *sîtanun*, and a *samuccaya* ending *unun* (instead of *-un*) as in *adityun-un-gâka*. The evolution and the origin of the *druta* endings in general, discussed in this essay, would tend to show that these peculiar cases employed in the *Bhârata* have a *druta* super-added to the original *druta* (in its *svatvamu* form). The pronominal portion of the cognate past ending of the other dialects, and the *samuccaya -un* of other South Dravidian speeches clearly indicate that the original forms in Telugu should have been *-t-in* (for the past ending of the first person singular) and *-un* (for the *samuccaya*).

ending would be clear when we compare the similar past terminations of other Dravidian speeches:

Tamil *sey-d.én* (I did).

Kannāḍa *gey-d-en(u)* (I did).

Kûi *tak-(i)t-ē* (I walked), where the nasal of the pronominal ending is reduced to the mere nasalization of the vowel.

Gōṇḍi *vank-t-an* (I spoke).

Kurukh *kam-c-k-an* (I made) where *-c-* (< old *t*?) and *-k-* appear to be the affixes conferring the past signification.

(ii) The third person singular (for *mahat* and *amahat* nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) of the old literary past, show the ending *-én* annexed to the base directly, as in *koṭṭ-én* (struck), *cepp-én* (said), etc. For *kon-* (to bring), *an-* (to say) and *paḍ-* (to fall), the third person forms show *-i-* before the ending *-én*: *koni-y-én* (brought), *ani-y-én* (said), *paḍi-y-én* (fell). The affiliations of these forms to those of other speeches are not clear; the past affix *-t-* appearing in the other 'persons' of this tense is conspicuous by its absence in the third personal forms. It is difficult to find out if *-i-* of *ani-y-én*, etc., is really a past affix.

The appearance of the same ending *-én* for the singular (of all nouns) and the plural (of *amahat* nouns) would tend to indicate that *-én* may not have been pronominal in origin.

(iii) There are two different sets of forms in literary Telugu denoting what is described as the "Indefinite" tense (or *taddharmakârtha* in the terminology of Telugu grammars).

One set¹ uses *-ud-* (as the past affix annexed to the base) and pronominal terminations for all forms except the third person singular (for all nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) where neither *-ud-* nor pronominal endings are found but *-un-*

¹ These two sets of the indefinite are used in the classics with different tense-significations. The *-ud-* set is frequently used with a present-future signification and occasionally with a past meaning. The other set (with *-ed-*) is described as a present form in Bhāṣābhāṣaṇa; it is often also employed to denote the future idea of 'will' and 'would' with an implication of condition in it.

is found annexed immediately to the base (cf. *kott-ud-un*, the first person singular form with *kott-un*, the third person form); while the other set shows *-ed-* with pronominal endings for all forms except the third person singular (all nouns) and plural (*amahat* nouns) in which latter we find *-ed-un*¹ or *-ed-in*.

a. The first person singular endings of the forms belonging to these two past types are *-d-un* and *-ed-an*. The final *-n* (*druta*) of these endings very probably represents the first personal singular pronominal termination appearing in other Telugu tense forms. We are led to think so because these endings are characteristically limited to the singular of the first person; and further some of the other persons (first person plural, second person singular, second person plural) are marked off from the first person singular by characteristic pronominal endings of undoubted Dravidic origin.

β. The third person endings of the two types are respectively *-un* and *edun*, *edin*. These endings are used in the singular in connection with all nouns, *mahat* and *amahat*, and in the plural in connection with all *amahat* nouns.

The use of these forms in both the singular and the plural (even though it be confined to *amahat* nouns in the latter) is peculiar; this fact would imply that the endings may not contain a pronominal element; for, if they did, the plural ending should have been different.

Caldwell may be correct in connecting Telugu *-un* here with Tamil *-um* appearing in the Tamil tense with *-um*. The similarity in the functions of the Telugu and the Tamil forms and the very plausible phonetic correspondence of Telugu *-n* here to Tamil *-m* have been relied upon by Caldwell in postulating the relationship.

¹ The future-aoristic meanings of *-edun*, *-edin*, and the fact that these endings appear in the singular and the plural (in the latter for *amahat* nouns) are features parallel to those of *-un*, the third personal ending of the other indefinite tense-type. As we have noted, *-un* is cognate with Tamil *-um* (of the Tamil aoristic tense) and ultimately related (as suggested by Caldwell, p. 484, *Gr.*) to the *samuccaya*; is it possible that *-ed-un*, *-ed-in* contain an element similar to *-un*?

As for Telugu *eḍ-un* and *eḍ-in*, no cognates are available in the other Dravidian speeches (so far as I can see), and no definitive suggestions can be made about the character or origin of final *-un* and *-in* in these endings.

(iv) The negative aorist first person singular of Telugu with final *-an*, has cognates with final *-n* in other dialects :

Tam. *śeyy-é-n* (I do not, or did not, do)

Kann. *gey-α-n* („ „)

Kûi *tak-ā-n(u)* („ „)

The final *-n* in all these cases is a part of the old first personal pronominal ending ; and the *druta n* of the Telugu ending has obviously had the same origin.

(e) Other verb-endings

(i) The present adverbial participle of old Telugu *śatrar-thaka* is marked by the ending *-cun*, the corresponding ending in the popular dialect of Telugu being *-tu* or *-tû*. This participle is employed to denote either ‘ contemporaneous action ’ or ‘ continuity of action ’, as in the following :—

Literary Telugu *cûcu-cun bôvucunnâvâḍu* (he proceeds observing) ; *pâḍu-cun bôyen* (he went singing).

nâku rêp-accaṭi panulu ceppuvâḷan-anucu[n] janiye (he went away saying “ I shall communicate to you to-morrow the news from over there ”) [Viduranîti §18].

Popular Telugu *céstû unnâḍu* (he is going on doing it) ; *âyana bhôjanamu céstu, nâto maḷlâḍinâḍu* (he spoke to me whilst taking food).

(To be continued.)

HEAVENLY MANSIONS OF THE HINDUS

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 1)

AN introductory account of the heavenly mansions, more particularly with reference to the mythology of stars and the Zodiac has been given in the previous pages and it is now proposed to deal with the constellations generally referred to therein.

To the denizens of the Earth, the starry heavens appear to revolve round the axis of the Earth, which when produced in a straight line meets the Pole Star in the north. This is perhaps responsible for the ancient notion that the Sun moved round the Earth. In the course of its motion through space, each star describes somewhat of a circle, a path which is smaller or greater in proportion to its distance from the axis round which it revolves. At or near the poles, the stars always appear at the horizon or overhead and rarely appear to change their position appreciably. This is due to the elevation of the polar axis. Consequently, stars at or near the poles never appear to rise or to set, situated constantly in visible parts of the sky and outside the limits of the Earth's curvature. These stars are, therefore, known as circumpolar stars, and to this class belong Canopus in the Argo Navis, the Great Bear, Little Bear, Cassiopeia and Perseus, amongst others. With regard to the stars near the celestial equator, these imaginary circles, however, sometimes get below the horizon and hence disappear from view.

The changes in the position of stars as we observe them are not due to actual motions in the groups of stars themselves but are merely apparent and are mainly explainable with reference to the motion of the Earth round its axis and its revolution round the Sun. The motion of the solar system and the movement of the stars in space would not considerably add to the difference in our observation, except

for the Earth's motion, to such an appreciable extent as at present.

The various heavenly constellations as we know them are grouped and dealt with, with reference to the principal star in each constellation and are arranged for purposes of convenience, beginning from those overhead and going to the several directions, east, west, north or south. The ecliptic is the apparent path of the Sun in the sky and called the zodiac from the names of animals given to the twelve solar mansions comprised in this circle. And the 27 (or 28) lunar mansions are distributed in practically equal proportions amongst these twelve. In the course of the account of the solar and lunar mansions that follows will also be found discussed several well-known non-zodiacal constellations.

Mesha (Aries)

The solar sign of Aries (Mesha) represents the male goat, is reddish yellow, lustreless, Lord of the east and of Vysya caste. It is between the well-known constellations of Andromeda and the Pleiades (Krittika). Delphinus or the Dolphin is also observed in this sign, in the shape of a kite with a tail. The sign is marked by two first magnitude stars. The lunar mansion of Aśvini consisting of three stars and having the appearance of a horse's face is in this sign. Its presiding deities are Aśvins. A nymph, considered as the mother of the Aśvins and the wife of the Sun, who concealed herself in the form of a mare, is also said to have been represented here. Hindu mythology also regards Aśvini as an earth goddess, as a mare into which the Sun breathed producing Aśvinī Kumāras, the Twins of the Hindu Zodiac, the physicians of the Gods, and seemingly corresponding to Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. This mansion succeeded Krittika (Pleiades) as leader about 400 B.C. Aśvini is the first month of the Hindu lunar year and the sixth solar Hindu month and the Sun is then in Kanyā (Tam. Purattāsī). α , β , γ Arietis are associated with Aśvinī, being Hamal, Sheratan and Mesartin respectively. Hamal or α Arietis is a

yellow star situate in the forehead of Aries called ram's following horn, from Al Hamal which means sheep. β Arietis is a pearl white star on the horn of the ram and γ Arietis is a double star, one of the earliest double stars discovered.

Above the sign Aries is the Triangulum, one of the ancient 48 constellations and a group of three stars below the triangle which once formed a separate constellation known as Musca or the fly and which now represents the Ram's head are α , β and γ Arietis. That is how the second lunar mansion of Bhāraṇī came to be identified with α Muscæ. It is variously regarded as 35 Arietis, 35, 39 and 41 Arietis, or 35 with 41, 33, 39 Arietis. Bharaṇī is, however, so called because it protects. It is triangular in shape and has three stars, its presiding deity being Yama.

Vrishabha (Taurus)

East of Mesha is the second solar sign Vrishabha, Taurus or Bull, Krittika and Rōhiṇī forming the tips of its two horns. Pleiades and Hyades are two conspicuous constellations in this sign. Vrishabha is white in colour, of the Vysya caste, belongs to Agni Tattva and is Lord of the South.

Krittika, the third lunar mansion is in this sign. It is 23, η Tauri or Alcyone who, according to Greek mythology, is said to represent the Pleiad, the daughter of Atlas and Pleione, who became the mother of Hyrieus, by Neptune; it is a greenish yellow star and brightest of the Pleiades group, situated on the shoulders of the bull. In the Pleiades six stars are seen by the naked eye and hundreds through the telescope. Krittika with six stars has the appearance of a flame and it might also mean a group of six stars. Agni is the presiding deity. The six stars are represented as nymphs who acted as nurses to Kārtikēya or god of war.

Pleiades is referred to in ancient and modern literature. Job IX, 9; XXXVIII—31, 32; Amos V 8; Homer etc. It is also associated with the religion of the primitive peoples. Ancient monuments were so constructed as to point to the

Pleiades when rising or setting. The Feast of Isis falls on the 17th November and the Australian aborigines dance in honour of the sylvan deities. The nine bright stars, in order of magnitude, which form a really physical group, including many double stars, are: 1. Alcyone, 2. Electra, 3. Atlas, 4. Maia, close to a double star, 5. Merope, 6. Taygeta, 7. Pleione, 8. Celæno and 9. Asterope, the whole being wrapped in a cloud of nebulous matter. As regards Pleione, it may also be observed that Greek writers refer to it as having disappeared at the time of the Trojan War, disappointed, perhaps, as Ovid says, owing to the circumstance that no God married her as her sister was married.

The junction star between Krittika and Rōhiṇī is frequently called the Hen. Rōhiṇī is the fourth lunar mansion. It means a girl of nine years, by worshipping whom disease is dispelled or got rid of. Prajāpati is the presiding deity. This constellation resembles a kind of fish called Śakula, perhaps a whale. Apte describes Rōhiṇī as having the figure of a cart (Śakata). Rōhiṇī was one of the daughters of Daksha and a favourite consort of Chandra. This is identified with α Tauri or Aldebaran in the Hyades group, a group quite well known though more open and scattered than the Pleiades. It is also called Hindmost or Follower as it follows the Pleiades and Hyades. It is a pale rose double star marking the bull's south or left eye, a brilliant asterism in the heavens of the first magnitude, with Regulus, Antares and Fomalhaut, being of the solar spectrum type. β Tauri is Al Nath or the butting, forming the tip of one of the bull's horns, the star below it and a little to its right being the tip of the other horn. Close to this star is a nebula known as the Crab nebula. γ Tauri is an eclipsing star like Algol in Perseus. Another bull was located in 1777, called Taurus Poniatowski, a small and unimportant one, on the borders of Hercules.

A part of the fifth lunar asterism Mṛgaśīras is in the sign of Taurus. It resembles the head of an antelope and has three stars. Chandra is the presiding deity.

Yōgatāras are junction stars. One of the three small stars in the head of Orion is a junction star; two stars in the shoulders and two in the knees of Orion are said to give us the four feet of the antelope whose head may then be said to correspond with the three stars in the Orion's head, a view from which Tilak dissents (p. 98, Orion). For the whole of the antelope is not in the heavens and if Ārdra be correctly identified with the star in the right shoulder of Orion, we shall also have to include this star in the four feet of the antelope. And the old vedic works seem to lay down that it was the head of the antelope and not the antelope itself that was transplanted into the heavens.

The legend of Rudra severing the head of Prajāpati may be referred to. In Sāyaṇa's commentaries of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1. 2. 8) Mrigaśiras is regarded as the head of Prajāpati. When Rudra cut off Prajāpati's head with an arrow, the arrow and the head both jumped up to the heavens and are there stationed ever since. (Aitarēya version of the legend. III. 33.) In the Rig Vēda, the allusion to this story is contained in X. 61. 5-7. In another legend, Indra is said to have cut off the head of Vritra. (I. 5. 2-10; IV. 18. 9; VIII. 6-7.) But in the Rig Vēda (V. 34. 2 and VIII. 93. 14), Indra's enemy is described as appearing in the form of an antelope. According to Greek myth and legend, Apollo, indignant at his sister's affections for Orion, made her hit, with an arrow, a mark in the distant sea, which turned out to be Orion's head. In the heavens we therefore look for the head of a Mriga or Antelope or even a bull, with an arrow pierced in it. Sanskrit writers also mention a small group called Invākas in Mrigaśiras and Amarasimha places them on the top of the antelope, while Tilak regards them as perhaps identical with the three small stars in the head of Orion.

Orion and Ursa Major are two most prominent and amongst the oldest constellations from the point of view of observation and recognition by the ancients. Orion contains two stars of the first magnitude, five of the second

and one of the third magnitude. On the right shoulder is Mrigaśiras (γ Orionis), on the left shoulder is α Orionis, Bellatrix or the Female Warrior; its left leg is represented by the brilliant Rigel (β Orionis) and the right by a star of the third degree, κ Orionis. Betelgeuze (Betelgeuze from Arabic Ibt-al-Jauza, meaning shoulder of the giant) is an irregularly variable orange star. The three kings of the Hunter forming the belt of Orion are δ , ϵ , ξ , Orionis. The girdle of Orion is Mintaka (Arabic Maintaka-al-Jaiza, giant's belt), Al-nilam and the belt δ Orionis, Al-nitak. Near the second of these, Al-nilam, a bright white star occupying a central place in Orion's belt, *i.e.*, in the sword or dagger of Orion is the great nebula in which Huyghens discovered twelve stars in the seventeenth century. A small constellation below Orion and to the right of Sirius is called the Lepus or the Hare group, the four principal stars of which were called by the Arabs the throne of the giant.

The constellation of Orion is unsurpassed in silent majesty, grandeur, wealth of numbers or interesting pictures.

The three bright stars in Orion forming the belt point downwards to Sirius in Canis Major, situated below Orion on the left hand side. Sirius or α Canis Majoris is the nearest and to our observation the most brilliant star in the heavens. This bluish white star was classed as red by Ptolemy with Aldebaran, Antares and others, and perhaps it has since changed its colour. With the Egyptians, it was an object of worship and they commenced their year on the day on which it rose just before the Sun. Arabs worship it and the Koran mentions it. At the Feast of the Floria it was the custom to sacrifice red dogs to the Dog Star. It figures in ancient history and legend and it was regarded as an ill-omened star amongst the Greeks.

In the adjoining constellation of Canis Minor is the beautiful binary star of the first magnitude Procyon or Fore-dog similar to Sirius. These two constellations containing the double stars of Sirius and Procyon, represent the hunting dogs of the great hunter Orion.

Monoceros or Unicorn devoid of any bright stars, occupies the space between the two dog constellations.

α Sirius is a typical white star, famous for its beautiful scintillation of colours. Two dissimilar stars are observed in Sirius and a third suspected; the second star is said to be $\frac{1}{10000}$ th part of α Sirius.

We have now passed, in the words of Prof. Whitney, the innocent and lovely Rōhiṇī (Aldebaran) and over her the infamous Prajāpati (Orion) in full career, but laid sprawling by the three-jointed arrow (the belt of Orion), which was shot from the hand of the near avenger Sirius, as even now seen sticking in his body.

Mithuna (The Twins)

The third solar sign of the Twins or Castor and Pollux is known as Mithuna amongst the Hindus. Mithuna represents a man with a mace and a woman with a vīṇa, standing in an embrace, of saffron colour, Sudra caste, belonging to Vāyu Tattva and being Lord of the West. Castor and Pollux, the sons of Jupiter, are, according to Greek mythology, named after the two gods who came and fought for Rome in the battle of Lake Regillus. A part of the lunar asterism Mrigaśīras, Ārdra and most of Punarvasu are in this sign. Mrigaśīras has already been dealt with and is severally identified with λ Orionis, 113, 116 and 117 Tauri and λ with ϕ Tauri.

Ārdra the sixth lunar mansion is variously regarded as corresponding to α Orionis, 133 Tauri, etc., but is perhaps γ Geminorum or Alhena, a bright white star in the left foot of the southern twin, often called a bright foot of Gemini. Punarvasu and Punarvasu Dvitiya, β and α Geminorum are the twin spots in the head of Mithuna.

Ārdra is a single star in the form of a lotus whose presiding deity is Rudra, represented by the star in the right shoulder of Orion (α). But Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III. 3) identifies Rudra with Mriga-Vyādhā (Sirius). Castor is one of the finest of binaries, accompanied by a faint red star on the head of the northern twin and sometimes called

Apollo. Every one of these is itself a double star and Castor has been known as a colony of six stars. They are spectroscopic binaries, not being visible under the most powerful telescopes. With Castor or β Geminorum is identified Punarvasu which represents Vishnu and is said to reside in the human body again and again. It consists of four stars and its presiding deity is Aditi.

Karkataka (Crab)

Cancer or Karkāṭaka or the Crab is below Gemini containing five stars of the fifth magnitude and the non-luminous cluster of Cancer. It is the smallest and least conspicuous of the zodiacal group except for a cluster of stars called Præsepe but very ancient and important. It was called the Crab by the Chaldæans because when in this part of the zodiac, the Sun's apparent retrograde movement was well typified by the animal which walked backwards or obliquely. According to Greek legends, a giant sea crab came to help when the watersnake seized the foot of Hercules as he was fighting with the Hydra in the Lernean marshes. When he crushed the reptile under his heel and slew it, Juno in gratitude for the proffered service, importuned Jupiter to place the crab among the constellations. According to another, Bacchus on his way to the temple of Jove came to a great marsh over which he was carried by an ass, one of the two asses near by at the time, and as a reward they were transformed into stars. γ and δ Aselli are called Twin Asses with the cluster of Præsepe as the manger. Karkāṭaka is said to be one of the Nagas, of white colour, phlegmatic, belonging to the Brahman caste and to be Lord of the North. This sign is generally regarded as a bad portent. γ and δ Cancrī, Asellus Borealis and Asellus Australis respectively or the North and South Asellus. 44 M Cancrī is the Præsepe or the Bee-hive cluster, representing the manger of the asses ridden by Bacchus and Vulcan. Præsepe is also called the weather-glass or guide. For if it be not visible in a clear sky, it is a presage of a violent stormy sky according to

Pliny. It is a coarse extended star, situated on the head of the Crab, popularly termed the bee-hive manger or crib and known to the Chinese as Tseih-she-ke (exaltation of piled up corpses). With the Aselli, it was a cloudy spot of Cancer, mentioned by Ptolemy as causing blindness.

The eighth lunar mansion asterism of Pushya which is said to correspond to α , γ and δ Cancri, δ Cancri, ϕ , 44 M and η Cancri, has the appearance of an arrow and has three stars. It is so called because it nourishes one born under it. Its presiding deity is Brihaspati.

The next and ninth lunar mansion is that of Āślēṣa which means āliṅgana or embrace, the asterism of the serpent whose presiding deity is also a serpent. It is said to correspond to α Hydræ or Alphard, an orange star in the neck of the hydra or watersnake. By some it is also identified with α and β Cancri and 49 and 50 Cancri.

α Cancri or Acubens is a double star of the fourth magnitude, in the south-eastern claw of the Crab; β Cancri is a fourth magnitude star in its south-western claw between α Cancri and Procyon in the Canis Minoris and ζ Cancri is a fine quadruple star near the hind claws of the Crab and one of the most famous of the stellar systems. It is believed three bright stars in it of $5\frac{1}{2}$, 6 and $6\frac{1}{2}$ magnitudes revolve round a dark body which is apparently the most massive of the four. ι Cancri is a pretty double-formed yellow star of the fourth magnitude and a companion of the sixth magnitude.

Simha (Leo)

The fifth sign of the zodiac is Leo aptly called the Simha, of yellow colour, Kṣātrīya caste, belonging to Agnitattva and is Lord of the East. In the heart of the majestic lion is Regulus or Maghā, a brilliant double star of the first magnitude in the heavens. This sign appears like a trapezium containing four stars.

Maghā or α Leonis, the tenth lunar mansion, resembles a plough and has five stars and is so called because it has the form of a house. Pitris or μ manes are the presiding deity. Regulus or α Leonis is a triple star, flushed white and ultra-

marine, situated on the body of the lion, meaning a little king. It is also called Cor Leonis, or the lion's heart, and symbolically, the crushing foot. A number of stars forming the sickle or plough are said to form the head and mane of the lion. $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta$ Leonis form the sickle of which α as the supposed king of the sky was called Basiliskos whence the present name Regulus; ζ Leonis or Adhafera is a double star in the lion's mane called Alsarpha, the funeral pyre; η or Al Jabhah means the forehead, situated on the lion's mane; θ Leonis is called Deneb from Arabic, Dhanab-al-asad meaning lion's tail. Deneb or Arided in Cygnus and another in Capricorn are also called by this name. ι Leonis or Zosma is derived from a Greek word which means tunic or girdle and is a triple star, pale yellow, blue and violet, on the lion's back.

Pūrva Phalgunī, the eleventh lunar mansion, is identified with it and means giving respect or greatness and it has two stars.

The next *i.e.* the twelfth lunar mansion Uttara Phalgunī or Uttara is identified with ϵ Virginis or Vindematrix, but a part of it is said to lie in the zodiacal sign of Leo. It consists of two stars and looks like the part of a cot. Its presiding deity is Aryaman.

Between Ursa Major and Leo is Leo Minor dating only since 1690. Coma Berenices or the Hair of Berenice, contains a cluster of nebulae with some thousands of millions of stars or the material for their formation in each nebula and up to millions have been photographed, while there are millions of millions beyond the range of the biggest telescope. Between Arcturus of Boötes and Leo there are no bright stars and the space is occupied by a large group of stars looking somewhat like the Pleiades on a much larger space. Leo Minor is not of the forty-eight ancient constellations and was regarded as a part of Leo. It has a large number of nebulae.

Canis Venatici (Hunting Dogs). To the left of Coma Berenices and little higher up just below the southern part

of Ursa Major is a modern group, which consists of two bright stars, one above the other, the brighter being below the other one when the constellation is observed in the east. Cor Caroli or Charles' Heart is the name of the brighter star.

Kanya (Virgo)

In the following *i.e.* the sixth solar sign of Virgo or Kanya, the asterism Spica will appear very bright on the first of May and is helpful to identify the sign. Spica in Virgo, Regulus in Leo and Arcturus in Libra will make an equilateral triangle. Virgo is shaped like a γ the brightest star Spica being at the base. In eastern lands, the Virgin used to be represented as a sunburnt damsel with an ear of corn in each hand; but she is described by the Greeks and Romans as a winged angel holding ears of wheat, signifying the advent of the harvest, for the Greek harvest season coincided with the time when the Sun approached Spica in his yearly course. In modern days, it is represented in the manner of the Greeks. According to the epic mythology of the Hindus, Kanya is represented as a girl seated in a boat on water with a hare (śaśa) and agni in her two hands, of pingalā varṇa, controlling the South and belonging to the Vysya caste. The most conspicuous star in this sign is α Virginis to which we shall presently advert.

The lunar mansion after Uttara Phalgunī is Hasta, identified with Gamma and Algorab, α and δ Corvi in the Crow. It has the appearance of a hand and consists of five stars and the Sun is the presiding deity. α Corvi once the brightest in the Raven group is now a fourth magnitude star and is called the Tent (Al-Khiba). Algorab or raven's beak is a double star, pale-yellow and purple, situated on the right wing of the Crow.

While Crater the cup, west of Corvus and supposed to be the original goblet out of which Noah first took his wine, has two of its stars in the making up of the figure Hydra or watersnake, the Crow which lies to the south-west of Spica gives one of its brightest stars to the snake. Owing to its shape, the Crow is well known to sailors as Spica's Spanker.

The stars of the Raven representing Noah's Raven, make it stand on the back of the Hydra, its beak to the right pecking the watersnake's back.

Chitra is the fourteenth lunar mansion and it is so called because of its twinkling appearance, being now visible and now again invisible. It is a single star and its presiding deity is Viśvakarma. It is also called Ariṣṭa. Spica with which it is identified, α Virginis, is a brilliant, flushed white binary star, in the right ear of Virgo; β Virginis or Zavijava is a pale yellow star below Virgo's head; μ or η Virginis, Zania is a variable star on the northern wing of Virgo; γ or Caphir is a binary and slightly variable white star on the left arm of Virgo; λ or Khambalia is a small star on her left foot.

Tula (Libra)

In Libra, *i.e.*, Tula or the scales, the seventh solar sign, a little to the east of Spica, are two stars of the second magnitude which suggest the name of the balance given to this sign of the zodiac. It is a small and uninteresting group, lying just outside the milky way, without any bright stars. Tula represents a man holding the scales in his hands, of variegated colour, belonging to the Vāyu Tattva, of Sudra caste and Lord of the West. Of the lunar mansions associated with the zodiacal sign of Libra, Chitra or Spica has already been described. The next, the fifteenth mansion is Svāti or α Boötes in the Herdsman, well known as Arcturus. Svāti has the colour of saffron or kuṃkuma, a kind of crocus and is one star, with Vāyu as its presiding deity. Arcturus known as the right knee of Boötes, or situated on his left knee according to another account, is a golden yellow star. It is a very bright star, a thousand times brighter than the Sun and is the sixth brightest star in the heavens. It is called the Palace of the Emperors by the Chinese.

Boötes or Herdsman is also called Atlas, and the Herdsman is usually represented as a robust man with the left hand raised, his right hand holding a club. Small stars near the tail of the Bear which, the ancients imagined, Boötes was chasing or driving out, represent the left hand of the

Herdsmen, raised high above his head, holding the hunting dogs in his leash. β Boötes or Nekkar is his head, *i.e.*, the group of stars on the extreme right above the hand holding the leash; γ or Muphris is his left shoulder; δ or Izar, a fine double, called the zone or girdle is the whip in his right hand; ϵ and ρ forming the girdle; ϵ or Alkalrups is the shepherd's crook or the herdsman's staff and is a beautiful binary. Below it are his right leg and foot, those near the sign Virgo representing his left leg and foot. Arcturus, however, represents no part of the body of the herdsman, and it is a principal giant in the heavens, next in brightness only to Sirius, Canopus, Vega and Capella, travelling towards Virgo at the rate of 200 miles a minute. It was called Arctophylax (Bear-keeper) because it means watcher of the Bear or Ursa Major.

The Nebula M 33 in Triangulum is the nearest of all the star nebulae in space, the light from it occupying 850,000 years to reach the earth. The bulk of the sixteenth lunar mansion of Viśākha is in the sign Libra and it represents α Libræ or the southern scale. Viśākha has two branches, having the shape of a *tōraṇa*, arched doorway or ornamental arch, containing five stars presided over by Indra and Agni. α Libræ or Southern Scale is a double star and an eclipsing binary, pale yellow and bright in the Southern Scale of the Balance. β Libræ or Zubenelg or Northern Scale, is a pale emerald star, situated in the Northern Scale of the Balance and symbolically called the full price. According to an old story told by Servius, there were formerly only eleven signs of the zodiac, the stars now forming the Libra being the claws of the Scorpio, the new sign having been a later addition. In so far as the zodiacal signs are all named after animals the story gains credence but modern writers affirm Libra was included as a sign in ancient Chaldean and Egyptian zodiacs. The Libra, again, is credited as testifying the equality of days and nights in the autumn when the Sun is in Libra and as recording uniform temperature of the air in that season.

(To be continued.)

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XL

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Sema Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Black-breasted or Rain Quail's Habit of Not Entering the Forests.]

THE Black-breasted or Rain Quail (*Coturnin coromandelica*, Bonn) is called in Hindi *Chinā Batēr*. It is a resident or a partially migratory bird and is found throughout the greater portion of India and in the Irrewaddi Valley in Burma. It is also found in Manipur, in Assam near Dibrugarh, in Sylhet, and around Chittagong. So it is undoubtedly found throughout the country between India and Burma in suitable localities. It is not met with in the extreme southern portion of India.

This quail, like the Grey Quail (*Coturnin communis*, Bonn) is rarely, if ever, found in forests. It remains much upon grassy lands of no great height and under the cover of growing crops. Although it inhabits many parts of India, it shifts its habitat according to the season; and it visits only Northern Bengal, Oudh, Bihar, the N. W. Provinces, the Punjab and Sindh during the 'monsoons. Its call-note is very different from that of the Grey Quail, being dissyllabic only. It is found in pairs from April to October and singly during the rest of the year.

The Sema Nagas are a tribe of the Mongoloid Naga race and dwell in the north-east of the Angami country and, at present, inhabit the valleys of three large rivers together with the mountain ranges and plateaus that separate these waters.

As the Black-breasted or Rain Quail is most likely found in the country occupied by the Sema Nagas, occurring as it does throughout the country between India and Burma, the Sema Nagas are familiar with this bird and must have observed its habits. They have, therefore, fabricated the undermentioned myth to account for the origin of the Black-breasted or Rain Quail's habit of not entering the forests but

of remaining upon grassy lands and under cover of growing crops. It is as follows:—

The Quail and the Squirrel agreed to become friends. "My friend," said the one, "we two will have a look at the snares set by men." The other agreed to this proposal, and they went out to have a look at the snares set by men. As the Quail went along in front, he was caught in the snares. The Squirrel gnawed the snares through with his teeth. The Quail said to the Squirrel, "My friend, my throat is aching." (This was caused by putting his head into nooses.) "You should go in front now in your turn," said he. The Squirrel agreed to this proposal and accordingly, went in front. The Squirrel got caught in the snares of men. The Squirrel said to the Quail, "My friend, my throat is aching me," but the Quail, as he had no teeth, did not gnaw through the snare at all. And so the Squirrel died. It is for this reason that the Quail does not enter the forests, but keeps to the open fields, at least so they say.*

The Quail mentioned in the foregoing myth must be the Black-breasted or Rain Quail which is, no doubt, found in the Sema Naga country. From a careful analysis of the foregoing myth, we find that:—

(1) The Sema Nagas were very careful and keen observers of the habits of beasts and birds.

(2) They observed that the Black-breasted or Rain Quail always remained upon grassy lands of no great height and under cover of the growing crops but did not enter the forests.

(3) As they were ignorant of the laws of biology which govern the formation of the habits of beasts and birds, they could not explain to themselves the process by which the aforesaid habits of the Black-breasted Quail were formed. They, therefore, fabricated the foregoing myth to explain the origin of these habits.

* *Vide The Sema Nagas.* By J. H. Hutton, M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 306-7.

(4) They were further aware of the fact that the Squirrels belong to the order *Rodentia* (or Gnawing Animals) which possess sharp teeth and can gnaw through nooses and snares, and that the Quails, which are birds possessed of beaks, do not possess teeth capable of gnawing through snares.

(5) The foregoing myth also illustrates the belief of the Sema Nagas that in ancient times, beasts and birds could talk with each other like human beings.

(6) It also illustrates the wide-spread belief that, in ancient times, beasts and birds entered into friendly relations with each other, just as human beings did.

(7) It also inculcates the moral that men and beasts should not indulge in idle curiosity about things with which they have no concern. The same moral is also taught by the fable in the *Hitopadesha* which narrates how a monkey who, out of idle curiosity, wanted to handle a wedge which was inserted in a cleft block of wood, got killed by the two bifurcated pieces of the wooden block. The moral is very pithily taught by the Sanskrit verse:—

(१) अव्यापारेषु व्यापारं यो नरः कर्तुमिच्छति ।

(२) स भूमौ निहतः शेते क्रीलोत्पाटीव वानरः ॥

(i) The man, who wants to interfere in a matter with which he has no concern,

(ii) Gets killed like the monkey who took out the wedge (from the cleft block of wood).

(8) The foregoing myth also inculcates the moral: "Do not rely upon friends who are physically deficient and are, therefore, unable to help you in times of difficulty."

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XVIII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On Two Dusan Ætiological Myths about the
Evolution of the Cocoanut Palm, the Sugarcane, the
Maize, the Bottle-Gourd Creeper and other Plants]

THE Cocoanut Palm (*Cocus nucifera*), which belongs to the Order *Palmaceæ*, is one of the most valuable trees growing on the sea-coasts of India, Burma and the Tropical Islands.

The Sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ*, is called in Sanskrit *Ikshu*, in Bengali *Akh*, in Hindi *Ukh* and *Gannā*, in Tamil *Kairambu* and Telugu *Sheruku*. It is cultivated extensively all over India. There are many varieties of it. Some are suitable for the extraction of sugar; while others are sucked raw. The juice is obtained by grinding the cane in a press. This juice, when boiled down over a fire, becomes coagulated into unrefined sugar which is called *gur* or molasses. The sugarcane stalk out of which the juice has been extracted, and the leaves of this plant are suitable for the manufacture of mats and paper. But, at present, they are utilized only as fuel.

The Maize or Indian Corn (*Lea mays*), which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ*, is called in Bengali *Tanār*, in Hindi *Bhuttā* or *Makāri*, in Dakhini *Makhā-Jowari*, in Tamil *Makka Cholum* and in Telugu *Makkā Zonalu*. It is largely cultivated in Upper India and the Himalayas where it is an important article of food to the poorer classes of the people. It is eaten roasted in cobs when the latter are green; or its seeds are ground into flour and made into cakes. It is regarded as a very nutritious food.

The Bottle-Gourd Creeper (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), which belongs to the Order *Cucurbitaceæ* produces a curious kind of fruit which are of the shape of long clubs or flasks. It is extensively cultivated in tropical countries. There are many

varieties of it. It is called in Bengali *Lān* and in Hindi *Kadu*. It is eaten cooked and is, sometimes, made into a sweetmeat.

The Orang-Dusans or "People of the Orchards" are a race of the Indonesian people who inhabit British North Borneo. They are the original inhabitants of the country, and the Bajans and Ildanuns, both of whom are Proto-Malayan peoples, and arrived late in the country, drove the former into the interior of the country. The Dusans narrate the two under-mentioned ætiological myths or legends which account for the creation of the world, of men and of the cocoanut palm, the sugarcane, the maize, the bottle-gourd creeper, the paddy and other plants.

When the world was first created, there was only water with a great rock in it. On this rock there lived a man named Kinharingan and a woman who was called Munsu-mundak. (It is stated that the former is the chief god of the Dusans and the latter is his wife.) They created land from the dirt on their bodies. Then they made a figure of stone but it could not speak. Therefore they made a figure of wood which though able to talk, afterwards became worn out and rotten. Last of all, they made a figure of clay from which are descended all the men and women who, at present, dwell upon this earth.

Thereafter both the man and his wife began to think how to provide the dwellers of the earth with food as there was no food to be had. Thereupon the woman gave birth to a child. On this, the man said: "As we have to provide the inhabitants of the earth with food, *let us cut this child to bits and plant the same in the ground.*" This they did accordingly.

- (1) After some time, a rice plant or paddy plant grew from the child's blood.
- (2) A cocoanut palm grew from its head.
- (3) A betel-nut palm grew from its fingers.
- (4) A *sirih* vine or betel creeper grew from its ears.
- (5) Its feet gave rise to the Indian Corn or Maize.

- (6) Its skin produced a bottle-gourd creeper.
- (7) Sugarcane grew from its throat.
- (8) Its knees vegetated into the *kaladi arum* (*coladium esculentum*).
- (9) And the rest of its body produced other good eatable things.

The second myth closely resembles the former one with this much difference only :—Kinharangan and Munsumundak obtained some earth from Bisagit (the spirit of small-pox) and mixing this earth with some pounded rock, created land. Then they created the people of this earth. They had one son and one daughter. As the people cried for want of food, they killed their girl-child and cut her up to bits and planted the same in the ground.

- (1) From her blood grew the paddy plant.
- (2) From her head, grew the cocoanut fruit upon which her eyes and nose can be seen at the present time.
- (3) From her arm-bones grew the sugarcane.
- (4) Her fingers vegetated into bananas.
- (5) Other bits of her body produced all other kinds of animals.*

From a study of the preceding two myths, we find that :—

(1) Like the South-Sea Islanders and the Chinese, the Dusans were also close and keen observers of Nature.

(2) The Dusans also observed the close similarity between the round shape of the shell of the cocoanut fruit and the two socket-like depressions therein and the almost rotund shape of the human skull and the two empty eye-sockets thereof. They have, therefore, very appropriately hit upon the idea of the cocoanut-fruit having grown from the head of the slain child.

(3) The Dusans also noticed the similarity between the jointed stems of the sugarcane and the human arm-bones

* Vide "*Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malaya Peninsula*". By Ivar H. N. Evans, M.A., Cambridge University Press, 1923, pp. 45-47,

with the shoulder-joints, elbow-joints and wrist-joints. They have, therefore, very appropriately caused the sugarcane to spring from the slain child's arm-bones.

(4) I am inclined to think that if the bones of the toes of the human feet, with their closely-situated joints are tied up in a bundle, the bundle would look pretty nearly like a cob of the Maize or Indian Corn with the grains symmetrically arranged thereupon. Most likely, the Dusans noticed this resemblance and, therefore, caused the Indian Corn or Maize to grow from the feet of the slain child.

(5) The bananas or plantains very much resemble the slim and tapering fingers of the human hand. In fact, a row of plantains arranged upon a bunch bears some sort of similarity to the human hand with the five fingers arranged at the outer edge thereof. The Dusans must have noticed this similarity and have, therefore, fittingly described the bananas as growing from the slain child's fingers.

(6) The leaves of the *Sirih-vine* or Betel creeper (*Piper betle*) bear some sort of resemblance to the human ears. This resemblance must have attracted the notice of the Dusans who have, therefore, caused the Betel creeper to grow from the slain child's ears.

(7) Most likely, the glossy surface of the large leaves of the Bottle-Gourd creeper (*Lagimaria vulgaris*) or of its bottle-shaped fruits bears some sort of similarity to the smooth skin of the human body. I am inclined to think that, on account of this similarity, far-fetched though it may be, the Dusans have described the Bottle-Gourd creeper as growing from the slain child's skin.

(8) The Corns of the *kaladi arum* (*Coladium esculentum*) bear some sort of similarity to the human legs just below the knees. This resemblance must have attracted the notice of the Dusans who have, therefore, described the *kaladi arum* as having grown from the slain child's knees.

(9) Last of all, the Dusans believe in the existence of the Vegetation Spirit in the blood of human beings. They have, therefore, described the rice plant or the paddy plant

as having grown from the slain child's blood. As I have already shown elsewhere* this belief is also common to many other races of savage people.

(10) The two preceding myths illustrate, in a striking manner, the selflessness, the beneficence, and the tender solicitude of the creator spirit for the welfare of mankind.

(11) The two preceding myths bear some sort of resemblance to the cosmogonic myths of other races, in almost all of which the universe is described as having been, first of all, one vast expanse of water and then as having been covered with land created from small quantities of mud lying at the bottom of the water and brought up to the surface of the water by animals or birds. In the two Dusan myths, the land is described as having been created from the dirt on the creator being's body.

* *Vide* my article entitled "On Two Dusan *Ætiological Myths about the Paddy Plant*," which has been published in '*Man in India*' (Ranchi) Vol. VI, pp. 140-49.

NOTES

Mythological Studies

"KUMARA-KUJA-KINSHIP"

IN a series of very learned and interesting papers contributed to the *Q.J.M.S.*, Vols. XV, XVI and XVII dealing with "The Seven Dwīpas of the Puranas", the late Mr. V. Venkatachellam Iyer has tried his best—with success apparently—to locate them and identify them with the known lands of our existing globe; and of these Dwīpas, the Krauncha has received an exhaustive treatment at his hands. The conclusion arrived at seems to be that it is Asia Minor which was so called after the mountain Krauncha which again is a portion of the Taurus System, *viz.*, Chimæra, the burning or fire-breathing mountain monster of the Lycian or Cilician Coast; that this was the celebrated scene of the legendary battle between Kumāra, the Son-God and the demon (Asura) Tāraka in which the latter was killed and the former came out victorious; and that this, in essence, is a nature myth describing probably the volcanic activity of that region and personifying and depicting the mountain Chimæra as a demon, and the volcanic eruption and earthquake that set the whole mountain ablaze with all vegetable and animal life therein in conflagration and caused cleavage or holes in it as the divine agency or power that sent it 'asunder from fundament to summit' with his shaft or javelin (Śakti). And to reach this conclusion, Mr. Iyer has explored the mythologies of the ancient races that had inhabited Western Asia and the Mediterranean Coast, and the travellers' accounts and archæological studies of these regions, but seems to have omitted to note and stress one important point, *viz.*, the legendary life-history—the early life-history of the embryonic stage and infancy—of the Son-God, Skanda, which will indicate his igneous origin and nature and thereby will serve to strengthen his argument. This god, according to the legend, was first conceived by Pārvatī (Śiva's consort) and remained in her womb for a while, was thence transferred to the charge of the fire-god (Agni), who bore or kept him next for a while, and was thereafter put in the river Ganges which after carrying him

for a while with great difficulty deposited him at last among the reeds wherefrom the six divine mothers (*Kritikas*) picked him up and nursed him in infancy. So he grew up. Hence he is called *Agnibhū* and *Kārtikēya*—the two significant names—the first of which means “one born of fire” and the second “the son of *Kritikas*” the six stars that make up the lunar mansion (or constellation) *Krittika* of which the ruling or presiding deity is *Agni*—the god of fire. Hence he is also called “*Shāṇmātura*”.

“अग्नेर्भार्यावसोर्धारा पुत्राद्रविणकादयः ।

स्कंदश्च कृत्तिकापुत्रो येविशाखादयस्ततः ॥”

(*Bh. P.*, VI. 6. 13. 14.)

“स्कंदश्च कृत्तिकापुत्रोऽग्नेः पुत्रः षाण्मातुर इति अग्निभूरिति च प्रसिद्धेः”

(Commentator Sreedharaswamiji.)

This life-history is briefly summarized in the first verse of a modern Stotra “*Skanda-Pañchakam*”, composed by a living writer—*Parikshit Rāmavarma Thampuram* of the *Cochin Royal House* (published along with other Stotras of his in Malayalam, *Vidyavinodini Press, Trichur*.)

“आदौ गर्भे समवहदुमाशंकरी सा तृतीया

मूर्तिः पश्चात्तदनुदिविषन्निग्रायं कथंचित् ।

यस्योत्पत्तिः किल शरवर्णं स्तन्यदाः कृत्तिकाषट्

षड्वक्त्रं तं त्रिभुवनगुरुं नौमिविश्वतिहल्यै ॥”

Another point to be noted about Skanda is that he is a war-god or war-lord famous for his proficiency in the art of war, a divine generalissimo unequalled for his skill in warfare, and hence called *Sēnānī*; and, as such, is regarded as an incarnation of, and to have derived his powers from, Vishṇu or the Supreme God. “स्कंदोऽहं सर्वसेनान्याम्” says Lord Krishṇa to his devotee Uddhava (*Bh. P.*, XI. 16. 22). His consort *Dēvasēnā** personifies the army of the Devas and his weapon, a javelin or shaft (*Vil*) personifies Śakti. Hence he is known as *Śakti-dhara*.

Many of these important characteristics of Skanda are shared by the planet *Kuja* or *Bhauma*—Mars, who again is a war-god in Roman mythology. This planetary god is also known as *Kumāra*, *Śakti-hasta* and *Āṅgāraka*. He is called *Kumāra* probably because he is the Son-God born of the Mother Goddess

* *Dēvi Bh. P.*, IX. 46. “*Indra-Sēnā*” is her Vedic name as the commentator shows by a Vedic quotation under IX, 46, 5,

Earth and Vishṇu incarnate as Varāha (the Boar) when the latter raised her up from under the sea and enjoyed her pleasant company for a pretty long period. This story of the birth of this planet is given in the *Dēvi-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XI. 9). Hence the planet is called *Kuja* and *Bhauma* which means 'one born of the womb of Earth'. The epithet *Śakti-hasta* is synonymous with *Śakti-dhara*, and describes him as the bearer of the weapon *Śakti*, javelin or shaft. The name *Aṅgāraka* in which the suffix *ka* has a diminutive significance only shows that he is in appearance like a spark of fire or red cinder piece. It then seems to be the legendary account of his origin that he is a spark of fire or red cinder shot up from the womb of Earth to the high heaven where he shines as '*Maṅgalagraha*'! There is one more point to be noted in this connection which may serve to make the kinship closer between these two Son-Gods. Hindu astrologers say that when the planet *Kuja* occupies a favourable position—say, the third zodiac sign (*Rāsi*) from the one assigned to the star of our nativity—we will then enjoy the favours of the other Son-God *Skanda* or *Subrahmanya*. These striking similarities and this close relationship would suggest their common origin and nature—volcanic or igneous.

“धरणीगर्भसंभूते विद्युत्कान्तिसमप्रभम् ।

कुमारं शक्तिहस्तं च मंगलं प्रणमाम्यहम् ॥”

“*Navagraha Stotra*” and “*Mangala Stotra*” (*Skanda Purāṇa*), “*Bṛihat Stotra Ratnākara*,” pp. 363-64 and 365-66, Bombay Edition.

There was another *Kuja* or *Bhauma*, viz., the Asura Tyrant *Naraka*, who was also of the same parentage as gave birth to the planet, viz., the union of the Mother Goddess Earth with Vishṇu as Varāha (the Boar) and who was killed by his own father in *Krishṇa* incarnation for his oppressive and wicked actions and more especially for having forcibly captured and kept in confinement and custody persons and properties unlawfully—(1) persons numbering sixteen thousand and odd royal maidens whom *Krishṇa* himself married after their release, and (2) properties, consisting of the valuable ear-rings of the holy mother of gods (*Aditi*), the royal umbrella of *Varuṇa*, the god of waters and a peak of the precious stone (*Mani-parvatam*) from the *Devaṣ'* mountain (*Mandara*); all of which were restored

to the respective owners. Naraka's kingdom was Prāggyotisha and his capital, a fortified city well protected with intricate defensive works consisting of strategical and military outposts and also with water, fire and wind. This stronghold was stormed, captured and destroyed. This kingdom is now marked a little above Vanga (Lower Bengal) in the sketch map enclosed in the article headed "Earliest Indian 'Traditional History'" contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1914, pp. 267 seq.) by the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter. (See *Vishṇu Purāṇa* V. 29. and *Bhāg. P.*, X, 59-0 for verification of the version given here and for further details.)

Each of the Purāṇas is in itself complete and independent giving a particular version of the ancient mythological history without any reference to any other version contained in another Purāṇa. Thus, for instance, according to *Dēvī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the union of Bhū-Varāh—the Earth Goddess and the Boar God—had given birth to 'Maṅgalagraha', i.e., the planet Kuja whereas "the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*" says that the Asura Kuja or Naraka was born of the same union. Each of these Purāṇas mentions the birth of one son only. Whether there was only one son or whether there were two or more born to them we are unable to say for certain. Anyhow we have to postulate the birth of two, and proceed to explain the myths. And again when we compare these Purāṇas with one another and with other ancient mythologies, striking similarities, differences and discrepancies are met with which have to be explained, accounted for and reconciled. Thus God Kumāra of the *earth* seems to be of volcanic origin bearing a striking resemblance to the planet god Kumāra or Kuja of *heaven* who again is said to be a brother of Asura Kuja or Naraka of the *netherworld*. The Vedic mythology chiefly refers to the atmospheric disturbances and the extraordinary phenomena of the sky and the high heavens (much as the dark cloud banks, lightning, thunder storms, cyclonic winds, and rain, eclipse, etc.) as the conflicts between the gods of light, heat and water and the demons and dragons of darkness, cold and drought in which the former ultimately win; and thereby give us these necessary elements for our maintenance and therefore deserve our thanks which are offered with prayers for continuance of their favours. Here on earth we have geological

disturbances resulting in volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, upheaval or subsidence of lands, engulfing or burial of cities or towns with their people and treasures, etc. Such phenomena are attributed to divine or devilish agencies according as they bring good or evil to us. Thus a volcanic eruption causing cavity, holes or fissures in high mountains that may be the strongholds of our foes may be attributed to the God Skanda ; such activities under the sea resulting in the upheaval of lands with throwing up of red cinder pieces or sparks of fire may be the natural explanation of the battle between the giant (Hiraṇyāksha-Asura) and the God Viṣṇu as Varāha or the Boar during which, it may be imagined, red cinder pieces were shot up to high heaven where a bright one of them shines as the planet Kuja or Mars. Lord Kṛiṣṇa's fight with, and overthrow of Naraka Asura (Kuja) and the rescue of the royal damsels and treasures may refer to the catastrophe of the subsidence or sinking of the earth to a great depth causing the burial of a great city with its people and wealth as a result of violent geological changes, and the heroic rescue of the persons and things engulfed or buried thereby. These are my imaginative and tentative suggestions for a solution of the problem of " Kumāra-Kuja-Kinship ".

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.

REVIEWS

Rasaratnakara of Salva

MADRAS UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS, KANARESE SERIES,
NO. 2.

*Edited by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Pandit H. Sessa
Ayyangar of the University Institute of Oriental Studies and
Research, Madras.*

(Demy 8vo. xxi + xix + 231. Ananda Press, Madras, 1932.
Price Rs. 2-4-0)

IN the long history of Alaṅkāra literature or Indian æsthetics extending over a period of at least one thousand five hundred years there have naturally been several schools of thought. They can be broadly divided into two groups, the Prācīna and the Navīna or the Old and the New. The beautiful in literature is, according to the former, determined by the literary style or expression (Riti or Vākrokti) while according to the latter it depends on suggestion and sentiment (Dhvani and Rasa).

The Kannada pandits and poets have been impelled by a love of their language to adapt into Kannada from the earliest times, 'the best that has been thought and said in the world' of Sanskrit culture. We accordingly find, in the field of Alaṅkāra, the ideas of Daṇḍī, Bhāmaha, Ānanda Vardhana, Mammata and other leaders of æsthetic thought, old and new, incorporated in the works of Nṛpatuṅga, Nāgavarma, Udayāditya, Kavikāma Tirumalārya and other Kannada writers on Rhetoric. These were published from time to time either by the Mysore Government or the proprietors of the Kāvya Mañjari Series, Mysore; but we owe the present book to the enterprising Kannada scholars of the Oriental Department of the Madras University.

The author of *Rasaratnākara* is Kavi Sālva (c. 1550), a Jain, who was patronised by Salva Malla, a chief ruling at 'Nagira' in what is now South Canara District. The work is mainly based on *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* of Hemachandra, that versatile Jaina scholar of the twelfth century. But the author has also largely drawn upon other Sanskrit and Kannada rhetoricians such as Amarānandī, Rudra Bhatta, Vidyānātha, Nāgavarma, Kāma and Gaṇēśvarājñi (-gñi?), the last of whom is probably a Kannada writer and is heard of for the first time.

The text of *Rasaratnākara* consists of 144 verses called sūtras or aphorisms, accompanied by the 'vritti' or gloss and followed by examples from older Kannada writers ; and the whole work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with Śringāra, the second with the other eight sentiments, the third with the heroes and heroines—through whom the Rasās are exhibited—and the fourth with the minor sentiments.

Of the six appendices at the end of the book, the first and the most important is 'Śaradā Vilāsam', a monograph on Dhvani (suggestion) and the classification of literature on the predominance or otherwise of this element therein. It is attributed to the author of *Rasaratnākara* ; but there is no evidence to prove the authorship. The plan of the work is different ; the 'sūtras' are not in verses but aphoristic prose, and they are followed not by 'vritti' (gloss) but 'vivarāṇa' (explanation). The references to Sālva Malla (verses 49-55) indicate that this work was also written by a pandit or poet patronised by Sālva Malla ; but he need not necessarily have been Kavi Sālva. The other five appendices give the Index for the first lines of the text and examples, parallel passages from the Sanskrit and Kannada sources and various kinds of heroes, heroines and sentiments in tabular form—accessories very helpful in the study of the work.

The publication of the present work, which has filled up an important gap, may be said to have almost completed the series of Kannada works embodying the history of Sanskrit æsthetic thought in all its essentials, good,—and let us say—bad and indifferent, because there is not a little that is morbid and unfruitful along with much that is precious and original in the Alankāra literature. The Madras University have undoubtedly laid the Kannada literary world under a debt of gratitude.

The editors have taken all possible care to see the book through the press, but the *errata* extend to two full pages and do not include all the errors. Most of them are, however, only typographical. The work certainly deserves much better printing and paper and the general get-up compares very unfavourably with other books like "The Sphota Siddhi" recently published in the Sanskrit series of the University.

The Mahabharata

ĀDIPARVAN, FASCICULE 6

(Published by The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona)

WE are glad to observe that this scientific edition of the Mahābhārata, which accurately and clearly registers various readings, has made commendable progress and the constituted text of the fascicules so far issued has given complete satisfaction furnishing as it does a true version of the probable original. The Institute in general and Dr. Sukhthankar in particular deserve to be congratulated on the success of this great undertaking.

The fascicule under review contains, besides beautiful coloured illustrations, a facsimile of the Śāradā Codex from which this recension is established.

It behoves all lovers of learning to extend their generous help towards the completion of this monumental work.

S. S.

A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts

VOL. IV—PART 2—TAMIL

*(Published by The Government Oriental Manuscripts
Library, Madras)*

THIS Second Part of the Fourth Volume of the Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts is on the same plan as that of the Second Part of the Third Volume and has the numbers of the manuscripts and the pages of this part in continuation thereof.

The compiler, Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., has given brief but informing descriptions of the various works listed in this Catalogue. He has considerably enhanced the usefulness of the work by including in it three indices—Subject, Author and General.

The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

N. I.

Life of Emanuel Swedenborg

BY GEORGE TROBRIDGE

(Swedenborg Society, Inc., London)

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG was born in 1688; studied at the University of Upsala; entered the Board of Mines as Assessor; and wrote many treatises on metallurgy and allied subjects. In middle life, he took to the study of philosophy and spent the

remainder of his life in the pursuit of theology and spiritual philosophy.

He has strong claims on the gratitude of the philosophical student by the publication of theological books suited to modern times, wherein he has affirmed Christian truths hitherto dimly perceived and disclosed the facts of the life after death.

He was very learned and universally esteemed for his excellent character. Though of a gentle disposition, he was straightforward and would not betray truth. He died in 1772 and his remains, buried in London, were later taken to Upsala and there deposited in the Cathedral.

The work under review gives a true record of Swedenborg's life and a popular exposition of his teachings. The Swedenborg Society has done a great service in making the writings of the great soul available to the public in cheap but neatly got-up volumes.

N.I.

Indian Literature in China and the Far East

BY PRABHAT K. MOOKARJI

(*Greater India Society, Calcutta*)

THE story of India's cultural conquest is of absorbing interest not only to students of history and Indian culture but to all educated Indians. It ever remains as a high water-mark of the enterprise of the ancient Indians who carried their culture to China, Tibet, Central Asia, Annam, Siam, the Island of Bâli, etc., and converted the people of these lands to their faith by peaceful means. Every Indian is proud of such deeds of his forefathers. While an extensive literature has grown up on the subject in French, not much has been done by Indians in this direction and it is only recently that attempts are being made to render into English and give wide publicity to the researches of several European scholars in this field by Professors R. C. Muzumdar, Bagchi, Dr. Kalidas Nag and others and by institutions like the Greater India Society.

Students of Indian culture must be highly grateful to Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mookarji, Librarian, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, for bringing out in book form the materials he had gathered on the spread of Buddhism in China from some of the well-known Oriental Journals. The book is, as has been admitted by the

author himself, a compilation but a compilation done with exquisite skill. The contents of the book though dry are yet interesting to those who are earnest to know about the spread of Buddhism in China. From an analysis of the catalogue of works translated into Chinese by scholars like Dharmaratna, Kumarabodhi and especially by Kumarajiva and Parmartha, it is clear that almost all the works on the Triratna of the Buddhists, *viz.*, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, have been long ago rendered into Chinese. Most of the originals of these works are lost in India but preserved in Chinese and Tibetan. Starting from 64 A.D. scholars went to China for the spread of India's culture and just after 600 A.D., Chinese scholars like Hiuentziang, attracted by the culture of India, came here, joined the Buddhist Church and actually sat at the feet of Buddhist scholars to imbibe the spirit of India's culture. A book which narrates such deeds of the patriotic scholars of India and of China deserves to be read by all Indians.

V. R.

EDITORIAL

IN the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona (Vol. III, Parts III-IV), Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., taking stock of all materials attributed to the Kulārṇava Tantra, thinks that it consisted of more materials than what are found in the published version and refers to a complete work called Kulārṇava though in little agreement with the published work. Speaking of the manuscript of the work in the Library of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta and examining its contents, he comes to the conclusion that it belongs to the school of Uttara Kaulas while the published edition pertains to that of Pūrva Kaulas.

* * *

Prof. H. D. Velankar concludes his interesting and instructive article on "Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya" of Virabhāṅka in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. 8, Nos. 1 and 2). A great service has been rendered in restoring the text of this rare work on Prākṛit metres.

* * *

The *Modern Review* (August, 1932) contains an illuminating article on "Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization" by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda under the caption of "Sind Five Thousand Years Ago" in which some original remarks are made.

* * *

Mr. Satindra Narayan Roy's paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, Bombay, on "The Early Temples of Orissa" is as interesting as it is comprehensive. One cannot help concurring with his concluding remarks: "The high water-mark of artistic perfection remained for a very short time. The earliest temples were the best from the point of view of art. When the decline came, the structures and the shapes of the temples remained much the same but their artistic finish and decorations degenerated considerably."

* * *

Mr. Donald F. Thomson's illustrated article on the "Place of Fire in Primitive Ritual" in *Man* (July, 1932) will greatly interest students of the Fire Cult. Mr. Thomson describes the importance of fire in social life in North Queensland among

the Koka Dai'-Yuri, the Yintjingga, the Koko Ya-o and the Ompela tribes.

* * *

The Vedanta Kesari (August, 1932) contains a short but interesting article on "Was Śaṅkara a Crypto-Buddhist?" by Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar. After minutely discussing the question, Mr. Aiyar sums up his conclusions thus: "One need not rise above common-sense to distinguish between a system that denies essence to things including the soul (nirātmaka) and that which affirms Brahman as the immortal essence of each and all (sadātmaka); between Undiluted Nihilism and Absolute Monism; between the Universal Nay and the Universal Yea."

* * *

The Kalpaka (November, 1932) contains the translation of a minor but celebrated Upaniṣat called "Pāśupata Brahma" wherein the secret of the Ajapa Mantra "Haṁsa" is dealt with.

* * *

Prof. A. R. Wadia in an article on "The Inter-University Board of India and its Possibilities" in *India and the World* makes a spirited appeal to every University to make this unity effective by each playing the game and doing all it can.

* * *

The Indian Antiquary (October, 1932) has a very interesting illustrated article on "The Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Southern India" by Mr. A. H. Longhurst. In the inscriptions belonging to the Great Stūpa, the monument is called the "Mahāchetiya" of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, clearly showing that the tomb was consecrated to the Great Teacher and to nobody else. The discovery of the dhātu or bone relic proves that the monument was a dhātugarbha or "tomb containing a relic" and that it was not a mere "dedicatory stūpa".

* * *

Rev. J. F. Pessen, S.J., in an article entitled "High Value of Avidyā" in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (September, 1932) has ably refuted the views of some scholars who contend that Avidyā means only Bija-śakti or only nescience as also Fr. Johann's contention that Bija-śakti, being Avidyākālpa, is utterly non-existent.

* * *

The Journal of the American Oriental Society (September, 1932) contains two thought-provoking articles by Anand K. Coomaraswamy styled "Ābhāsa" and "Reactions to Art in India".

* * *

Principal Kalipada Mitra, in a very instructive article on "The Svastika" in *Man in India* (April-September, 1932), makes these interesting remarks:—"Thus we find that the Svastika represents the male principle. To us of the civilized age, the use of the reproductive symbols as auspicious charms (really evil-scaring) may seem monstrous, but, as a matter of fact, nations of old (such as the Egyptians) used the symbol of the male reproductive principle as an evil-scarer. When we use the horse-shoe, we do it without ever imagining that the symbol of the female principle brings us luck."

**Books received during the Quarter ending
30th September 1932**

Presented by :—

Government of Travancore—

Travancore Archæological Report: 1106 M.E. (16th August 1931).

Government of Mysore—

(Departmental Reports).

Public Instruction—1930-31.

Agriculture—1930-31.

Police—1930-31.

Criminal Justice—1930-31.

Civil Justice—1930-31.

Jails and Lock-ups—1931.

Horticulture—1930-31.

Season and Crop—1930-31.

Hospitals and Dispensaries—1930-31.

Joint-Stock Companies—1932.

Representative Assembly Proceedings : Dasara Session—
October 1931.

Legislative Council Proceedings: December Session—1931.

Mysore Census Report—1931, Pt. IV.

Mysore Census Report—1931, Pt. V.

Greater India Society—

Indian Literature in China and the Far East—by P. K. Mukerji.

Bhandarkar Oriental Institute—

Mahabharata (B.O.R.I. Edition): Ādiparvan, Fasc. 6—by
V. S. Sukhthankar.

The Authors—

Beginnings of South Indian History.

Early History of Vaishnavism in South India.

Mani-Mekhali in its Historical Setting.

Presidential Address at the First Bombay Historical Congress.

Notes on the Seven Pagodas.

—All by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,

ಉಪದೇಶ ಸಾಹಸ್ರ—by Y. Subba Rao.

Geography of Early Buddhism—by B. C. Law.

Government of India—

Somanatha and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawad
(Arch. Sur. of India, I.S., Vol. XLV).—by H. Cousens.

Karnataka Sangha, Central College—

ಚೀನಾದೇಶದ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಯಾತ್ರಿಕರು—by G. P. Rajaratnam.

ಸೋಕ್ರಟೀಸನ ಮರಣ—by S. G. Sastry.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Seth Eastman: The Master Painter of the North American
Indians (S.M.C., Vol. 87, No. 3)—by David I. Bushnell, Jr.

Madras University—

ರಸರತ್ನಾಕರ (ಶಬ್ದ)—by A. Venkata Rao and H. Sesha Ayyangar.

The Calendar, Vol. I, Part I.

The Calendar, Vol. I, Part II.

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London—

Administration of Mysore under Sir Mark Cubbon—by K. N.
Venkatasubba Sastry.

Purchased—

Indian Annual Register: 1931, Vol. II (July-December)—by
Mitra.

NOTICE

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of members of Associate Societies is published for information :—

“Rule 105.—Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings ; and in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.”

**S. SRIKANTAYA, General Secretary and Treasurer,
Mythic Society.**

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Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXV, Mysore—Administration of Mysore under Mark Cubbon—Preliminary Classification of Pre-historic South-Western Basketry—Maharaja of Mysore's Pilgrimage to Kailasa and Lake Manasa—The Age of the Human Race in the Light of Geology—The Indian Caste System—Two Centuries of Wadiyar Rule (1565-1761), Part I—Sakalavaidya Samhitasarnavam by Virarajendra, Vol. I—The C.S.S. Review for December, 1932—Report on Archæological Research in the Foothills of the Pyrenees—Archæological Reports of the Travancore State for 1105 and 1106 M.E.—A. Studies in Cola History and Administration. B. Mauryan Polity—Pralaya Tandava—1. The Death of Socrates. 2. Buddhist Pilgrims from China—Upadesa Sahasri of Sri Sankara—String Figures from Gujarat and Kathiawar—Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1927-28 A.C.—Bibliography of Indo-Moslem History excluding Provincial Monarchies—Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1930—South Indian Epigraphy: Annual Report for 1930—Baroda State Museum and Picture Galleries—Jatakaparijata—Geography of Early Buddhism—Dutavakyam—Astavakra Gita—A True Interpretation of Vedic Sacrifice—Karnataka Kavirajamargam—Zoological Survey of India, Bulletin No. 1.

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No. 3

**ROCK-CUT CAVE-TOMBS OF FEROKE,
S. MALABAR¹**

BY A. AIYAPPAN, M.A.

THE site of these ancient tombs is a hillock of laterite to the west of the Feroke Railway Station, known locally as Chenapparambu. The hillock is now quite bare, though some seventy years ago, it was covered with a dense growth of shrubs. The eastern edge of the site has been levelled down for the railway line and in the course of the works dozens of earthenware urns of the pyriform type, buried in hollows in the rock were brought out. The place, therefore, must have been an important crematorium once.

There are now to be seen at the site seven or eight cave-tombs all filled with débris, after they had been desecrated by treasure hunters. The two described in this paper are the only ones remaining there intact for the student of archæology. The circular openings at the top of the tombs have, in many cases, grown dark-brown with exposure. Near by the site

¹ Read before the Anthropology Section of the Indian Science Congress, Bangalore, and published with the permission of the Superintendent, Madras Government Museum,

there was once a Siva shrine; very little of the ruins is now visible. Recently the owners of the site have built there a small temple to propitiate the spirit of a *Vañṇān* (washerman) who was a class-mate of an ancestor of theirs at the Kaḷari (fencing school) and was killed by him for certain rudeness and misbehaviour on the Vañṇān's part. His ghost pestered them for nearly two generations, till at last they thought it best to make peace with him and honour him in a shrine.

Saivite shrines in close association with these rock-cut tombs are an extremely interesting feature from the point of view of the early religious history of the country. At another site I examined recently on the Parambantalli hill, near Mullasherry in South Malabar, tombs similar to those at Feroke are found, most of them destroyed by quarrying work. All these tombs are in the immediate vicinity of a very ancient Siva temple. Rea also records that close by the tombs he examined at Perungulam,¹ there was an ancient Siva fane. Other traces of Saivism in these sepulchres will be pointed out later in the paper.

Both at Feroke and Parambantalli I picked up several terracotta figures of animals (Pl. IV-B), probably dogs, half buried in the loose surface layers of laterite. These figures may be votive offerings² to the sylvan godling Śāstā, who is closely associated with later Saivism and is considered in Malabar to be the guardian deity of hunters. Popular legends of Malabar have it that Paraśu Rāma installed him (Śāstā) and sixty four Durgas to guard the borders of Malabar. Śāstā is, according to *Amarakosa*, one of the names of the Buddha and we are not sure whether he may not have, in Malabar at least, degenerated into a godling of the Hindu pantheon. The stupa-like shape of the tombs and the remains of Śāstā worship near them suggest Buddhist influence, but, unfortunately, we get no more of Buddhist vestiges anywhere near.

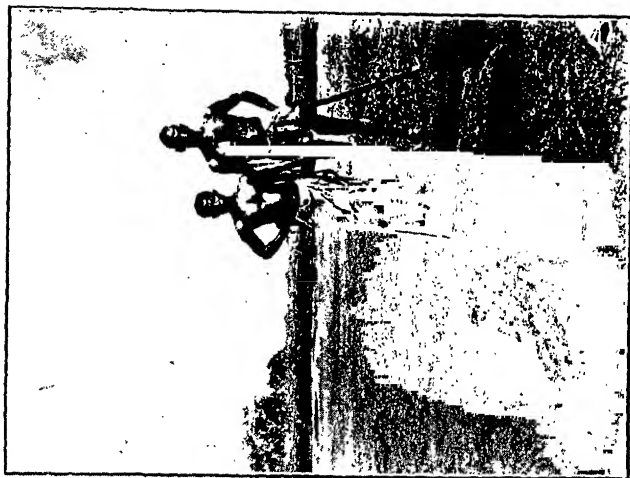
¹ A. Rea: *Madras Arch. Dept. Annual Report*, 1910-11.

² Votive offerings (theriomorphic) in metal are associated with Adittanallur burials,

PLATE I.

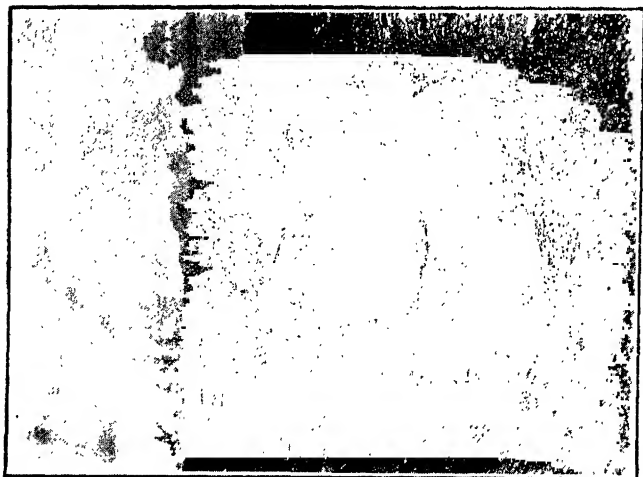


A. Circular cap-stone exposed.

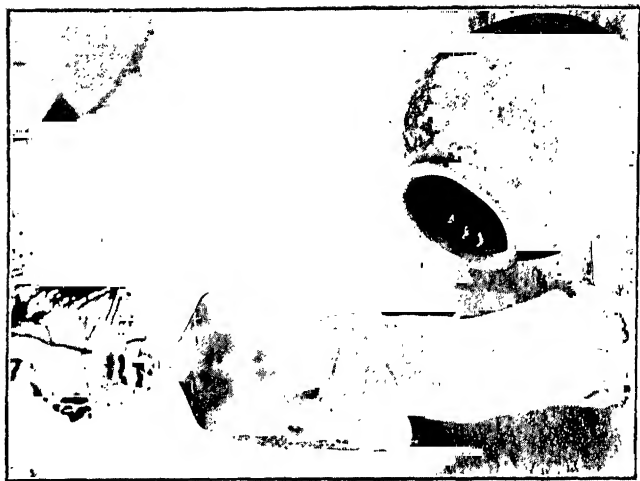


B. Cap-stone partially removed exposing the cavity.

PLATE II.



A. The circular aperture and the hollow leading to the side opening down below.



B. The large urn from Feroke No. 1, showing the claw-like projections.

The Feroke site was discovered by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil in the beginning of the year 1931. On his writing to the Superintendent, Madras Museum, I visited the place in March 1931 in the course of a tour to Malabar and did the excavation. Similar rock-cut tombs were discovered at other sites by Babington¹ so early as the year 1819 and by Rea² in 1910, but their descriptions lacked details and no suggestions were made about their significance. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil was the first to draw our attention to the very great interest attached to these rock-cut tombs by assigning to them a Vedic (Aryan) origin.³ In this paper only an attempt is made to supplement previous writers on the subject by first-hand information from two new sites—Feroke and Parambantalli, the latter being on the Cochin borders and showing that this type of tombs has a wider distribution than Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil supposed.

The first of the two tombs (Feroke No. 1) described below, was opened by Prof. Dubreuil. The large urn he removed from it is in the Madras Museum. I cleared up the entrance, the steps and the floor of the tomb; of the finds from it, I have only limited information. Most of the materials detailed here were from the second tomb (Feroke No. 2).

The surface indication for the underground tomb is a circular or square slab of stone (Plate I, figs. A, B) covering the top opening. The tombs explored by Babington had symmetrically arranged stone-circles as in typical cairns and urn burials, e.g., those at Adittanallur. At Feroke and Parambantalli, however, there has been too much of human interference for the stone circles to stand. The capstone stands out prominently and is quite unmistakable. In the case of the tombs figured in Babington's paper and reproduced by Logan in his "*Malabar*" the top-hole is merely plugged with a rude unshaped boulder, but at Feroke and Parambantalli there are well-cut slabs of stone forming regular cap-stones. While at Feroke the cap-stones are laterite harder than the laterite in

¹ Babington: *Bombay Lit. Soc. Trans.*, 1819.

² Rea: *Mad. Arch. Dept. Ann. Report*, 1910-11.

³ G. Jouveau-Dubreuil; *Vedic Antiquities*, 1924.

which the tombs are cut, those at Parambantalli are large square granite slabs, very much larger than the circular openings they covered.

The cap-stone had to be broken and removed in pieces before the interior of the cave could be exposed. Fig. 1 is a section of the tomb No. 1. Through the circular opening

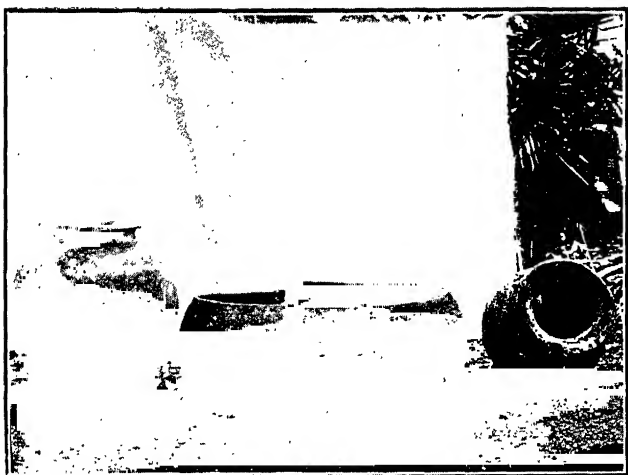


Fig. 1.

Vertical section of Feroke No. 1.

(Pl. II-A) a person can easily get down into the hemispherical hollow. The tomb proper with the top aperture is like a hollow cylinder superposed on a hollow half-sphere. The floor of the tomb is circular and the wall arches up evenly to the top opening. Marks of the stone cutter's tools can still be seen. At the north-eastern side, about a foot above the floor level, is a small rectangular opening in the side wall of the hollow. This opening is also closed by a laterite slab placed vertically against it outside. The section shows how this opening is a communication between the tomb proper and a quadrangular space cut into the rock just in front of it, to which one descends from the surface level by a flight of three steps. The aperture at the top was therefore obviously not intended for access into the tomb; the lower one was meant to represent a doorway. A person can just crawl on all fours through this doorway into the tomb. In the tomb there is room enough for a man to stand; it would have taken several days for cutting out the tomb in the very limited space available.

PLATE III.

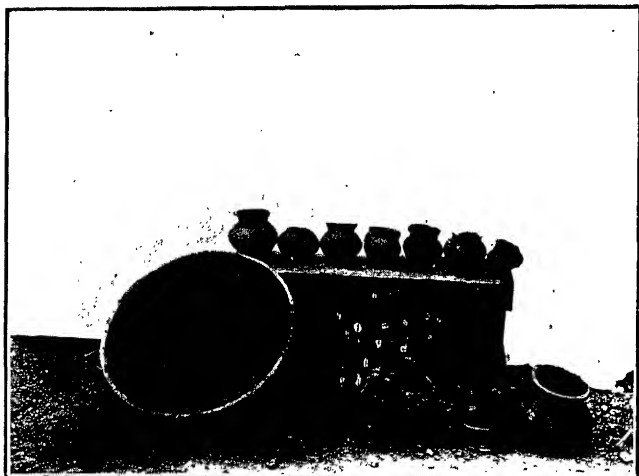


A. The bath-tublike vessel and two wide-mouthed urns.

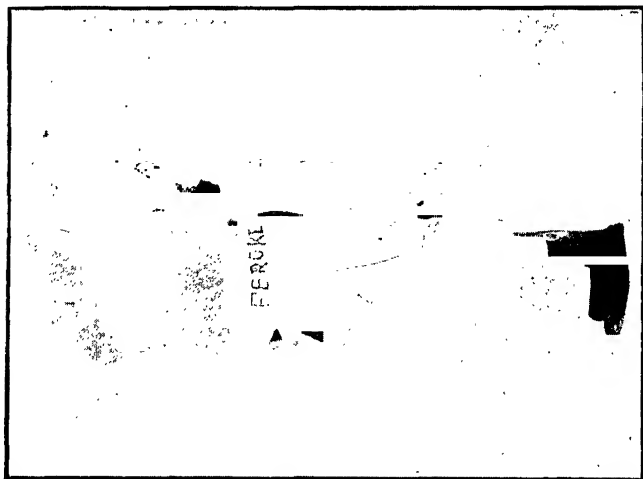


B. Four-footed urns, iron tripod, and small pottery vessels.

PLATE IV.



A. The lid of the urn from Feroke No. 2, ring stands and smaller vessels.



B. Clay figures from Feroke and Parambantalli.

The doorway of the tomb No. 1 is directed north-east (Fig. 2). On its floor, a platform, rectangular in shape and about one foot high, is cut out as a ridge in laterite in the

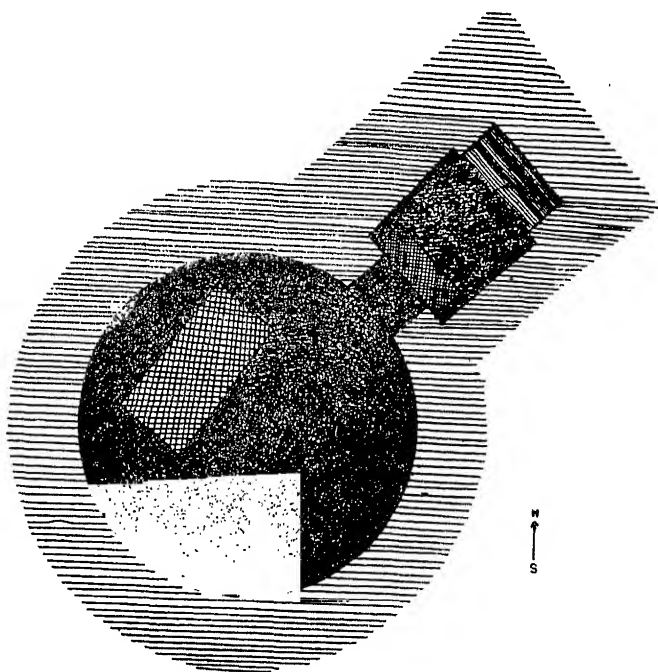


Fig. 2.

Ground plan. Feroke No. 1.

left segment of the floor—the platform is only an elevated portion of the floor. Similar platforms or ridges were found by Rea in some of the tombs at Perungulam.

When the earth that filled completely the space between the steps and the vertical north-eastern wall of the tomb was being removed, a few pieces of broken pottery, probably of a four-footed urn, and a small flat piece of iron were obtained from near the right side of the slab that closed the entrance.

The tomb No. 2 agrees in general in description with No. 1. The cap-stone had been here partially cut off, but

sufficient remained of it to protect the tomb below. Some earth had infiltrated and the contents of the tomb were in a clay envelope. The doorway here is directed towards the north and not north-east as in No. 1 (Fig. 3). There is no platform, but exactly where one would expect a platform, there is a bath-tublike vessel, oblong in shape, with twelve legs (Pl. II-A and Fig. 3).

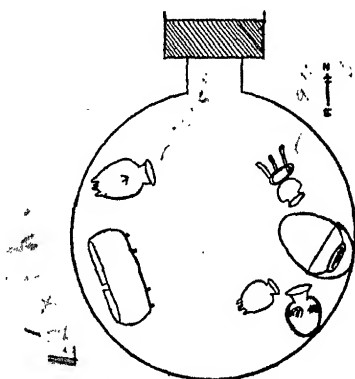


Fig. 3.
Ground plan. Feroke No. 2.

Finds from No. 1

The finds¹ from tomb No. 1 have, only a few of them, reached me. Fragments of block-polished ringstands and lids (conical) were found in plenty. Pieces of charcoal and bones were also picked up by me. The bone pieces were all too small and friable, crumbling into fine dust when handled. The ferruginous tint of the laterite had got into the cancellous portion of some fragments and in some others formed concentric rings. A large pyriform urn 2' 5" high and 1' 4" across the mouth (Pl. II-B) removed from the tomb is the most interesting of the finds from tomb No. 1. There was to be found traces of ash here and there in the urn. The one notable peculiarity this urn has is the six claw-like projections on the

¹ The finds are all in the Madras Government Museum.

inside of it just below the neck region. One of the large Adittanallur urns in the Madras Museum has two hooks or horns, one on each side, not in a cluster, as in the present one. Rea (*Arch. Sur. of India, Ann. Rep. 1902-3*) thought that the horns on the inside of the rim were "evidently for hanging or suspending pots or other articles". He had seen similar horns on the outside of urns from the Bangalore District. The Adittanallur urns were receptacles for various funerary vessels and bone remains and in them the hooks may have served some useful purpose, but in the case of the Feroke urn there was nothing to suspend from the cluster of six hooks. (The photograph shows only three intact, the other three were broken.)

Finds from No. 2

Pottery.—(1) A large pyriform urn of coarse half-baked clay (Pl. III-A) at the south-eastern part of the floor. This urn was half-filled with moist earth. There was a flat lid (Pl. IV) covering its mouth. The lid and urn, as most other pottery, were lying on their sides.

(2) A large oblong bath-tublike vessel about 2' in length and 1' in height, with twelve small, solid legs (Pl. III-A) and Fig. 3). It was filled with earth and at its bottom was found a few etched tabular carnelian beads (Fig. 4-D). This vessel was, like the large urn, made of coarse clay and was very difficult to handle. The shape and the legs remind one of the Pallavaram and Perumbair sarcophagi, of which this may be a distant relative. Similar vessels were obtained from dolmens at Koltur in S. Arcot and Gajjalakonda in Kurnool, with fifteen and eighteen legs respectively. So this sort of trough-like urns is not peculiar to the rock-cut tombs of Malabar, but shows the cultural connection between her and the neighbouring areas.

(3) Four four-footed urns somewhat rounded, with the reddish coloured and polished surface remaining only in patches here and there (Pl. III-B). One of them near the many-legged trough was the largest of the lot; it contained

at the bottom greyish animal ash¹ and over the ash, there was the usual reddish earth filling the urn to the brim, as in other vessels. The arrow-headlike pottery mark on it [Fig. 5 (9)] is full of significance.

(4) About a dozen vessels of the pitcher type with wide mouths and generally finer in make than the four-legged urns (Pl. III-A & B). The largest is 21" high and 12·5" across the mouth. Smaller vessels like the one on the tripod in Pl. III-B were also found. Small coarse "*Chombu*"-like vessels (Pl. IV) were the most numerous, about 15 in number.

All types of pottery except the large urns had, a few of them, the pottery "marks".

Iron.—(1) A large tripod 9" high with its ring 9·5" in diameter (Pl. III-B), swollen and cracked with rust, only a thin metallic core remaining. It was found lying on its side (Fig. 3).

(2) An iron dagger (Fig. 4-A) 1' long buried with its point to the south. Nearer still to the large pyriform urn were found several other pieces of iron, the ones with forked ends (Fig. 4-B) being quite peculiar.

Beads.—~~All~~^{12, 13, 14} are etched tabular carnelian beads, (Fig. 4-D) coarse and large when compared to the fine ones from Travancore urn-burials now in the Madras Museum. The largest bead is 0·5" and the smallest 0·3" in diameter.

From the Parambantalli tombs, I am reliably informed that iron *Trisulas* (tridents), pottery, mostly polished, and husks of paddy were obtained.

The direction of the entrance to the tombs at Parambantalli is exactly similar to that of the Feroke tombs. Of the two I have seen at the former site, one has the entrance facing north-east, the other north. While S. Indian dolmens vary very much in the direction of their openings, it is remarkable that a vast number of them especially in North Arcot have their openings in the north-east slab, and many

¹ I am obliged to Mr. S. Paramasivan, Archæological Chemist, Madras Government Museum, for the chemical examination of the ashes, etc.

in Coorg and the Deccan have their openings towards the north.

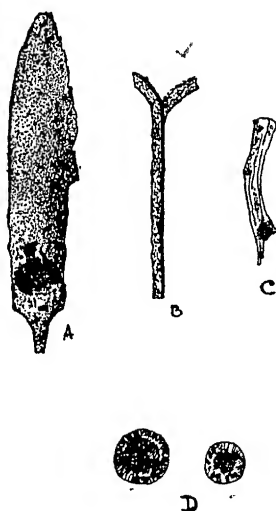


Fig. 4.

Iron implements and carnelian beads.

Pottery marks.—Very important paleographic issues have been raised by scholars like Yazdani, Bhandarkar and Chanda on the basis of the so-called “signs” or “marks” inscribed on a funerary vessel, to which Yazdani (*Hyd. Arch. Soc. Report*, 1917) drew our attention several years ago. His list of the marks on pottery in the Madras Museum contains a few that are alphabetic in form resembling early Brahmi script. Dr. Hunt (*J.R.A.I.*, 1924) has added several new marks to those already known and has made interesting observations about the associations of certain marks. Several marks have been discovered recently by Mr. M. Numa Laffitte (*Ind. Antiquary*, July 1931) from urn burials near Pondicherry. The discovery of pottery marks from Malabar also shows how wide is their distribution. So far, we have very little idea of the kinds of graves from which the “marks” have been collected.

Fig. 5 (1-9) shows the pottery marks on vessels from the Feroke tombs.



Fig. 5.
Pottery marks.

A medium size pitcher had the three marks (1). The group (2) was on a pitcher of almost the same size; (3) and (4) on still smaller pitchers; (6) (7) and (8) on four-legged urns. The mark (9) was found, as was said above, on the largest of the four-legged urns that contained the ashes. The association between this particular mark and cremated human bones is found in urns from North Arcot; the same mark, slightly modified, is found on an urn from a burial in Coimbatore also.

Tradition

Popularly these rock-cut tombs and similar funerary monuments are considered to be places of *samādhi* of sages or sanyasis. In a metrical history of Malabar, a Malayalee

poet ascribed them to Buddhists. "The places where Bauddha sages attained *Nirvāṇa* are still to be seen everywhere—the *Kutakkallu*, etc. They are rendered unmistakable by the rosary of beads, the lamps, arrows and earthenware that are found in them." The large pyriform urns are supposed to have been for in-urn-ing aged people alive when they were reduced by sheer senility to a frog-like shape and hopped about. It is said that the eldest son would put the frog-like father in an urn with sufficient food to last him a pretty long time and bury the urn with proper rituals. *Nannannāḍi* is the popular name for such a burial urn. Curiously both at Feroke and Parambantalli, many people believed that these caves were made for storing up valuables during Muhammadan invasions. Of all the traditions, the Buddhistic tradition is more reasonable, because there were, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Buddhist centres in Malabar at the ancient port of Cranganore, Vañci of the ancient Tamil writers, and Muziris of early European traders; it is well known that a mild form of Buddhism permeated the Hindu-animism of the country and the Nampūtiri Brahmins had, later on, to organize an attack on Buddhism. In a previous paragraph, I have referred to the confused identification of Aiyānār in Malabar with the Buddha.

Another interesting practice in Malabar, which throws some light on urn burial, is the symbolic killing and burying of evil spirits or enemies; the evil spirit is exorcised from the possessed person and is enclosed in a new earthen pot and buried deep.

Significance of the Rock-cut Tombs

We have seen that popular traditions are not at all helpful to us in getting an idea of the significance of these rock-cut tombs. Their distribution is confined to Malabar, the southernmost site known being the Parambantalli hillock. So far as numbers are concerned, simple urn burials are the most numerous, running into thousands in each taluk of Malabar, Cochin or Travancore. Dolmens and other purely megalithic structures are few and far between. Laterite cut

tombs are more numerous than dolmens, etc. The peculiar rock-cut tombs¹ of Malabar were supposed by Logan to be a variant of the megalith, the variation having been rendered possible by the plasticity of laterite rock and the comparatively greater difficulty in working gneiss. Architecturally, Malabar is even to-day a backward area in S. India; in funerary architecture too the forbears of the modern Malayalee may have been easy-going and heterodox.

The simplest excavations in laterite for burial purposes in Malabar are square or circular pits to receive large pyriform urns. Then we have the slightly more complex *Kutakkallu*, a hollow just large enough for an urn, with a ledge cut above the hollow for placing minor funerary articles and a flight of two or three steps leading from the surface level to the urn. Rea's Perungulam caves were some with a central pillar and others without one, as in the Feroke tombs. Platforms in the tomb were also a variable feature. The Nilachaparamba caves described by Logan had neither a top opening nor any pillar. Lastly, we have the complex group of underground cubical cells discovered by Logan at Padiñyāttumuri²—a regular family cemetery (like the double dolmens perhaps) with seats, beds, central pillars and "fire places" (?). A circular hollow with a cist is typical of most cairns. The Gajjalakonda cairns are dome-shaped, with an oblong cist inside containing many-legged sarcophagi easily like the one from Feroke No. 2. Though culturally one, the extreme variability of the laterite tombs becomes strikingly obvious. Even architecturally, when compared with circular or dome-shaped burials elsewhere, the Feroke cave-tombs do not stand isolated either from the urn-mound complex or the cairn-cist complex.

A seat for the dead is a feature of many of the dolmens in common with the Feroke tombs and similar stupa-caves and also the Padiñyāttumuri caves. The cromlechs at Jivaji had some of them the openings directed north and also large

¹ Logan : *Malabar*, Vol. I.

² Logan : *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII.

iron tripods, beads, etc. Cremated remains have been found in many unmistakable dolmens, so that, in fact, there is little evidence to dissociate the rock-cut tombs of Feroke from the general South Indian megalithic culture complex.

The tripod found in the Feroke tomb No. 2 raises the important question whether it shows any association with fire-worship or not. Iron tripods are included in the list of metal finds from the Adittanallur urn burials which are quite unrelated to fire-worship. At Adittanallur, we get either complete burials or a burial of selection of excarnated bones. Traces of the latter practice even now survive among some Malabar tribes who are in the habit of burning on the pyre excarnated bones from the grave. The tripod at Adittanallur had probably some other significance than fire-worship. If the tripod in any way was related to the Aryan fire-cult, it ought to have been found in all cave-tombs of the Feroke type. It is, however, found only occasionally. Taking the available evidence from the two tombs at Feroke only, it is remarkable that whereas in No. 1 there were numerous ring stands, in No. 2 they were significantly absent and as if to make up for this deficiency, there was the tripod of iron. The presence of a tripod, it will be seen now, need not imply fire-worship.

Trisulams (tridents) have been found in the Perungulam and the Parambantalli tombs. Grinding stones from the former are almost indistinguishable from those from Adittanallur or Oḍugattur¹. These features again bring the Feroke cave-tombs in a line with megalithic burials.

Does cremation show Aryan influence on these sepulchres? Inhumation seems to have been characteristic of Dravidian people. Evidence from ethnology supports such a belief as to-day in S. India the prevalence of inhumation is in inverse proportion to the degree of Aryanization. We find that many dolmens are cremation graves, in the districts of Krishna and Godavari in particular. There have been found in the same place burials with head to the north, reminding us of certain

¹ F. J. Richards : "Iron Age Graves at Oḍugattur," *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. LIV.

Dravidian tribes of Malabar burying their dead with head to the north. It is interesting to note that these tribes retain some traces of a megalithic culture in their alignments. For typological reasons, Prof. Ghurye considers that the dolmens of Godavari are related to the Malabar cave-tombs. His suggestion is held out by traditions of folk movements from the Godavari region into Malabar. That the Aryanization of Malabar by the Nampūtiri Brahmins might have proceeded from the banks of the Godavari is an assumption made by some writers on the Nampūtiris. Could it be that cremation was grafted to the existing urn-complex producing the results we have noticed, a blend of Dravidian and non-Dravidian items of death-rites?

Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil is of opinion that the rock-cut tombs of Malabar are Vedic remains surviving in the seclusion of Malabar. Tombs like those at Feroke are considered by him to be Aryan *agnidriyas* or fire-houses. Ethnologically, his plea that the Nampūtiris are racially and culturally direct descendants of the Vedic Aryans is not held out. Next he considers the top opening of tombs to be the chimney of the *agnidriya*. The available descriptions of the *agnidriya* do not suggest any idea of a chimney. The directions prescribed for the doorways of an *agnidriya* are not the same as those of the rock-cut tombs of which we have exact knowledge. The top opening may be explained on grounds of expediency. The object of the whole sepulchre being the careful preservation of the ashes to ensure undisturbed rest to the spirit of the departed, the constructors of the tomb, in all probability, considered it best to narrow down the wide opening of the *Kuṭakkallu* or cairn type of burials to smaller dimensions and to plug it securely.

Reasons to relate the Feroke tombs to other un-Aryan burials may be stated briefly:—

1. The urn with lid in tomb No. 2 is exactly copied from urn mound burials as at Paravi.¹

¹ Rea: *Prehistoric Burial Places in India*,

2. The very great resemblance in architecture that these tombs bear to the *Kutakkallu* in having a cap-stone above, a flight of steps leading to an aperture communicating with the hollow in which the urn is placed.
3. The twelve-legged earthen trough with beads remind us of the Perumbair sarcophagi. It is interesting to note in this connection that Codrington considers the four-legged urns also are derivable from the many-legged Pallavaram sarcophagi, which are distinctly un-Aryan.
4. The platforms inside the tombs. The practice of providing a seat for the dead is continued in modern days in rites connected with *Kuti-iruttal* (housing) of manes. A wooden seat with three or four legs is provided for the departed.
5. The stone circles marking the rock-cut tombs as in the case of cairns.
6. The pottery "marks" are almost identical with those found in urn-burials, *e.g.*, Pondicherry burials excavated by M. Numa Laffitte, the cairns of Coimbatore, etc.
7. Most scholars are of opinion that megaliths are most of them anterior to Aryan influence in S. India.

The chronology of these burials is an extremely difficult problem. Some Coimbatore cists and the Pondicherry urn-burials contain iron together with polished stone implements. The polished stone implements are altogether absent in most megalithic burials, which shows the celts were not for mere ritual purposes. In all probability the stone implements indicate the great antiquity of the burials from which they were obtained. The oldest burials have no signs of cremation. Of megalithic cremation tombs, we have the Sultur burials of *circa* 200 B.C. This grave contained bronze. Bronze has not been found in any of the Malabar burials. The bronze

with a high percentage of tin makes some authorities give a comparatively later date to burials from which bronze is obtained. Taking the crudeness of the pottery and the absence of bronze into consideration, we may tentatively take the Feroke tombs to be slightly earlier in age than the Sulur graves.

THE HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

BY K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.

THE historians are divided into two schools of which one interprets the world's history proper by "the Great Man" theory while the other explains it by the theory of environment, opportunities or circumstances. The intuitive genius; extraordinary working capacity and resourcefulness of "the Superman" of the day determine the course of the great events of the age according to the former school, while the latter maintains that the so-called "Superman" as well as the events associated with him are moulded by the surroundings; opportunities and circumstances (including the time; the clime; the race; the social and other organizations and institutions; educational and other training; habits; character, inherited and acquired; public opinion, etc.). Buckle, the author of "The History of Civilization in England" is said to be the British representative of the philosophical historians of the latter school, while Thomas Carlyle, the author of "The Heroes and Hero-Worship", who was the admirer and follower of "the German philosophy, is regarded as a staunch supporter of "the Great Man" theory. The theories of "Free Will" and "Necessity" in ethics may be compared with these two theories.¹ None of these schools can or does dispense altogether with either of the two factors—the efficient agent and the favourable opportunities, but they differ only in their respective viewpoints regarding their relative importance and rôle in bringing about a great event or the desired effect. They may even go so far as to assert that the free agent with his forceful will and determination will overcome great difficulties and convert unfavourable conditions into favourable ones sometimes; or that the peculiar conditions in combination

¹ My imagination wanders to similar rival systems in Politics, *viz.*, individualism and collectivism, and autocracy and democracy which are irrelevant topics in this comparison.

will compel the agent to act in a certain way as a matter of necessity. These are extreme and controversial cases. The Napoleonic era and the Great War seems to have confirmed, or at least to have given additional support to, "the Superman" theory.

The Hindus regard their Puranic literature as the sacred history of the world—a comprehensive history of the world—from its genesis to its end in all its ages—past, present and future. Here also, we may trace the two primary rival conceptions or theories and their later secondary ramifications or corollaries. Let us begin with the story of creation. *Prakṛti*, for example, is the original pervading and invisible mass of matter with inherent properties (*guṇas*) in static condition; and *Puruṣa*, the Active Principle or Agent, enters into it, excites or stimulates it to action with his magical power (*Māyā*) for fertilizing, developing and differentiating it and for evolving the material universe, as it is, out of it, the reagents or reactive forces he employs therein being (1) *Kāla* (time), (2) *Karma* (work or action and its reaction or permanent and cumulative after-effect), and (3) *Svabhāva* (inherent nature or potentialities). The original equilibrium of matter is disturbed by *Kāla*; change in its form and constitution follows by nature (*Svabhāva*), and under the influences of *Karma* (the accumulated effect of past actions) the original formless invisible mass of pervading matter in a nebulous state assumes a visible form for further differentiation and development, *this whole process, course and affair being planned, directed and executed by the Supreme God or Lord.*

(१) कालं कर्म स्वभावं च मयेशो मायया खया ।

आत्मन्यदृच्छया प्राप्तं विबुधुषुरुपाददे ॥

कालाद्गुणव्यतिकरः परिणामः स्वभावतः ।

कर्मणो जन्म महतः पुरुषाधिष्ठितादभूत् ॥

(*Bh. P.*, II. 5. 20 and 21.)

(२) द्रव्यं कर्मश्च कालश्च स्वभावो जीव एव च ।

यदनुग्रहतस्संति न संति यदुपेक्षया ॥

(*Bh. P.*, II, 10, 12)

(३) द्रव्यं कर्मश्च कालश्च स्वभावो जीव एव च ।

वासुदेवात्परोब्रह्मन्नचान्योर्थोऽस्ति तत्त्वतः ॥

(Bh. P., II. 5. 14.)

These passages quoted from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* not only support what has been stated above of the Lord's creation, but also further emphasize the point that He is the maker, the controller, the director and the master of the materials and forces He employs in His work of creation. In some other contexts (e.g., Bh. P., III. 5. 25 and 26) express mention is not made of *Karma* and *Svabhāva*, probably being merged into, as attributes, aspects or states of the material female principle (*Prakṛti* or *Māyā*) or the active male counterpart (*Puruṣa*), or, the *Kāla* force, as, in another context (Bh. III. 26). *Kāla* itself is defined as an attribute or state of *Prakṛti*, according to one school of thought, or, according to another, as the power (destructive or creative) of *Puruṣa* or *Īśvara*, which pervades and envelopes all things and exercises its control and influences over them all, while in yet another context (Bh. 29) *Kāla* is described as almost identical with the Supreme Power which directs the several divine agencies in their respective spheres of duty and receives the sacrificial offerings as the Lord of all. Now the *Puruṣa* or *Īśvara* of philosophy seems to correspond to "the Superman" of history, and the rest, *Prakṛti*, *Māyā* or the elements produced out of it together with *Kāla*, *Svabhāva* and *Karma* seem to constitute the group of other causes (materials, implements or tools and forces) corresponding to the historical group of environment, opportunities, circumstances, natural tendencies, character, etc. Here there are, thus, parallel conceptions or theories in the philosophies of religion and history. Of the several factors constituting the group, *Kāla* or time may be regarded as the most effective one by some thinkers who will accordingly be disposed to dread and adore it as manifested in heaven and sky as the sun, the moon, the planets and other stars, the clouds, the winds and other phenomena of the seasons or Nature, which are the indicators or indexes of Time or correct Time-keepers, and therefore personified and propitiated by

prayers and offerings for protection and prosperity. This may be the origin of the astronomical religion and nature worship. If another factor *Karma* (or one's work or action and its after-effect, habit or acquired character) is emphasized as the most important or potent cause as is done by the *Mimāṃsaka* School, elaborate ritualism and liturgy will be brought into existence. If natural tendencies and hereditary disposition and character (*Svabhāva*) are regarded as the true causes of our good and evil experiences, means would have to be devised to control them, and the severe *drastic* system of discipline (*Yoga*) might have been one of the most effective methods devised and practised. As matter or elements which by combination and subsequent disintegration according to natural laws produce all things in this world, some philosophers may regard it as the fundamental cause, and their mode of reasoning we call materialistic (*Sāṅkhya*). If *Puruṣa* is treated as a mere agent dependent on his materials and tools, he is no more than a good workman which seems to be his position in the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* systems. If, on the other hand, he is regarded as an independent free agent with full control over all the materials and the reagents required for creation who manipulates and uses them at his sweet will and pleasure and is above all worldly limitations, then he is the Almighty, Omnipresent, Omniscient and Omnipotent God—a personal God—a Supreme God. This is monotheism which seems to be the natural and inevitable goal in religion and philosophy. For the movements of heavenly bodies, the seasons and the phenomena of Nature are cyclic and more or less regular, and after their observation extending over a long period, man will come to know and learn that they exhibit no free will or superhuman power. Similarly, the elements and their inherent properties, natural tendencies and interactions will also be found to be governed by certain fixed and immutable laws. What the religious-minded man wants to satisfy his helpless craving in distress is an agent with free-will and unlimited power to work miracles, to cure his ills, and to grant his prayers; and God Almighty alone can satisfy the want, the ordinary

changes in the material world being more or less governed by the regular cyclic laws of birth, growth and death, regeneration and decay. This seems to have been the process by which monotheism of the highest and purest type was reached.

Hence all other deities, demi-gods or divine agencies are treated as subordinates to the Supreme God from whom they derive their powers and whose orders or commands they are authorized to carry out—that is to say, there is a divine hierarchy. If any human being born here on earth evinces supernatural capacity by means of inexplicable deeds of miracle, he is treated as an incarnation of the Supreme God above. Such persons are deified after death and worshipped in shrines constructed in their honour. Here we have “the Superman” or “Superhuman” theory in religion resulting in hero-worship. His course after demise is what is known as “*Devayāna*”, ascending to the world of gods. Ordinary living souls which are, *in essence*, identical with the supreme or world-soul, as parts with the whole, though incased in physical shells, in bondage of senses, and as slaves of passions, follow their *Karma*, eat its fruits and repeat the cycle of births and deaths here in this world, and go to the world of the manes by what is known as “*Pitryāna*”—the path to the world of the manes; and to these departed ancestors are offered oblations and cakes in our funeral ceremonies and Śrāddhas which are purely “*Karmaic*”, *i.e.*, takes “*Karma*” as the determining factor. Thus we may see that, of the dead, only a few are deified and the rest become the manes. The courses above mentioned are also known as “*Uttara-mārga*” (northern path) and “*Dakṣhina-mārga*” (southern path). The latter is also called “the path of smoke”—“*Dhūma-mārga*” which has to be traversed again and again without coming to the end of “*Samsāra*”. Hence, the path of light or northern path (*Archirādi-mārga*) is sought from which there is no return to the mundane existence.

As the great wars have done in history, so the mythical wars between the gods and the demons and the great and

epoch-making events recorded in the Hindu epics such as the Mahābhārata War and Siege of Lanka and the heroic rescue of persons oppressed, persecuted or imprisoned by cruel demons and wicked tyrants (*Sita*, for instance) who are killed in great battles by the great heroes or incarnate gods, might have conclusively demonstrated the "superhuman theory" in religion, mythology and theology and placed hero-worship above Nature-worship, ritualism, Yogic practices and other forms of observances which have consequently been relegated to a subordinate position only, but not omitted altogether, as the free agent is given the full credit for the work accomplished instead of the wish—materials, reagents and tools which he employs as he pleases. This will naturally lead to the rise of "the cult of service and love of God" (*Bhaktiyoga*) to prominence. The other two courses of *Karma* (ritualism) and *Jñāna* (self-realization by meditation) have *not* lost their importance and value but *Bhakti* is emphasized as the right and easy path or course of piety by which all our prayers and offerings reach and please the god we worship, and which lead us direct to his spiritual presence mentally realized everywhere.

The Vedic religion seems to be a combination of both the astronomical and ritualistic (or *Karmaic*) elements as it chiefly consists in offer of sacrifices to the atmospheric "Time" or "Nature" gods and the luminary bodies of the sky. Similarly, the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* systems seem to be founded on the basic principle of *material* evolution by *natural* process—*i.e.*, the combination of the two items (1) Matter (*Prakṛti*) or Elements and (2) Nature (*Svabhāva*). Although all the causes—the efficient, material, formal, final and the first—have their due shares in the creation, subsequent maintenance and destruction of the world and its inhabitants, and consequently their due recognition in our speculative thoughts and practical conduct they are not always treated alike by all, diverse views being held regarding their relative importance and influence. Hence arose the different schools of

Hindu philosophy in support of different modes of religious observances. This is the theme of this study—which, by the way, is not at all claimed to be new or original—but which is here to be explained, demonstrated and elucidated with the help of historical parallels. I shall, in the next concluding paragraph, briefly deal with a mystic system of pious practice (*Upāsana*).

Reference has already been made to the three well-known courses of piety, viz., (1) *Karma* (ritualism), (2) *Bhakti* (faithful service and love of God), and (3) *Jñāna* (the spiritual realization of one's unity with the "Supreme Universal Soul"). The yogic discipline and practice seem to be preliminary or adjunct to the last (*Jñāna*). These three courses are mutually related as complementary, or as successive steps to the final stage of salvation (*Mukti* or self-liberation). Similarly, the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are different forms of, and perform correspondingly different functions of, the Great Master or Overlord. Yet they may be regarded as the respective patrons of the three courses above mentioned: Brahmā, the Creator's favourite course being *Karma* or ritualism, Viṣṇu's *Bhakti* (loving service) and Śiva's *Jñāna* or self-realization of unity with the Absolute by meditation. Brahmā is the head of the Vedic deities that are invoked in the sacrificial rites: the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas specially recommend *Bhakti* as the easiest and safest way for relief from worldly bondage and miseries; and the well-known Śaivite Gospel "*Sūta Samhita*" repeatedly emphasizes and upholds the view that *Jñāna* (the meditative realization of union with the Absolute) is the only sure method to attain self-liberation. These three gods may further be associated respectively with the three forms of *Śakti*: (1) *Agni* (Fire), (2) *Sōma* (the Moon), and (3) *Sūrya* (the Sun) and located in (1) the abdomen or belly, (2) chest or heart, and (3) head (or brain) respectively. The first *Śakti* Fire, represents *Kriyā* (work); the second, the Moon, *Icchā* (desire); and the third, the Sun, *Jñāna* (knowledge). Thus, it will be seen that "Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā are in the nature of *Jñāna*, *Icchā* and *Kriyā*, or the Sun, the

Moon and the Fire,"¹ and are to be located in the head chest and belly, respectively. Now to briefly explain the meaning of these mystic associations, the belly receives the food we eat (which represents the sacrificial cake) and there digests it and generates the working energy: our emotions and feelings are experienced "not in the brain but rather in the chest, *viz.*, within those immense ganglionic masses which are called splanchnic ganglion and solar plexus"²; and the head or the brain is the seat of our intellectual operations. The following passage in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X. 87. 18) seems to contain a clue to the above mystic interpretation and meditative and pious practice (*Upāsana*).

उदरमुपासने यन्कृषिवर्त्मसु कूर्पदशः परिसरपद्धतिं हृदयमारुणयोदहरम् ।

तत उदगादनंत नवधाम शिरः परमं पुनरिहयत्समेत्य नपतंति कृतांतमुखे ॥

Here the belly, the heart and the head are mentioned as the three centres where God is to be located in deep contemplation. This Purāṇic verse is based on *Śruti* (Vedic text) which is quoted by the commentator Śrīdhara Svāmi who summarises the verse thus:—

उदरादिषु यः पुंसां चिंतितो मुनिवर्त्मभिः ।

हंतिमृत्युभयं देवो हृद्रतं तमुपास्महे ॥

¹ The article on "*Śrī Vidyā*" (*Q.J.M.S.*, July 1932, p. 18).

² The article under "*Nerves*", *Medical Dictionary*, pp. 677-678 ("*The Times*" Universal Cyclopædia, Tenth Edition).

A CHAPTER OF KADAMBA HISTORY FROM TAMIL LITERATURE

BY S. K. GOVINDASAMI, M.A.

THE history of the dynasty of the Kadambas of Banavāsi and its offshoots has been treated in a masterly and thorough-going manner by Mr. G. M. Moraes in his recently published *Kadamba Kula*.¹ Every available source, whether it be tradition or inscription or coin or monument, has been tapped sedulously with a view to making the work as complete as possible. But it is unfortunate that the classical Tamil literature which abounds in historical information has not even been thought of, in spite of the fact that the cradle of the Kadamba dynasty was just on the northern frontier of the Tamil country and that, therefore, there is every likelihood of the Tamil poets referring to it in howsoever perfunctory a fashion it might be. It is true that the writer has consulted two works of the veterans of South Indian historical research, Dr. S. K. Ayyangar and the late Prof. P. T. S. Aiyangar, as is evident from the bibliography prefixed to the book.² But the author seems to be either absolutely unaware of the remark of the late Prof. P. T. S. that "this (Tamil) kaḍambu tree was identical with the kaḍamba tree after which the Kaḍamba kings of Banavāsi got their dynastic name"³ or knowing, he has, perhaps, brushed it aside as improbable. In the *Beginnings of South Indian History*, Dr. S. K. Ayyangar makes the following observation which is again pertinent to the Kadamba history. "The Kadambas," says the Doctor "must have been a pirate race to begin with till they were reclaimed to civilization later, perhaps."⁴

¹ The *Kadamba Kula* is No. 5 of the Series of Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

² *Ibid.*, pp. IX, XXI. *Ancient India; The History of the Tamils*.

³, ⁴ *Tamils*, p. 501. *Beginnings*, pp. 73-74.

I should think that this omission to consider the Tamil literary evidence is a grievous one.

Tamil Literary References to the Kadambas

Notices of the history of the Kadambas are to be found in the following works of the Sangam period. *Ahanānūru*, the anthology of 400 love lyrics composed by different hands, contains references to the subject in hand in verses 15, 97, 142, 152, 173, 199, 208, 349, 356, 392 and 396. Verse 151 of *Puranānūru*, the 400 lyrics of war by several poets, indirectly refers to it. A collection of 100 laudatory poems by ten poets at the rate of ten each, called *Padirruppattu* describes the endless feud between the Chēras and the Kadambas. *Narriṇai* and *Kuruntogai*, two other compilations of the Sangam days, advert to the Kadambas in verses 265, 270 and 391 of the former and verse 73 of the latter. Lastly, a slightly later work, *Silappadikāram*, makes mention of the many victories of the Chēras over the Kadambas in cantos *Āychchiar Kuṟavai*, *Kaṭṭurai-kāḍai*, *Kāchi-kāḍai*, *Naḍukaṟ-kāḍai* and *Vāḷttu-kāḍai*. We shall proceed to piece together these scattered references into something like a picture of the history of the Kadambas.

To the north of the Chēra dominion, the modern Cochin and North Malabar, in the "gold producing Konḱānam",⁵ was ruling a powerful family whose members had the patronymic of *Nannan*. They are referred to always in the above works as the *Kaḍambu* after their "*kāval maram*" or guardian tree which was the kadambu tree. We learn from ancient Tamil literature that almost every South Indian ruler had a guardian tree, as for example the Pandian had the *vēmbu* or margosa and consequently he was called *Vēmban*. The kingdom of the Nannans of Kaḍambu extended over the whole of Konḱānam, identifiable with the two Kanaras, besides Pūḷi-nāḍu,⁶ the northern part of North Malabar. This country is distinguished

⁵ *Narriṇai*, v. 391. In Tamil Konḱānam is spelt as Konḱānam.

⁶ *Padirruppattu*. Colophon to the "Fourth Ten".

from the rest of the Tamilaham as “*solpeyar-teyam*”⁷ by the poet Māmūlanār in *Aham*, 349. The phrase “*molipeyar-teyam*” occurs elsewhere in connection with the land of the Vadugar or the Andhras. These phrases can have only one meaning in a country in which a language or languages different from Tamil were spoken. Hence it is clear that the territory of the Nannans was not within the pale of the Tamilaham. Ēlilmalai or the “Seven-Hill” was known to the poets as Nannan’s mountain. A Chēra poet describes it in the following manner in *Narriṇai*, 391:—

“Weep not dear; he might stop.
Who would part albeit he gets
The Seven-Hill—clothed in trees
Panther-dotted, hung with gay
Creepers which the black-horned bison
Eats and eating sheds
The cool green leaves the lassies pick
To deck their slender waists—
In Nannan’s land good,
The golden Konkānam.
So let not the noble eyes
Bluebells-like, rain tears.”

The Konkānam was gay with a number of fortified towns in the interior and busy port towns along the coast. Pāli and Peruvāyil were instances of the first variety and Pāram, Viyalūr and Vāhai-perunturai were examples of the second. Trade, particularly maritime, must have been brisk in these places. Poet Māmūlanār praises the country of the Nannans as one in which wealth increases without much labour on

⁷ (sl. 8-14.)

“நன்னன் ன்னாட்

டேழிற் குன்றத்துக் கவாஅற் கேழ்கொளத்
திருந்த லர நிவந்த கருங்கால் வேங்கை
யெரிமருள் கவள மாந்திக் களிற்றுதன்
வரினுதல் வைத்த வலிதேட்டி தடக்கை
கல்லூர் பாம்பிற் றேன் றுஞ்
சொல்பெயர் தேளத்து சுரனிறந்தோரே.”

the part of the people, but due to the coming of the ships evidently to buy and carry to other lands the valued goods of Konkānam.⁸ In protection of this lucrative trade one of the Nannans seems to have fought with a piratical chief by name Pinḍan whom the poet Paranaṇar describes as the plunderer of richly laden vessels bound for Kanalam-Perunturai (*Aham*, 152).

The history of the Nannans of Kaḍambu is an eventful one packed with interminable wars chiefly with the neighbouring Chēras. The *Paḍirrupattu* is more or less a history of seven Chēra rulers and their wars. At the end of every ten verses and just after the colophon the duration of the reign of each king is given. All told it comes to about 234 years which works out an average of 33 years per king. It seems to be a pretty long period for an average reign. Even at the rate of 20 years which is quite normal per head, it will come to 140 years. During this century and a half, at least, the Nannans were endeavouring to roll back the flowing tide of Chēra imperialism. From Imaṇavaramban, the great conqueror, to Ḥaṇchēral Irumporai practically every Chēra is credited with the destruction of the Kaḍambu. The former's chief exploit was the invasion of Pūlināḍu which ended the endless wars of Nannan of "Peruvāyil of the Kaḍambu"; the latter made a cavalry charge into the country of the Nannans and made it red with blood.¹⁰ The *Silappadikāram* sings the naval victory of Senkuttuvan over the Kaḍambu.¹¹ Another Chēra

⁸ *Aham*, 349. "யுரன் மலி யுள்ளமோடு முவனபாழாக
(sl. 6-8.) வருங் குறும் பெறிந்த பெருங்கல வெறுக்கை
சூழாது சுரக்கு நன்னன் ன். இடு."

⁹ "பூழி நாட்டைப் படைபெடுத்துத் தழீஇ
யுருள்பூங் கடம்பின் பெருவாயின்னன்ன
நிலைச் செருவி னுற்றலையறுத்தவன்." (Colophon, "Fourth Ten".)

¹⁰ "கால்வல் புரவி யண்ட ரோட்டிச்
சுடர்வீ வாகை நன்னற் றேய்த்துக்
குருதி லிதிர்ந்த." (v. 88 of "Ninth Ten".)

¹¹ "சுடந்தடு தாரச் சேரன் கடம்பெறிந்த வார்த்தை
டர்ந்த நிலம் போர்த்த பாடலே பாடல்." (*Vāḷitukāḍai*, p. 581.)

by name Kalankai-kanni-Narmudich-cherai is celebrated by Kalladanar in *Aham*, 199 as the victor in the battle of Vahai-perunturāi where one Nannan was killed.¹²

Apart from this hereditary warfare, a Nannan fought with a people by name Kōsar who were, obviously, a people of the north pouring down into South India egged on by earth-hunger. The Kōsar killed the charger of Nannan in a battle and marched into his territory. The fight with one Pinḍan was already alluded to. Miñili, a commander of the Nannans, is described by Parānar as the winner of the field of Pāḷi in which a chieftain called Āi-Eyinan, the lord of Venkōḍu, fell. On another occasion a Nannan, a Gangan and one Aṭṭi fought with the Chōla king Perumpūṭchenni in the battle of Kaḷumalam where the Nannan was killed.

The great poet Parānar paints a Nannan in lurid colours showing him up as a monster of cruelty. A girl, while bathing in a canal, picked up a green fruit that came floating by and ate it in an evil hour. Poor girl, she did not know that it was a forbidden fruit of Nannan's orchard. The news of this transgression reached the ears of the Nannan who wanted nothing short of the life of the innocent girl as a penalty. Her father offered no less than 81 elephants and a portrait statue of his daughter in gold to save her but the blood-thirsty Nannan would not listen. The hideous deed was done and the Nannan earned the unenviable reputation of being sung by Parānar as "the Woman-Killer".¹³ The same poet gives another instance of his cruelty. When the chief Ai-Eyinan fell wounded in the field of Pāḷi the Nannan took care that not even the sailing wings of birds in the air

¹² "வாகைப் பெருந்துறைச் செருவிற்
பொலம்பூ ணன்னன் பொருதுகளத்தொழிய."

¹³ "மண்ணிய சென்ற வொண்ணுத லரிவை
புனறரு பசங்காய் தின்றதன் றப்பற்
கொன்பதிற் றென்பது களிற்றொட வணிறை
பொன்செய் பாவை கொடுப்பவுங் கொள்ளான்
பெண்டுகாவை புரிந்த நண்ணன் போல." (*Kuruntogai*, v. 292.)

cast a shadow sheltering his writhing body from noon-day sun.¹⁴ Another poet tells the son-in-law of a Nannan proudly "What if the rains fall in endless torrents in Nannan's land? Our kings rule up to the Himalayas."¹⁵ All this poetic odium against the Nannan must have been due to his coldness and indifference towards Tamil poets.

Were the Nannans of Kadambu a pirate race?

We have cited the remark of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar in the first paragraph as regards the answer to the above question. His reasons for this conclusion may be summed up hereunder:—

(1) The Chêras are said to have launched a fleet and destroyed the "kaḍar-Kaḍambu". From this he infers that the Kaḍambas must be pirates with an "island rendez-vous".

(2) The Konkan region which was the country of the Kaḍambus had been notorious through the ages as the haunt of pirates.

(3) According to the Sangam chronology of the Doctor the Chêras who are said to have destroyed the Kaḍambus must be placed in the second century A.D.¹⁶ We have got the evidence of the *Periplus*¹⁷ and of Ptolemy's *Geography*¹⁸ that in the early centuries of the Christian era the Konkan was avoided as dangerous for trading.

¹⁴ "வெளியன் வேண்மா னாது யெயின்
 னளியியல் வாழ்க்கைப் பாழிப்பறத்தலை
 யிறையணி யாண் யியறேர் மிஞ்லியோடு
 நண்பக லுற்ற செறுவிற் புண்கூர்ந்
 தொள் வாண் மயங்கமர் வீழ்ந்தெனப் புள்ளொருங்
 கங்கண் விசும்பின் விளங்கு ஞாயிற்
 ரெண் கதிர் தெருமைச் சிறகரிற் கோலி
 நிழல் செத்துழறல் காணென் யாணெனப்." (*Aham*, v. 208.)

¹⁵ *Puram*, v. 151.

¹⁶ *Ancient India*, p. 337.

¹⁷ Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 44, 202.

¹⁸ S. N. Majumdar, pp. 46-47,

(4) Lastly, the inhuman cruelty of the Nannan of Kaḍambu only strengthens the inference that the Nannans were a piratical clan.

In the foregoing pages we have seen that the Kaḍambu family were powerful lords of an extensive territory which was certainly on the main land and therefore the inference that they were island dwellers is not borne out by the available evidence. And the term "kaḍar-Kaḍambu" cannot by any stretch of imagination be rendered as "island rendez-vous". Secondly, the phrase of Ptolemy *Ariake Andron Peiraton* on the strength of which it is believed that the Konkan was the home of piracy is itself capable of a different interpretation as Andhrabṛtyas who were the paramount sovereigns of the Deccan in the second century A.D.¹⁹ But even granting that piracy prevailed in Konkan in the time of Ptolemy, the Nannans could not certainly have been pirates for the following reasons:—(1) A Nannan himself is said to have fought with Pinḍan, the plunderer of rich ships, obviously a pirate. (2) *Aham.* 173 describes the device in use in Nannan's land for landing the horses from ships. This is a positive indication for the existence of foreign trade in Konkan. We have seen already how Parānar describes the country as growing rich on her trade without the slightest exertion of the people. Further the picture of a cruel Nannan might be rather overdrawn and even if it is true it is possible for a king on land also to be equally cruel. On the above considerations, could it not be that the Kadambas were *not* "a piratical race before they were reclaimed to civilization"?

Are these Kadambas the Same as or Different from the Historical Kadambas of Banavasi?

Prof. P. T. S. Aiyangar would identify the Tamil Kaḍambas with those of Banavāsi in keeping with his theory that the fifth century A.D. is the date of the Sangam, and he would make the Chēra Iṃayavaramban the conqueror of the Kadambas of Banavāsi. But this cannot be taken as the

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

correct view. The recently discovered Chandravalli inscription has pushed upward the foundation of the Kadamba power to the middle of the third century A.D.²⁰ The Kaḍamba records do not preserve any tradition of the constant feud between the Chēras and the Kaḍambas; and when such a war is described once in an inscription of the eleventh century it is only to record the victory of Chatta Deva over the Chēras.²¹ Moreover the nomenclature of the historical Kadambas is out and out Sanskritic whereas the name Nannan of the Kadambas of Tamil literature is purely a Dravidian one. So the conclusion seems inevitable that both were not identical and of the same date.

However, the similarity in the dynastic name is striking and it cannot possibly be haphazard. In Tamil classics the name of the tree kaḍambu stands for a ruling family of that name. Now look at the explanation in Kadamba inscriptions of the origin of their name. It is legendary and conflicting. One version of it is that the first ancestor of the Kadambas was a son of Siva and Parvati who was called Kadamba after the tree under which he was born.²² Another is that he rose out of a drop of Siva's sweat which fell under a kaḍamba tree while destroying the Tripuras.²² The Taḷagunḍa inscription of Śāntivarman attributes the name of the dynasty to the practice of tending a kadamba tree by a Brahman family in which Mayūrasarman was born and hence the line he inaugurated was called the Kadambas.²³ Lewis Rice considered the last as "a more realistic account" than the others.²⁴ In Tamil literature Kaḍambu is the name of a tree which also denoted the family for which it was the guardian tree. The Tamil literature preserves the true origin of the name. This proves the identity of origin though the Nannans and the Kadambas of Banavāsi were not exactly identical. Konkan

²⁰ *Arch. Sur. Mysore; Annual Report*, 1929, p. 56.

²¹ *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 97.

²² Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 296.

²³ *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 10.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

which was ruled by both of them could not have been ruled at the same period.

What is the age of the Kadambas of Tamil Literature?

It has been said elsewhere that Mayūrasarman, the founder of the Kadamba line of Banavāsi came to power in *circa* 250 A.D. If the Nannans cannot be identified with this line then they must be earlier. But did they precede Mayūrasarman immediately? They did not, because the sway of the Sātakarnis of the Vishnukaḍachuṭu family lasted in W. Mysore and in the Kanara districts till the first quarter of the third century A.D. "The Sātakarnis were undoubtedly succeeded by the Kadambas in N.-W. Mysore," says Lewis Rice.²⁵ The power of the Sātakarnis was established in the Deccan about B.C. 225.²⁶ It is quite reasonable that it might have taken some decades before their authority spread over the Kanara country. We can allow approximately a century for this event in which case B.C. 125 would be the date of the expansion of the rule of the Sātakarnis over the Konkan. Then we can assign the Nannans to the century preceding B.C. 125. We have seen already that the Chēras from Imayavaramban to Iḷaṇchēral fought the Nannans for over a century. Adding this period to B.C. 125 we get roughly B.C. 250 for the beginning of the rule of the Nannans of the Kaḍambu. There is no difficulty in accepting this date; for this corresponds to the date of the Asokan empire which did not include the kingdom of the Satyaputras "which should probably be identified with that portion of the Konkans or the low lands between the Western Ghats and the sea where the Tulu language is spoken and of which Mangalore is the centre." A late Kadamba inscription of Taliamana of the year A.D. 1108-09 mentions that Mayūrasarman has been preceded by seventy-seven rulers of his line.²⁷ Though the figure

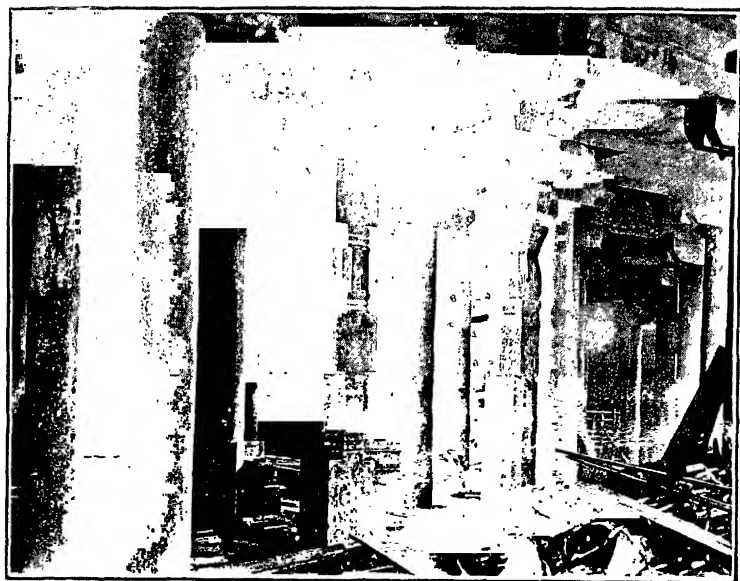
²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 294.

²⁶ Even this is not settled. Mr. Raychandhuri dates the beginning of Andhra power in about B.C. 75. See his "*Political History of Ancient India*", p. 258.

²⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 250.

may not be regarded as worthy of credence yet we may take it as proof of the long existence of the dynasty even prior to Mayūrasarman. In this connection, we must observe that the chronology of the Tamil works of the Sangam has not been satisfactorily settled so far, that the second century cannot be regarded as the correct date and a critical study of the poets, particularly Paranar and Māmūlanār, will show that their date must be far earlier. The above poets refer to the Nannans as well as to the invasion of South India by the Moriyar or Mauriyas. It is true that they refer to them in the past tense. But the context must be noted. It is not simply to describe the invasion that the poets have composed their poems. That is not their purpose at all. Their main theme is the anguish and the anxiety of the lady love for the life of her lover who has gone abroad for making money. The poet just remembers the troubled state of the country due to the Mauriyan invasion and brings it in as a device to intensify the danger in which the lover is and also to concurrently enhance her anxiety. This facile remembrance of a historical phenomenon while engaged in treating a love theme is impossible (in those days when histories were not written) unless the event itself is of contemporary or of recent occurrence. When this fact is once admitted then many of the difficulties in the determination of the date of the Sangam poets will vanish.





An Interior View of the Hundred-Pillared-Mandapam at Chidambaram

THE HUNDRED-PILLARED MANDAPAM AT CHIDAMBARAM

(Continued from Vol. XXII, No. 3, p. 295.)

BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, B.A., L.T.

PART III

Thirteenth Century.—Vira Pandya's Anointment at the Mandapam

I HAVE referred already to one set of inscriptions on some of the pillars of the Hundred-Pillared Mandapam at Chidambaram. Another set refers to a Vira Pāndya. The inscriptions read, "Svasti Sri Vira Pāndyan Tirumandapam". Who was this Vira Pāndya? There is a certain Jatāvarman Vira Pāndya (I) who is intimately connected with Chidambaram. His accession was in 1253 A.D. and he was the co-regent of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (I), acc. 1251 A.D.

Vira Pāndya's reign seems to have lasted at least 28 years, *i.e.*, up to 1281 A.D.¹ His inscription which has the elaborate historical introduction beginning with "திருமகள் வளர்முலை திருமார்புதலோபட" contains a conventional list of kings—Gangam, Gaudam, Kadāram, Kāsipam, Kongu, etc.—who are said to have paid him tribute. But very soon we meet with historical events. The successful fight with the Cōla at Kāvikalam, the establishment of good government (செங்கோல்) in the land of the Vadugas (the Telugu country) and the expedition against the ruler of Ceylon and "Sāvan-maindan" are then described.

Some other inscriptions refer, briefly and without the elaborate introduction mentioned above, to him as one "who conquered Kongu and Īlam (Ceylon), destroyed the hill of the fierce Vadugas, and brought under his sway the region watered by the Ganges (கெங்கை இருகரையும்) and the Kaveri."

¹ *M.E.R.*, No. 117 of 1907, from Kallidaikkurichi, Tinnevely District,

Then he was pleased to stay (*i.e.* hold a *darbar*) at Chidambaram, received tribute from the Kadava chief and celebrated the anointment of hero and victor at Puliur² (or Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr or Tillimānagar—as it is variously described in different inscriptions). It is highly probable that it was in the Hundred-Pillared-Hall this celebration took place; and the inscription under reference might have been engraved on this occasion.

The earliest reference to the celebration of his anointment occurs in an inscription of his sixth year. But the text of this inscription is mutilated,³ and the date is only a conjectural restoration. The astronomical details furnished by the inscription have yielded 1260 A.D. with an error only of the number of the day (21st for 22nd Rishaba); but we do not find any mention of the Kadava paying his tribute till the fourteenth year of his reign.⁴

Who was this Kadava Chief? He should be Sakalabhuvana Çakravartin Avaniyalappirandan Sri Kopperunjinga-deva—the lion among kings—of Sendamangalam. Even in an inscription of the seventh year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*i.e.* about 1258 A.D.), there is a vivid description of the campaign of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya. It is as follows:—

“வருகிறை மறுத்தங்கவனைப் பிடித்துக்
கருமுகில் நிகளங் காலிற் கோத்து
வேந்தர் கண்டறியா விற்றிண்புரிசைச்
சேந்தமங்கலச் செழும்பதி முற்றிப்
பல்லவ னடுங்கப் பல போராடி
நெல்விளை நாடு நெடும் பெரும் பொன்னும்
பருமை யானையும் பரியமுதலிய
வரசரிமை கைக்கொண்டரசற் களித்துத்
தில்லையம்பலத்துத் திருநடம்பயிலுந்
தொல்லையிறைவர் துணைக்கழல் வழங்கி”.....etc.

² These are other names for Chidambaram.

³ No. 363 of the List of Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State.

⁴ Nos. 192 of 1914, *M.E.R.*, and 370 of the Pudukkottai List,

The lines run thus :—

The tribute paid by the Pallava was rejected. He was put in chains. Sendamangalam, the city of impregnable fortifications, was besieged, and many fierce campaigns were conducted round his (capital) city. His capital, territory, treasure, elephants, horses and other insignia of royalty were secured. Then the Pāndya king was pleased to restore him his liberty and territory. After this campaign, the Pāndya went to Chidambaram and worshipped the 'Lord of Dance' (*i.e.*, Natarāja) at Tillaiambalam.

We do not hear of any celebration of Sundara at Chidambaram. So the anointment of hero and victor celebrated by Vīra Pāndya should have been occasioned by the revolt of Kopperunjinga or by the need to put down "Vallan" referred to in Vīra Pāndya's inscriptions before the anointment at Chidambaram.⁵

If there was an anointment-celebration by Vīra Pāndya on or before the sixth year of his reign (*i.e.* 1260 A.D.), was there another in the fourteenth year (*i.e.* c. 1267 A.D.) when he is said to have camped at Chidambaram to enforce and receive the tribute from the Kadava? Evidence is by no means clear. But it has to be borne in mind that the Pāndya emperor had a disturbed frontier in the north, and the keeping under check the turbulent chiefs of the frontier necessitated the frequent demonstrations of the Pāndyan military power. Kopperunjinga must have been the chief cause of unrest in the northern borders of Pāndyan territory.

Vīra Pāndya's actual control of the region of Chidambaram is also corroborated from another source. The Kāttumannarkoil inscription of Perumāḷ Sundara Pāndya-deva furnishes the order of succession of the kings who held sway over this region. The prescriptive right to perform *pūja* in this temple (of Kāttumannarkoil) is said to have been enjoyed from the time of Kulōttunga Cōḷadeva (II) who

⁵ Fifteenth year, 374 of the Pudakkottai List and sixteenth year, *M.E.R.*, No. 297 of 1923.

covered (the temple) with gold, Rajarajadeva (II), Perumāḷ Tribhuvana Viradeva (*i.e.* Kulōttunga III), Rajarajadeva (III), Avānialappirandan Kopperunjingadeva, Perumāḷ Sundara Pāndyadeva (Māravarman I), Perumāḷ Kulasekharadeva, *Vīra Pāndyadeva* and even up to the eleventh year of the ruling king Perumāḷ Sundara Pāndyadeva (Jatāvarman I)".⁶

The *Vīra Pāndya* of this record may be the famous *Vīra Pāndya* who claims to have performed the anointment of hero and victor at Chidambaram.

There is another Pāndya king called Māravarman *Vīra Pāndya*, who seems to have been connected with Chidambaram.⁷ His inscriptions range from the fourth to the ninth year of his reign. Except some gifts to temples by the king's officers, we have no historical information of value about this king. It has been surmised that he must be a successor of Vikrama Pāndya, from the mention of an officer of his called Vikrama Pāndya Gangeyarāyan⁸ and that of "Rayakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai,"⁹ as the name of a portion of the Chidambaram temple (the third wall of enclosure?). This king does not seem to be connected with the Hundred-Pillared Mandapam.

Hence the *Vīra Pāndya* of the Hundred-Pillared-Mandapam might be the famous Jatāvarman *Vīra Pāndya* who celebrated the anointment ceremony at Chidambaram and was the co-regent of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya I. It seems not unlikely that he had this celebration of hero and victor in this very hall where the inscription has been found engraved.

⁶ No. 571 of 1920—*M.E.R.*

⁷ Nos. 269, 279, 320, 328 and 351 of 1913 at Chidambaram; and 386 of 1913 at Erumbur in South Arcot Dist.

⁸ No. 269 of 1913.

⁹ No. 320 of 1913.

Appendix.

Forms of introductions of the inscriptions of Jatāvarman Vira Pāndya—

1. கோச்சடை பன்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவ(ர்)த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ வீர பாண்டிய தேவர். (360 of Pudukkottai Inscriptions.)

2. திருமகள் வளர் முலைதிருமாற்புதனைபட.....
.....கங்கங் கவுடம் கடாரங்கங்
காசிபம் கொங்கங் குதிரங் கோசல மாளுவம் அருமனஞ் சோகனம்
சீனமவந்தி திருநடமீழங் கலிங்கந் தெலிங்கம் பெபனந்தண்டகம் பண்டர
முதலி எம்புலி (ய எம்புலி) வேந்தருமிகல் மண்டலீகரும் மும்முரைசு
முழங்கும் செம்மணி மாளிகை கொற்ற வாயிற் புருந்து சாலம் பார்த்து
கழலினை பணிந்து நல்வேழமும் நெசியமும் காட்டி, பூவிரிசோலை
காலிகளத்து சோழன் பொருத வேழப் போரில்.....
செம்பொற்றோடக் கையிற்றிடித்து.....வாகைகூடி.....
வடுவ(க)ரைக் கொடுங்கோல் வழங்காவண்ணம் நடுவுநிலை செங்கோல்
நாடோறு நடப்ப, இழிழி (ஈழ) மன்னர் இலகுவாரிலொருவனை விழி
(வீழி)ப் பொருது விண்மிசையேற்றி.....கோணமலைய
(ய)னாத்திரிகடகிரியினும் உருகெழு கொடியிசை இருகயலெழுதி, ஏனை
வேந்தனை ஆனை திறைகொண்டு, பண்டேவல் செய்யா திகல் செய்திருந்த
சாவன்மைந்தன் நலமிருந் திரைஞ்சு,.....ஆனூர்புரிச்சு விரையச்
செல்கென விடை கொடுத்தருளி.....உலகமுழுது முடையா
ரோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோச்சடை பன்மரான திரிபுவன
சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ வீர பாண்டிய தேவர். (117 and 173
day—366 of Pudukkottai Inscriptions.)

3. கோச்சடை பன்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் கொங்கீழங்
கொண்டு கொடுவடுகு கோட்டித்து கெங்கை இரூகரையும் காவிரியும்
கைக்கொண்டு (திங்கள் அரவமும் செழுமலத்தார் புனல்) செஞ்சடை
யோன் பொற்புலியூர் வீற்றிருந்து காடவன் திறை இடக்கண்டு இனி
திருந்து வீரா அவி(பி)வேகமும் விசையா அவி(பி)வேகமும் பண்ணி
யருளிய வீர பாண்டிய தேவற்கு.

(14th year—370 of Pudukkottai Inscriptions.)

4. கோச்சடை பன்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஈழமுங்
கொங்குஞ் சோழ மண்டலமுங் கொண்டு வல்லானை வென்று பெறும்
பற்றப் புலியூரில் விராபிவேகமும் விசையாபிவேகமும் பண்ணியருளிய
ஸ்ரீ வீர பாண்டிய தேவற்கு. (15th year—374 of Pudukkottai Ins.)

(To be continued.)

KURUNTOKAI, AN ANCIENT COLLECTION OF THE SANGAM PERIOD

BY K. G. SESA Aiyar, B.A., B.L.

AMONG the works of the Śāṅgam period, there are three main collections named *Pattup-pāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭut-tokai*, and *Patineṇ-kiṭṭ-kaṇakku*. Of these *Eṭṭut-tokai* is a generic name by which is denoted eight different collections, as the term signifies, of Śāṅgam poetry. These are: *Narrinai*, *Kurun-tokai*, *Ain-kurunūru*, *Patirrup-pattu*, *Paripāḍal*, *Kalit-tokai*, *Aha-nā-nūru* and *Pura-nānūru*. Fortunately, all these collections, as also the poems comprising *Pattup-pāṭṭu* and *Patineṇ-kiṭṭ-kaṇakku*, have now been published by competent Tamil scholars, foremost among whom stands Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, whose indefatigable and invaluable work in the cause of ancient Tamil literature, the Madras University has at long last acknowledged by conferring on him recently the degree of Doctor of Literature, *honoris causa*.

In a recent article that I contributed to this journal under the heading: "Glimpses into the Married Life of the Ancient Tamil People" (*Q.J.M.S.*, XXII, pp. 1-25), I stated that judging from old Tamil literature, we might say that the ancient Tamils regarded love and war as practically embracing the totality of life, and those subjects formed the two fundamental categories of poetic material. They were known to Tamil writers as *Aham* and *Puraṁ* respectively; *Aham* relating to the department of love, and *Puraṁ* to war and politics. The technique of these two subjects, as material for poetry, has been treated with great elaboration by Tamil grammarians and rhetoricians; and the volume of literature illustrative of each of them is considerable. The poems of the Śāṅgam age, whether dealing with *ahap-porul*, or with *puraṇ-porul*, are of immense human interest, and are of incalculable value to the student of ancient sociology. They are, besides, as pure literature, worthy to take an abiding place in the

literature of all time, as possessing at once and in just balance keen sensibility to the thrill of life and the thrill of words. Any reader, who has the gift of imagination and of appreciation of the magic of words, will see, if he studies them, that the authors of those poems apprehended through personal sensibility the thoughts, passions and experiences of men and women who formed their human material, and expressed themselves with "the charm of words in tuneful order".

Of the eight collections of poems that are comprised in *Eṭṭut-tokai*, five relate to *Aham*. These are *Narṇṇai*, *Kuruntokai*, *Ain-kuru-nūru*, *Kalit-tokai* and *Aha-nānūru* or as it is also called *Nedun-tokai* in contradistinction to *Kuruntokai*. Of these, all except *Kalit-tokai* are written in *ajaval* metre; while *Kalit-tokai* consists of poems written in *kali* metre. Of the four collections of poems in *ajaval* metre, *Ain-kurunūru* consists of five distinct sections of a hundred short poems each; and each section is by a different author and is confined exclusively to one distinct *tiṇai* out of the conventional five *tiṇais*, viz.; *pālai*, *kuriñci*, *marutam*, *mullai* and *neytal*. As regards the other three collections, the grouping seems to have been based on the length of the poems. Thus, the poems brought together in *Kurun-tokai* range in length from four to eight lines. those in *Narṇṇai* range from nine to twelve lines, and those in *Aha-nānūru* have from thirteen to thirty-one lines. The poems in each of these three collections are distributed among all the five *tiṇais*.

In my article above mentioned, I gave a short account of *Kalit-tokai*, with a few specimen poems, rendered into English, from each of the five sections of that work. I append here some specimens from *Kuruntokai*, in the belief that, though the English renderings are but weak echoes of the original, they may still prove of interest to the readers of this journal, and serve to induce some of them to read the Tamil classic. The estimate in which Tamil scholars have held the work is attested by the expression *nalla kuruntokai*, by which it is mentioned in an old stanza that enumerates the works that comprise *Eṭṭut-tokai*. Excluding the initial invocatory verse,

which is contributed by Bharatam-pādiya Perum-Dēvanār, the work contains 401 short poems, contributed by 205 poets, of whom 22 appear to be women. Among those whose poems are included in this collection are the names of such well-known writers as Kapilar, Paranar, Nakkirar, Madurai-Marudan-Iḷanākanār, Palai-pādiya Perum Kādumko, Auvai, Veḷḷi-vitīar, to mention just a few. One Pūrikko is said to have made the collection; but nothing is known about him. There is evidence to show that Pēr-āsiriyaṛ, the well-known commentator, wrote a scholium explaining all but twenty poems of *Kuruntokai*, and for the remaining twenty poems Naccinārk-kiniyār supplied a commentary; but unfortunately those commentaries are lost. Recently Pandit Arangasami Aiyangar of the Madrase Islamia, Vaniambadi, has brought out an edition of the work, with a commentary of his own, which will be found very useful in understanding and appreciating the work.

It only remains to add a few words about the authors of the poems here given as specimens, so far as any particulars are known about them. *Kuṟum* : 2 is by Iṟaiyanār. According to tradition, it is this poem that won for Dharmi the purse of gold from the Pāndya. It is stated that before the presentation of the purse, Nakkirar questioned the merits of the poem, and the god Siva himself appeared in mortal form among the assembled Śāṅgam poets and defended the poem. Tradition ascribes to this controversy the preparation of *Iṟaiyanār Ahap-porul*, for the special benefit of Nakkirar. One can easily see how the name Iṟaiyanār, which in Tamil also denotes God, made it easy to weave this mythical story, which we note from Appar had become a consecrated tradition relating to the sports of Śiva, long before the days of that Tēvāram hymnist. The story is also referred to in *Kallādam*, and in two works included in XIth *Tirumurai*, which are attributed to Nakkirar himself; but it is highly doubtful if those works could have been written by Nakkirar, the well-known Śāṅgam poet. *Kuṟum* : 3 is by Tēva Kulattār, perhaps, a Brahmana, as the name seems to indicate, and *Kuṟum* : 4 by Kamañcēr Kulattār; nothing, however, is known about these poets.

The author of *Kuṟum* : 5 is Nari-Verūttalaiyār. We gather from *Puṟa-Nānūru* that he was a friend of an old Cēra Olvāt-Kōp-Perum-Cēral Irumpoṟai whose distinctive feat is stated to be the capture of Karuvūr. There are two poems by him in *Puṟa-Nānūru*, one of them being in honour of that king (*Puram* : 5, 195). *Kuṟum* : 20 is by Kōp-Perum-Cōḷan, a well-known royal poet and patron of learning. *Puṟa-Nānūru* contains three poems by him (*Puram* : 214, 215, 216); and he has been celebrated in song by his bosom friends, Pisirāntaiyār and Pottiyār, both of whom were so much attached to him that they would not survive him. We see from *Puṟa-Nānūru* that other poets have also sung about this Cōḷa, whose capital, we gather, was Uṟaiyūr. The author of *Kuṟum* : 25 is Kapilar, one of the greatest and most famous of the Śāngam poets. I have described him elsewhere as the poets' poet, for he has been praised even by the Śāngam poets, including Nakkirar, in almost unmeasured terms (*Puram* : 53, 126, 174, *Patirruppattu*, 85 and *Aham* 78). He was a Brahmana; and the story of his friendship for Vēḷ-Pāri, whose name has become synonymous in the Tamil land with unbounded munificence, is one of the noblest and most touching episodes in ancient Tamil literary history. He is the author of the third centum in *Aiṅkuru-nūru*, which deals with *Kuṟiñci*; and also of *Kuṟuñcik-kali*, the second section of *Kalit-tokai*, and of *Kuṟuñcip-pāṭṭu* or *Perum-kuriñci*, one of the poems in the *Pattup-pāṭṭu* collection. He is the author of the seventh decade of *Patirrup-pāṭṭu*, and also of *Innā-Nārpatu*, one of the *Patinen kil-kaṇakku*. Besides, he is the author of a considerable number of poems appearing in the *Aha-nānūru*, *Narṟiṇai*, *Kuṟuntokai* and *Puṟa-nānūru*. Pālai-pāḍiya-Perum-Kadum-kō is the author of three of the appended specimens, *Kuṟum* : 37, 135, 137. I have written in some detail about him elsewhere; and it will suffice here to say that he was a reigning Cēra, and is the author of *Pālaik-kali* in *Kalit-tokai* and of several poems all dealing with *pālai* included in *Narṟiṇai*, *Kuṟuntokai* and *Aha-nānūru*. His munificence is praised in song by a lady (*Puram* : 11) whose name is generally given as Ḥaveyini, but

which the late Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, the editor of *Kalit-tokai* suggests should be *Ilavēyili*.

Kurum : 39 is by Auvai, who, however, should not be confounded with the lady who wrote *Ātti-cūḍi*, *Koṇṇai-vēntan*, *Mūturai* and *Nalvali*, once familiar to the children of the Tamil land; for these works were written several centuries after the Śāṅgam age. Auvai, with whom we are here concerned, is the lady whom tradition regards as a sister of Tiru-valluvar; and many poems by her are found in *Kuruntokai*, *Narṇṇai*, *Aha-nānūru* and *Pura-nānūru*. She has sung about several kings and chiefs; and her friendship for Atiyamān-nedumān-añci, one of the well-known chiefs of the Tamil land, shines with great brightness in the story of her life. In one of her poems (*Aham* : 147), she refers with great sympathy to Veḷli-vitīyār's pathetic search after her husband who had left her. Veḷli-vitīyār is the author of *Kurum* : 44, in which perhaps, one may suppose there is a reference to her search after her husband who had deserted her. In one of her poems included in *Aha-nānūru*, she pathetically refers to her husband's desertion and her search for him (*Aham* : 45); and in a poem appearing in *Narṇṇai*, she, like the love-lorn lady that she was, pours out from her heart a message which she entreats a stork to carry to her husband. Perhaps, this is the earliest 'message poem' in Tamil. *Kurum* : 77 is by Maḍurāi-Marudan-Iḷa-Nākanār, another well-known name in Śāṅgam literature. He is the author of *Marutak-kali*, the third section of *Kalit-tokai*, and of a large number of poems that appear in *Narṇṇai*, *Kuruntokai*, *Aha-nānūru* and *Pura-nānūru*. In one of his poems (*Aham* : 59) he mentions Nallantuvaṇār as having sung about *Tirup-param-kunṇam*, the reference being obviously to VIIIth *Paripāḍal*; and in *Puraṇam* : 55, in which he addresses Pāṇḍyan Nan-Māraṇ who died at Ilavantippalli, occur the classical lines beginning with *ara neri mutarṇṇē araśin korṇam*, wherein the poet states in what the true excellence of royalty consists. These lines have passed into a familiar quotation. *Kurum* : 78 is by Nakkirar, one of the outstanding figures of the Śāṅgam age. He is the poet who is

said by tradition to have challenged Siva himself, and for whose benefit the great God promulgated the rules of *Ahap-porul*. He is the reputed commentator of Iṟaiyanār's *Ahap-porul* or *Kaḷaviyal*. He was a Brahmana; and his father, who was also a Śaṅgam poet, was a *Kaṇakkāyanār* or preceptor or teacher. Nakkirar is the author of *Tiru-Murukārrup-paḍai* and of *Neḍu-nalvāḍai*, both comprised in *Pattu-pāṭṭu*. Many of his poems are included in *Narṟinai*, *Kurun-tokai*, *Aha-nānūru* and *Pura-nānūru*. He has sung in praise of Pāndyan Nan-Māran, who died at Ilavantippalli, and the great Neḍum-Ceḷiyan of Talai-Ālam-kānam fame. *Kuṟum*: 88 is by Kaṭak-kaṇṇanār of Madura; perhaps, he is the same as the author of *Puraṁ*: 356, whose name is given as Kataiyam-kaṇṇanār. *Kuṟum*: 93 is by Aḷḷūr Nan-Mullaiyār, who is, probably, a lady, as the name seems to indicate. (*Mullai*=chastity.) There is one poem by her in *Pura-nānūru* (*Puraṁ* 306) and another poem in *Aha-nānūru* (*Aham* 46). From the latter poem we may, perhaps, conclude that she belonged to the Pāndya country. *Kuṟum*: 104 is by Kāvan-Mullaip-Pūtanār. Possibly, his name is Pūtanār; and the compound word Kāvan-mullai is, perhaps, a descriptive epithet denoting his skill in writing poems exemplifying that particular *tuṟai* or poetic situation. Besides this poem, there is another by him in *Kurun-tokai*; and there is a poem by him in *Narṟinai* also. The author of *Kuṟum*: 120 is Paranar, the great friend and rival of Kapilar. Like Kapilar he too is praised by Śaṅgam poets (*Puraṁ* 99). He is the author of *Patirrup-pattu* Vth section, and of seventy-two other poems found in *Narṟinai*, *Kurun-tokai*, *Aha-nānūru* and *Pura-nānūru*. He has sung about thirty-five or forty chiefs and reigning princes of the Tamil land; and there seems to be hardly any part of the Tamil country that he had not seen. It is said that Cēran Cenkuṭṭuvan was so much pleased with the Vth decad of *Patirrup-pattu* which Paranar sang in his honour, that the monarch rewarded the poet with the gift in perpetuity of the entire revenue of one of his provinces, called Umbarkāḍu; and it is interesting to note that there still exists in North Travancore near

Vaikom, a house that goes by the name Umbarkāṭṭu-vidu. The author of *Kurum*: 163 is Ammūvanar. Besides this, there are ten other poems of his included in *Kurun-tokai*. He is also the author of the second centum of *Ainkurunūru*, which is devoted to *Neytal-tinai*, and also of ten poems in *Narṛinai*, and five poems in *Aha-nānūru*. He is a great master of *Neytal*. *Kurum*: 176 is by Varu-Mulaiyar-Itti, a lady of whom nothing seems to be known. *Kurum*: 196 is by Miḷaikantan, of whom no particulars are available.

Specimens from Kurun-tokai

Kurum: 2.—AN APPEAL TO THE HONEY-BEE.

Tell me truly, honey-bee,
 Beauteous are thy wings like day,
 From thine own true knowledge say,
 Not from fancied love for me,
 'Mong the blossoms thou hast sought
 For thy nectared food is there,
 Than my sweet-heart's lustrous hair,
 One with greater fragrance fraught?
 With intimacy grows my love!
 Handsome like the peacock, she!
 Close set are her teeth! O bee,
 Truly give thine answer now!

Kurun: 3.—LOVE'S SUFFICIENCY.

Richer than the bounteous earth,
 Higher than the sky above,
 Vaster than the boundless ocean,
 Is to me my suitor's love!
 Lord is he of mountain regions,
 Where in great luxuriance grow
*Kurunji** trees whose spreading branches
 With nectareous blossoms glow!

* *Gluta travancorica*,

Kurum: 4.—A DISAPPOINTMENT.

My heart doth ache! My heart doth ache!
 My eyes are filled with scorching tear.
 He loves me little, I do fear!
 Despite my prayer, he would not be
 In this sequestered spot with me!
 And, Oh! how much my heart doth ache!

Kurum: 5.—LOVE-FEVER.

My eyes, which the petals of flowers resemble,
 Refuse to close in sleep,
 Since he left, the lord of the sea-board region,
 Where against *punnai** trees in their leafage so rich,
 Dash the waves of the ocean, disturbing the flamingoes
 And cover the shore with showers of salt-spray,
 Is love afflictive, maid?

Kurum: 20.—THE UNWISDOM OF SEPARATION.

If it be a sign of wisdom
 And of courage to forsake,
 Love and tenderness forgetting,
 Wedded wife for money's sake,
 Let him, then, who thus has left me
 Be esteemed both brave and wise!
 I who cannot stand such parting
 Shall be timid and unwise!

Kurum: 25.—A WIFE'S ANXIETY.

He stole my heart, the day he wedded me
 In secret, and he left with promise soon
 To come again. We had been then alone,
 But for the stork which waited, watching still
 The little fish, resembling millet stalks,
 That sported in the flowing rivulet!
 If he his promise break, what shall I do?

* *Calophyllum inophyllum*,

Kurum : 37.—EXPECTED RETURN.

Great is my spouse's love for me!
 His early coming I foresee.
 Where he has gone, he eke will see
 The elephant, with gallantry,
 Break branches from the *atti** tree
 And give them to its female mate,
 It may its hunger satiate.
 That sight will speed him on to me!

Kurum : 39.—A WIFE'S FEAR.

My lovely form despising,
 Hath he to the desert gone,
 Where, on the dreaded mountain,
 By violent hot wind blown,
 The shrivelled *vagai*,† tossing
 Its withered pods, makes moan!

Kurum : 44.—A FRUITLESS SEARCH.

My search for them has fruitless proved in this wild desert vast,
 E'en dragging just one step beyond, my wearied feet are past.
 Into the distance dim my eyes have, straining, ceaseless gazed,
 Their native lustre they have lost, and listless look and dazed.
 I envy so the myriads of women—they exceed
 The stars in number in the dark expanse of sky, indeed—
 Whose lot has never been on such a wild goose chase to go,
 As searching for the fugitives, I've had, alas! to do.

Kurum : 77.—WHAT SHALL I BLAME?

Blessings on thee, friend; thou askest
 Whether aught there be to blame!
 I can censure but my shoulders,
 Soft and shapely, which became
 Easy target for his love-shaft!
 Lo! He to the desert dread

* *Ficus glomerata*.

† *Albizia lebbek*,

Now has gone, where savage, cruel,
 Evil-minded men are said,
 With dry leaves to cover treach'rous
 Pits, intending to entrap
 Elephants, that unsuspecting
 Therein tumble by mishap.

Kurum : 78.—LOVE'S BLINDNESS.

Dreaded monarch of the mountains;
 Where the shining cascades fall,
 Sounding like the drums of players,
 Love's affliction falls on all.
 Love is thoughtless and is foolish!
 It affects e'en those who fail
 To appreciate its value
 And the pain it doth entail.

Kurum : 88.—EXPECTED VISIT.

The monarch of the mountain region,
 Where fall the sounding cataracts
 Which, white with foam, o'er-leap the ledges,
 May seek us in the forest tracts,
 Where human feet but rarely venture,
 In the dense darkness of the night,
 And where, from ancient hostility,
 The small-eyed elephant with might
 Attacks and kills the powerful tiger.
 Should we from bashfulness prevent,
 Indeed, our lover's secret coming,
 O maid, by some device well-meant?

Kurum : 93.—A JEALOUS WIFE.

Maid! E'en if I my choice possessions,
 My beauty, nay my life, should lose,
 How could I, as my life's associate,
 Him ever for a moment choose?

He doubtless may be, like a parent,
 A kindred whom one needs must own.
 Alas! No intimacy 'tween us,
 Love being absent, can be known.

Kurum: 104.—THE PANG OF SEPARATION.

As do the pearls from one another run
 When breaks the string that them together held,
 So has my lover gone away from me!
 He has me in this dewy season left,
 When cows and their young calves, all care-free, feed
 On rich and luscious leaves of *tali* plants,
 That draw nourishment from the drops of dew!
 And woe is me! His absence may be long!

Kurum: 120.—UNATTAINABLE DESIRE.

Like a pauper longing for the luxuries of life in vain,
 Thou, my heart, hast fondly hungered the impossible to gain!
 Though my lady-love good-natured holds, thou knowest, me in
 She, alas! thou knowest not, is unattainable to me! [fee

Kurum: 135.—NO NEED TO GRIEVE.

Though men away from home their calling may pursue,
 Their life doth with their wives with shining foreheads rest.
 E'en so, home-keeping women find their life in men.
 A law of nature; he has himself told us so.
 Grieve not my lady, therefore. He will soon renounce
 His contemplated journey to the distant wild.

Kurum: 137.—LET NOT THY GOOD HEART GRIEVE.

Lovely is thy figure, sweet-heart!
 Let not now thy good heart grieve.
 May I be myself avoided
 If I venture thee to leave,
 Even by all persons, seeking
 Charity, for many a day;
 And, besides, may I of heaven
 Lose all hope fore'er and aye!

Kurum : 163.—TO THE SEA.

Hast thou, O sea! a lady-love? And where doth she reside?
 Thou art more restless e'en than I, still pining for my bride!
 Thy waves, foam-crested, ceaseless roll, and in succession fall
 Upon the sandy beach where grows the white-flowered
screwpine tall,
 And where in patience waits for fish, which form its prey, the
stork.
 Thy wail, O sea! is even heard at midnight drear and dark!

Kurum : 176.—THE ANXIOUS MAID.

Yesterday he did not come to me, nor has he come to-day.
 Spoke he oft to me such soft words I have given my heart away
 Unto him; but he hath left me as the honey-bee its hive.
 Whither has he gone, my lover? I without him cannot live!
 As the country of the virtuous gets a flood of copious rain,
 So a flood of grief is swelling in my heart that smarts with pain.

Kurum : 196.—LOVE'S INCONSISTENCY.

You once did say, if from your lady-love
 A *neem** fruit raw had come, it would as sweet
 As sugar-candy taste! And now, you say,
 If in the month of Tai, from Pâri's tank
 Itself, you drank its water cool and sweet,
 You would have found it hot and bitter too!
 O, the vagaries of the love-sick mind!

* *Melîa judîca*,

MANDOOKYA UPANISHAD

BY DR. M. SRINIVASA RAO, M.A., M.D.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 2)

MĀYA is a power which the human intellect associates with Brahman. It does not share the reality of Brahman. If it were real, it has to be exercised over a world as real as Brahman. Brahman cannot be the creator of a world as real as himself, unless with the help of material co-eternal with himself. This would reduce Brahman to the level of worldly objects.

Reality manifests itself as the world without undergoing any modification itself. The man of science is able to discover laws governing nature and the world, because he himself is really one with consciousness and identical with the power he observes and studies. Reality is presented to the human mind in the form of subject and object and to the natural question as to what caused it to do so, the answer is Māya. This does not entitle it to be called an entity second to Brahman. It is, therefore, said to be inscrutable. Māya helps to derive the world from the immutable non-dual Brahman, but it is itself inexplicable. A true knowledge of Brahman does not cause the world to disappear in the empirical sense. The world that we perceive and the knowledge that arises are of the empirical order and such knowledge cannot destroy such a world in the waking state. But, the fact that we intuit consciousness in sleep in which the subject and object of the waking state disappear lifts us to a higher standpoint in which there is nothing but Brahman.

From this point of view, there is not, there never was and there never will be a world existing as a second to the only reality Consciousness. With the disappearance of the world, Māya or Avidya also disappears. It is only in the waking state and the dreaming state, when we are able to

perceive objects, that the term "non-perception of the world" can have a meaning. In sleep when there is no subject or object, we cannot possibly have any "non-perception of the world" as the world itself is non-existing.

Vedānta is built on facts of life and universal experience and so can stand by itself without any help from the doctrine of Māya. It is given as affording a simple explanation of the manifestation of the world. Māya is wherever there is name and form. Through the world of variety, it veils Brahman from us; but gives us mind which enables us to overcome its effects. Everyone lives in a private world of his own and yet believes in a common world. What is this but Māya?

Some hold that the mind attaches itself to external objects or that it reflects them in itself. Both these theories are wrong, as there are no external objects at all for the mind to become attached to or to reflect. In the dream, there are no external objects and in the waking state, the so-called external objects are as unreal as those in the dream. The fact is that in both dream and waking states the mind alone externalises itself as objects.

To the objection that if so the knowledge of objects must be false and that there can be no true knowledge, it may be said that the mind is never in contact with any objects that may be thought of as causes in the present, past or future. If it does relate itself at any time to any objects, that would form the truth or reality in reference to which the cognition of non-existent jars and their reflections may be described as false. There is never, at any place or time, such a real relation of objects to the mind. Therefore, without a cause, such as external objects, the mind can never be said to have any false knowledge.

That there are no external objects and that the mind takes on the appearance of objects are also the views of the Vignānavādins, a sect of Bouddhas, who go further and say that the mind is born or produced, that it is transient; that it is of the nature of misery, non-entity and non-Ātman. They

try to understand the mind by the nature of the mind itself which cannot be understood and are, therefore, like those who try to trace the footprints of birds in the sky.

The Mādhyamika Buddhists believe in absolute non-entity and, though aware of themselves and of their own existence all the time, profess to perceive Void or Śūnya and are therefore more audacious than the Vignānavādins.

So the settled Advaitic view is that there is only one and unborn Brahman, that the mind is unborn and is Brahman, though disputants impute birth to it saying that the unborn is born, contradicting its very nature. Therefore, birth never occurs to a thing which is of the nature of ever being unborn.

An end cannot be predicated to a beginningless Samsāra, nor a beginning to endless Moksha or release. If Samsāra is beginningless, it can have no end but all schools of thinkers admit that Samsāra does come to an end. It is not consistent with experience that anything without a beginning can come to an end. As regards Moksha, if it is said to be produced at the moment of enlightenment, it cannot be endless. In our experience, everything that has a beginning has also an end and if Moksha begins at any particular time, it is bound to have an end. If real existence is denied to Moksha, it is reduced to the level of the non-existent horn of a hare. The waking world is often spoken of as being the cause of the dream experience. This is only from the Vyavahāra point of view. In both states, there is a perceiver, percepts and perception. Just as to a dreamer, while actually dreaming, the phenomena of dream appear as real as the objects of ordinary experience, the existing objects of waking experience being supposed to be the causes of dream experience, appear to be real to the person in the waking state. The objects of wakeful experience have no more reality than those of a dream.

Unenlightened people, thinking the waking world to be the cause of dream and seeing from the view-point of waking that the dream is very transitory, believe the waking

world to be real and permanent. But, the enlightened people do not recognize the birth of anything. To them all is unborn Ātman, the same without and within.

Moreover, it is not reasonable to believe that from a *real* waking experience, an *unreal* dream can arise. It is against worldly experience that anything real gives rise to an unreal non-entity: for, the production of an unreal non-entity, like the horn of a hare, is never seen anywhere.

Considered from the point of view of reality, there can be no relation of cause and effect at any time and in any manner whatever. There are only four ways in which the relation of cause and effect can exist or can be thought of. An unreal non-existent thing like the horn of a hare can never be the cause of an unreal flower in the sky. An existing thing like a jar cannot be the cause of a non-existent horn of a hare. Also, a real object like a jar cannot give rise to another real object like a jar or a piece of cloth. One need not say that an unreal non-existing thing can never be the effect of a real thing. Therefore, to the enlightened persons, the relation of cause and effect cannot exist at all.

Through wrong knowledge due to want of discrimination, objects of the waking world which are beyond the reach of thought and experience like the snake superimposed on a rope, are considered to be and even felt to be real. Similarly in dream, objects such as an elephant are, through false knowledge, superimposed on the dreamer himself. The objects of the dream are peculiar to that state only and do not stand in the relation of effects produced from the percepts of the waking state.

Causality is taught to people of an inferior grade of intelligence, who are engaged in the performance of the duties of their caste and status in life, that is, *varnashrama* and who believe in the reality of external objects. Such people require the aid of causality for grasping the higher truths of Vedānta. Those who are engaged in the study of Vedānta naturally realize the unborn and non-dual Ātman and do not regard the external objects as real. The ritualists

are, through want of discrimination, always afraid of the destruction of their own Ātman in the absence of the law of causality. So, causality is assumed for the sake of helping such people over their ignorance.

Such people, though afraid of the absence of causality, still follow the path of righteousness with faith. Though they cannot attain Moksha, they are not very far from it.

The perception of objects and the capability of their being made use of cannot be considered sufficient reasons for the real existence of duality apart from the perceiver. These tests also apply in the case of percepts in a dream, which are admitted to have no real existence.

Consciousness, ever at peace, non-dual, unborn, unmoving and never a percept, appears as if born, as if moving and as if it is a percept. Though Ātman is one, it may appear as many and different in accordance with the differences in the bodies superimposed on it. Just as motion, imparted to a firebrand, makes it look straight, crooked, round, etc., so activity of consciousness, which is not real but due to Avidya, gives rise to the appearance of percept, perception and perceiver.

The appearances of the firebrand in motion do not come from outside the firebrand. When it is at rest; the former appearances do not go out of the firebrand and remain outside of it: nor do they enter the firebrand. This is exactly the case in the matter of birth, etc., of consciousness. Appearances are exactly alike in both cases. In other words, the so-called external objects are nothing but appearances. When consciousness is active, the appearances do not come from without. When it is at rest, the appearances do not go beyond, nor do they enter consciousness. As they are not subject to the relation of effect and cause, it is impossible to think of them and describe them in words. Occurrences such as "being born" and "giving birth to" are ever unthinkable and remain as non-entities.

Mind is of the same nature as the essence of consciousness. External objects are not born of the mind. Mind is not born of external objects. All Jīvas and external objects

are mere appearances superimposed on consciousness. No effect comes from a cause, nor a cause from the effect, there being thus the non-production of cause and effect. To knowers of Brahman, the principle of cause and effect has no existence in Ātman.

As long as one believes "by reason of my merit and demerit, I am the actor, and the enjoyer of the results of merit and demerit in another incarnation, among other living beings", that is, so long as one is possessed of the spirit of cause and effect or has superimposed this idea on one's Ātman, so long will cause and effect continue to operate making the world of Samsāra grow larger and larger. When by the realization of Advaita or non-duality, one is dispossessed of the spirit of cause and effect due to Avidya; the idea declines and there is cessation of the operation of cause and effect and the world of Samsāra is not manifested in the absence of a cause.

This Avidya is the power by which Ātman is veiled and by which the illusion of the worldly experience is spread out. All this arises from Avidya and what is due to Avidya can never be eternal. The world of Samsāra characterized by birth and death is said to be present for the time being. From the point of view of ultimate reality, all this is unborn Ātman. As it is unborn, it can never have any destruction as a result of the relation of cause and effect.

The birth of Jīvas is spoken of from the point of view of Vyavahāra or the experience of the waking state. From the point of view of reality, they are not born at all. As their birth is but the result of Māya, it is said to be like Māya. Māya is not a substance, but is that which is not known and is only a name given to what is not known.

A magician or hypnotist produces the appearance of mango sprouts from seeds. But such sprouts are subject neither to permanent birth nor to death. The idea of birth and death is suitable only for those which have no substantiality. But from the point of view of reality, the terms birth and death are not applicable in the case of Jīvas.

As the Jīvas are identical with non-dual Ātman of the nature of Consciousness and Se-ness, no statements can be made of their permanence or impermanence. Words are used for describing things; but when they cannot be used for description and explanation, their exact nature as this or that cannot be determined and they cannot be said to be either permanent or its opposite.

The capability of being described by words belongs to the unreal duality which is solely due to the activity of mind through Māya. In dream, the mind is active under the influence of Māya and presents the appearance of a variety of objects. The perceiver in a dream wanders about in all directions and perceives therein a number of living beings. Apart from the mind of the dreamer, nothing is known or seen. The mind, though in reality non-dual consciousness, superimposes on itself a great variety of Jīvas in different forms. The mind of the dreamer can see only itself and is existent for itself. Apart from the dreamer, such a thing as mind does not exist.

Similarly, the Jīvas seen in the wakeful state do not exist apart from the mind of the perceiver, as they appear to the mind in the same way that they appear to the mind of the dreamer. The mind, formed of the Jīvas and their perception, does not exist independent of the perceiver in the waking state, as is also the case in the dream where the seer and the seen are one.

This is equivalent to saying "I alone exist" and is regarded by the Western philosophers as solipsism. Though this may look absurd in Vyavahāra or practical affairs of life, the position of a solipsist is an irrefutable one. All philosophical systems based on the experience of the waking state alone, when pushed to their logical extremes, must end in solipsism. The terms 'subject', 'consciousness' and 'I' all logically exclude plurality. There can be only one "I" to each person, all else being classed as 'you' or 'them'. In other words, there can be only one subject opposed to all else as objects. When the whole world is regarded as a

mere idea of the mind, other minds included in the world are percepts to the one thinker. Idealism of all varieties is bound to end in solipsism. To escape from this position, a so-called cosmic mind or transcendental ego is set up. This is of no use, as even the cosmic mind and the transcendental ego are mere ideas in the mind of the thinker. As Bertrand Russell says, solipsism is the only truth that can stand logical scrutiny. Where the solipsist is wrong is in his assuming that the 'I' survives when the world he conceives disappears. Vedanta corrects him by showing that the idea of 'I' also disappears along with his world, as in sleep. Also, one may tell another "you are unreal" but the listener being also consciousness and real cannot conceive of his own unreality. Therefore, people would rather believe the world to be real with many independent real minds. In the solipsistic thought 'I alone exist', Vedanta recognizes the truth that the basis for the superimposition of the idea of Jīva, ego, or 'I', is the undifferentiated consciousness intuited in sleep and which manifests itself in the waking state as the perceptual world in which there is a plurality of minds and non-ego. The ego instinct is irrepressible in man and it goads him to seek the higher ego. He can only find it, when the idea of 'I' or ego as against non-ego disappears and the realization of Brahman as being the All takes place.

Of the two, Jīva and the mind, each is an object of perception to the other or, in other words, the one points to the existence of the other. From the point of view of Jīva, the mind is said to be capable of perceiving. From the point of view of the mind, the Jīva and others are objects of perception. Therefore, the one cannot be independent of the other and it becomes impossible to say which, the mind or what the mind perceives, really exists. In dream, neither the elephant that one sees, nor the perception of the elephant, is real. Wise people are of the same opinion with regard to the perceiving mind and the perceived objects in the waking experience also. The mind and the objects perceived by the mind have no distinguishing marks.

affording proof of the presence of both. Apart from the perception of a jar, a jar cannot be grasped. Also apart from the jar, the perception of the jar is not possible. Therefore, it is impossible to distinguish the instruments of knowledge from the objects apprehended by means of them.

Birth and death of the Jīvas in the waking state are as real as the birth and death of Jīvas in dream. Therefore, wise people conclude that Jīvas having human characteristics are unreal and are mere outward manifestations of the mind. As long as the worldly experience confined to the waking state lasts, birth and death may accrue to the Jīvas as they do to the Jīvas in a dream. The ultimate truth is that no Jīva is born.

The whole of duality consisting of the perceived and the perceiver is due to the activity of the mind. But in reality, the mind is Ātman devoid of relations with objects and is consequently described as eternal and unattached. When there are objects external to oneself, there may be attachment to them; but when there are no external objects, the mind will be unattached.

In the Vyavahāric waking world, relationships such as that of a teacher, a pupil and scriptures are known to exist. These are true and exist only so long as they serve as means for the realization of the reality or Ātman. But when realization occurs, these results of superimposition cease to exist and are not seen as apart from Ātman. Therefore, the mind has been aptly described as unattached.

There being no external objects, duality is quite unreal. But people have a great attachment to the existence of duality. The attachment lasts only so long as it is seized. When duality, the attachment to which is purely unreal and which is the cause of birth, is not seen, then one knows the absence of duality and becoming free from attachment to it is not born at all, as there is no cause of birth.

Meritorious actions, performed according to the rules ordained by one's Jāti or caste and Āsrama or station in life and free from desires, are superior causes leading one to be

born as a god. Middling causes are mixtures of merit and demerit and give rise to incarnations as men. Actions of demerit are the inferior causes enabling one to be born as lower animals, plants, inanimate objects in the world. When the One and non-dual Consciousness of Ātman, free from all fabrications of Avidya, does not see and does not relate itself to the superior, middling and inferior causes, or actions which are also fabrications of Avidya, then the mind does not take on the form of gods, men, lower animals, plants, etc. Thus, in the absence of a cause, no result can arise.

When the truth is realized, the causes of birth in the form of merit and demerit become of no account and the mind is not born and that state is then called Moksha or release. In the absence of objects, the mind remains one with Ātman always and in all the three states of waking, dream and sleep. Even in the state of Avidya, before the truth is realized, the mind always remains one but may appear to be born and dual. One, who knows the state of reality which is devoid of all causes of birth and which being non-dual can have no cause, who also knows the absence of external causes of the nature of merit and demerit giving rise to incarnation as gods, men, etc. and who is free from all desire for external good, attains to that fearless state in which there is neither desire nor sorrow and in which there is not a trace of Avidya or ignorance. Such a person is not born again.

Attachment to the unreal means belief in duality which has no real existence. Being sunk in the delusion of Avidya, the mind feels drawn to activity in the region of unreality. When one comes to know the unreality inseparable from duality, then the mind becomes unattached, has no desires and is drawn away from all unreal objects.

When the mind does not busy itself with duality or is not fabricating duality, the mind is in a stable condition of the same nature as Brahman, being non-dual and of the essence of consciousness and bliss.

Though scriptures and Vedantic teachers proclaim the non-dual Ātman, worldly people immersed in wakeful

experience do not grasp it. By limiting perception to single objects, its various qualities are grasped and by belief in the reality of unreal objects, the bliss characteristic of the non-dual Ātman is easily concealed. The knowledge of duality is itself enough to cloud the bliss, without requiring any other means to bring it about. A knowledge of reality is difficult to obtain and misery manifests itself.

Various disputants hold different opinions regarding Ātman. The Vaiśeṣikas predicate existence to Ātman and say that it is subject to change, in order to distinguish it from a jar and other objects that have only a transitory existence. Bouddhas of the Vaināsika sect predicate non-existence to Ātman, as it is said to be immutable and not conditioned by objects. Other sects of Bouddhas and Digambara Jainas attribute existence and non-existence together to Ātman, as they think that it is subject to change and also immutable.

Mādhyaṃika Bouddhas are nihilists and hold Ātman to be total non-entity. All these four schools of disputants trying to find Brahman by predicating to it change, no change, a combination of both and total negation, merely create a veil between themselves and Brahman and are therefore like children with no discrimination. While even the learned cannot learn the truth regarding Brahman, what can be said of persons of a low grade of intellect?

Brahman, however, is always untouched by what is predicated of it by these disputants and is devoid of all fabrications such as existence, change, etc. That sage who realizes the Puruṣa or Ātman or Brahman, described in the Vedantic portions of the Upanishads, is the all-seer, is omniscient and is the truly learned man. The knower of Brahman, who attains to natural peace, rests in the serene and calm state characteristic of the nature of Brahman.

The schools of thought which conceal Brahman are mutually contradictory and give room for the origin of such faults as desire, enmity, etc., which are the causes of the Saṃsāric world. Duality characterised by percept and perception

offers room for all sciences and worldly experience and is known as the experience of the wakeful world. Though external objects are absent, perception of objects created by the mind goes on quite as well as if they were present outside the perceiver. This subtle experience is quite well differentiated from the gross worldly experience and, as it is common to all creatures, is known as dream. That which is devoid of perceiver, percept and perception is beyond experience. In the absence of these, there is sleep containing the seeds of future experiences.

This is useful for the easy comprehension of the essence of reality. That consciousness by which one knows in succession the waking experience, the dream experience and sleep is that which is known as the three knowables. Anything other than these three is not knowable. All the fabrications of the other schools of thought, concealing Brahman, are included in the three knowables. Consciousness knows the three knowables—waking, dream and sleep. Vigneya is the true reality, which is known as the fourth, non-dual, unborn and of the essence of Ātman. To the man of high intellect who realizes this in this world only, there will be omniscience. The knowledge once obtained of the nature of one's own Ātman is not subject to any change such as birth or destruction.

The four means preliminary to the attainment of true knowledge are: (1) the things to be avoided, (2) the thing to be known, (3) the things to be acquired and (4) the thing to be matured.

(1) The things to be given up are the three states of walking, dream and sleep, which are superimposed on Ātman like a snake on a rope. These are not to be considered to be real at all but only as fabrications of Avidya.

(2) The thing to be known is the true reality free from the four theories of existence, non-existence, etc. Kant's "thing-in-itself" is sometimes said to be the same as Brahman of Vedanta. This is not so. Post-Kantian philosophers rejected Kant's "unknowable" "thing-in-itself"

as a self-contradictory and impossible abstraction. As Stace points out, Kant's dictum that the "unknowable" is the cause of appearances shows that the concept of cause and power is applicable to the "unknowable". So far, it becomes known and Kant's theory becomes self-contradictory. Stace further observes "total ignorance of a thing involves total unawareness of it and therefore it involves our ignorance. To be aware of our ignorance of a thing is only possible, if we know something of the thing and realize that this knowledge is very slight. But complete ignorance of the thing would be complete unconsciousness of it and would involve that we could not even be aware of our ignorance of it." It is also self-contradictory to say that we know that the "unknowable" exists. To say that anything exists means that it is a possible object of consciousness. All existence is relative to the mind, so that an "unknowable" cannot exist.

On the other hand, Brahman of Vedanta is a thing to be known and realized. Every one of us intuitively knows it in sleep, though in waking and dream it is covered by Avidya which makes us mistake it for this universe in these two states. There is no conception of any relation, such as that of cause and effect, between Brahman and the universe.

(3) The things to be acquired are the three means for the acquisition of real knowledge, namely, full knowledge of theory and a full understanding of the sense of the Upanishads, child-like innocence or a freedom from desire and aversion and a silent concentration or contemplation. These should be practised by the sage, free from the desires for children, wealth and fame.

(4) The thing to be matured consists of the faults such as attachment, aversion, delusion, etc., which are to be got rid of by deeply meditating on their being obstacles to the attainment of Moksha. Of these, with the exception of the thing to be known, which is one with Brahman, the others are to be regarded as not real and as fabrications of Avidya.

In waking life, we find plurality of Ātmans. This plurality is due to superimposition and not real. All these

so-called Ātmans are, by nature, all-pervading like Ākāśa, unattached and are unborn and deathless. That seeker after Moksha who has no doubt of his own nature finds peace in himself. This peace or *sānti* is not a thing to be brought about in Ātman.

The sense of plurality is confined to the waking experience only. Being, by their very nature, free from action all Ātmans are alike and not different from each other. Therefore peace or Moksha is not a thing that can be fabricated and nothing like action can be conceived in it.

Those who realize the essence of reality, as described above, are high-minded. Those who are attached to differences walk in the way of Samsāra, talk of many objects and are dualists. They always argue about differences, the fabrications of Avidya and therefore deserve the name of narrow-minded.

In the case of other schools of thought, in whom discrimination is wanting even when the idea of the least trace of variety arises among external or internal objects, there can never be unattachment. In the case of such people, what is the use of speaking of release from bondage?

All Jivas are really without any bonds or obstructions to knowledge which are of the nature of Avidya or ignorance and so have no real existence. By nature, Jivas are pure, are consciousness and therefore free requiring no release.

The consciousness of one who has realized Brahman does not move out into objects, but is centred in itself like light in the sun. It pervades everything like Ākāśa.

The consciousness of the knower is identical with universal consciousness and is all-pervading like Ākāśa. There is no such thing as consciousness moving out into any objects external to itself. So, the Jivas are unrelated to anything.

The essence of Brahman or Ātman is motionless, actionless, undivided, eternal, non-dual, unattached, unseen, incomprehensible and beyond hunger and other desires. But this is not the same as the doctrine of Buddha who only

denies external objects and speaks of the momentariness of our knowledge of them. The doctrine of momentariness is inconsistent with the phenomenon of recognition," which means a knowledge of something which both was in the past and is now. The continuity and identity involved in the experience cannot be consistently explained on the theory of momentariness. Impressions when momentary cannot act as basis for any inference. The existence of a world cannot be inferred from the momentary existence of sensation.

The Advaitins, however, are conscious of a non-dual reality devoid of all differentiation into knowledge, the known and the knower. This knowledge is available only to those who study Vedantic scriptures.

ŚRĪ VIDYĀ

Part III—Upasana-Krama

Section (1)—Tripurasundari Puja

By K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER

1. Introduction

KĀLIDĀSA prays to Devī as Kāmakalā in his Laghu Stuti:—

देवानां त्रितयं त्रयीहुतभुजां शक्तित्रयं त्रिस्वराः ।

त्रैलोक्यम् त्रिपदी त्रिपुष्करमथो त्रिब्रह्म वर्णस्त्रयः ॥

यत्किञ्चित् जगति त्रिधा नियमितं वस्तुतिवर्गादिकम् ।

तत्सर्वं त्रिपुरेति नाम भगवत्यन्वेति ते तत्त्वतः ॥

According to Bhagavān Bādarāyaṇa, it is avidyā to respect or care for the body and other things which are not the self. Thence arises desire for its glorification; then anger when it is subjected to humiliation; then fear and even delusion at sight of its destruction. In this way come those endless contentions and miseries which we see around us. Those who, by reversing the process, have freed themselves from avidyā, with its concomitant evils of desire, etc., approach God.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa, therefore, advocates action without attachment (मुक्तसंगः समाचर) and narrates the evils of attachment thus:—

संगात् सञ्जायते कामः । कामात्क्रोधोभिजायते ॥

क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः । संमोहात्स्मृतिविभ्रमः ॥

स्मृतिभ्रंशात् बुद्धिनाशः । बुद्धिनाशात् प्रणश्यति ॥

According to the quality of one's upāsana, one may realize, in this life or another, mokṣa which is indissoluble union with God. The individual soul, which is an external manifestation of Supreme Soul, goes through a countless series of incarnations till it is freed from the fetters of embodiment called kośas and is blessed with conscious union with God. Final emancipation is the highest aim of upāsana. It consists in the annihilation of all evils (duḥkha) which comprise

everything connected with activities leading to the cycle of birth and death.

2. Kamakala as Tripurasundari

Tripurasundarī is but the personification of Kāmakalā.

(a) *Bindu Traya*.—As Varivasyā-Rahasya describes, Brahma desirous of creating the universe turned his attention to Śakti who forms half of his body (विश्वसिसृक्षावशतः स्वार्धं शक्तिं व्यलोक्यद् ब्रह्मा). Then a white drop in the form of moon resulted and Śakti, in the form of a red drop, entered into the white drop (बिन्दुर्भवति तमिन्दुं प्रविशति शक्तिस्तु रक्तबिन्दुतया). The combination of these two drops constitutes what is called in the Vedas agniṣomiya (combination of fire and moon).

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa says that fire enters into the rising sun; that the sun enters into the fire at sunset; and that, on New Moon Day, the sun and the moon combine together.

Suśruta, in his famous medical work, says that the male seed is lunar, that the female seed is fiery and that the combination of fire and moon is the cause of the embryo in the womb.

According to Āitareya Āraṇyaka, the seed of man is a form of Āditya while that of woman is a form of Agni.

(b) *Mātṛka*.—As Goddess is called Mātr (Mother of the world), the symbols that stand for Her are called mātṛkas (pictures of Mother).

Pratyabhijñāna Tantra describes three of her important symbols thus:—The Goddess of renowned form assumes the form of a straight line in time of protection (ऋजुरेखामयी विश्वस्थितौ); that of a circle at the time of destruction (तत्संहृतिदशायां तु बैन्दवं रूपं आश्रिता); and that of a brilliant triangle during creation (प्रत्यावृत्तिक्रमेणैवं शृङ्गाटवपुरुज्ज्वला).

Śoḍaśī, i.e., Śrī Vidyā Tantram, gives the following guṇa and colour symbol of Tripurasundarī:

देवि त्वं सृष्टिकाले कमलभवभृता राजसी रक्तरूपा ।

रक्षाकाले त्वमंबा हरिहृदयधृता सात्विकी श्वेतरूपा ॥

भूरिक्रोधा भवान्ते भवभवनगतौ तामसी कृष्णरूपा ।

एताश्चान्याः त्वमेव क्षितमनुजमला सुन्दरी केवलाद्या ॥

(c) *Tripurasundarī*.—These three symbols represent the three parts of Devī's body.

Bhāskarānanda, in his commentary on Varivasyā-Rahasya, says that there are, in the body, three members (वस्तुतः शरीरेऽपि त्रय एवावयवाः). The first is from the head to the throat (शीर्षादि कण्ठान्तं); the second from the throat to the breast (कण्ठादि स्तनान्तं) and the third from the breast to the organ of procreation (हृदयादि सीवन्यन्तं). The other limbs are merely the branches of the three principal parts (केश पाणि पादं तत्तत् शाखाः).

Catuśśati gives the following form of meditation :—In the interior of the triangle, which is the seat of bindu, the devotee should meditate upon the lower face of Śakti (त्रिकोणे बैन्दवस्थाने अधोवक्त्रं विचिन्तयेत्). Then the face itself should be meditated upon (बिन्दोरुपरिभागेतु वक्त्रं सञ्चिन्त्य साधकः). He has next to meditate upon the breast nipples (तदुपर्यैव वक्षोजद्वितयं संस्मरेद्बुधः). Thereupon, he has to meditate upon the triangular form of creation (तदुपर्यैव योनिं च). Thus the upāsaka has gradually to picture the Queen of the World (कमलाः भुवनेश्वरी).

Kāmakalā as Tripurasundarī is beautifully portrayed by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in his Soundarya Laharī as follows :—

मुखं बिन्दुं कृत्वा कुचयुगमधस्तस्य दधतो ।
हरार्थं ध्यायेद्यो हरमहिषि ते मन्मथकलां ॥
स सद्यः संक्षोभं नयति वनिता इत्यतिलघु ।
दिलोकीमप्याशु भ्रमयत रवीन्दुस्तनयुगाम् ॥

3. Tripurasundari Puja

Tripurasundarī is Jñānātma and, as Samaṣṭi of Jñāna, Icchā and Kriyā, She is Mūrtimatī Prakṛtī. Her seat is Trikoṇa called Yoni-maṇḍala, yoni meaning kāraṇam or womb of the universe. As Śiva and Śakti are one, the worship of the one is also the worship of the other. She is worshipped as Kāmakalā or Bindu-Traya, the one above signifying her face and the other two her breasts. The three bindus (sun, moon and fire) are not the luminaries so named but the

prakāśa, prakāśa-vimarśa and vimarśa aspects of the parā bindu, which so differentiates to create the universe.

(a) *Object*.—The object of worship is the realization of the identity of Jñāta (knower), Jñāna (knowledge), and Jñeya (known).

Bhāvanōpaniṣat defines it:—ज्ञातृ ज्ञान ज्ञेयानाम् अभेदभावनम्.

(b) *Mārga*.—As upāsakas differ in their character and capacity, so do upāsana-mārgas (methods of worship) depending as they do upon the capacity (adhikāra) of the upāsaka. A high Vedāntic system cannot, for instance, be prescribed to an ignorant or untrained upāsaka. When a worshipper chooses a form of worship suited to his capacity, he reaps the best fruit. Tripurasundarī, also called Lalitā, has three aspects (rūpa), viz., sthūla or kāyika where she is thought of in human form; sūkṣma or vācika where she is meditated upon in Mantra-tanu; and parā or mānasa where both pūja and fruit are offered to her. These are called bhāvana, antar-yāga and bahir-yāga; or arpaṇa-vidyā, nāmarūpa-vidyā and sāmāṣṭi-vidyā, respectively.

(c) *Bhūmikas*.—Antar-yāga has three steps (bhūmikas); viz., sakala, niṣkala and sakala-niṣkala.

Bahir-yāga has only one step. But it has five forms, namely, kevala, yāmala, miśra, cakrayuk and vīrasaṅkara. It is also of two kinds, according as it is done at home (svārtha-yajanam) or in public at temples (parārtha-yajanam). The latter is done only by arcakas who are of four classes—Āgama-Siddhāntis, Mantra-Siddhāntis, Tantra-Siddhāntis and Tantrāntara-Siddhāntis. Special training and initiation (dikṣa) are necessary for them, as no Gṛhya Sūtras (except three, viz., Bodhāyana, Vaikhāṇasa and Saunakādi) deal with the rituals of temple-worship.

(d) *Kramas*.—(i) *Bhāvana*.—A well-known Tāntric form, which is based on the principle that body is the temple and Ātma is Devī, is as follows:—The upāsaka offers the lotus of his heart as āsana; the nectar from sahasrārā as pādyā; his mind for arghya; the said nectar for ācamaṇīya; and

snāniya ; ākāśa-tattva for cloth ; citta for flower ; prāṇas for incense ; gandha-tattva for perfume ; tejas-tattva for light ; nectar for food ; anāhata śabda for bell-ringing ; vāyu-tattva for fanning ; sahasrāra for umbrella ; śabda-tattva for singing ; citta-vrittis for dancing ; and śuṣumna for a garland of lotuses. This pūja will be explained in detail in my paper on "Kuṇḍalinī Yōga". The dhyāna is made in the following manner as pictured by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in Soundarya Laharī :—

कण्ठकाञ्चीदामा करिकलभकुंभस्तननता ।
परिक्षीणा मध्ये परिणत शरच्चन्द्रवदना ॥
धनुर्बाणान् पाशं सृणिमपि दधाना करतलैः ।
पुरस्तादास्तां नः पुरमथितुराहो पुरुषिका ॥

But the meaning given to it is as described in Vāma-keśvara Tantra :—

पाशाङ्कुशौ तदीयांतु रागद्वेषात्मकौ स्मृतौ ।
शब्दस्पर्शादयो बाणाः मनस्तस्याभवद्भुजः ॥
करणेन्द्रिय चक्रस्थां देवीं संवित्स्वरूपिणीं ।
विश्वाहङ्कार पुष्पेण पूजयेत् सर्वसिद्धिमाक् ॥

Another method of dhyāna mythologically symbolises Śrī Cakra which is a diagrammatical representation of both the Pinḍāṇḍa (Human Body) and Brahmāṇḍa (Universe). Tri-purā-Rahasya puts it thus :—

Beyond myriads of Brahmāṇḍās is the Ocean of Nectar having an Isle of Gems. In it is a forest of Kalpa trees with a beautiful mansion of Cintāmaṇi wherein, on a couch of five Brahmas, lies the great Tripurasundarī.

Śrī Śaṅkarācārya describes it beautifully in his Soundarya Laharī :—

सुधासिन्धोर्मध्ये सुरविटपिवाटीपरिवृते ।
मणिद्वीपेनीपोपवनवति चिन्तामणिगृहे ॥
शिवाकरे मन्त्रे परमशिवपर्यङ्क निलयां ।
भजन्ति त्वां धन्याः कतिचन चिदाऽनन्द लहरीं ॥

That this picture represents not only the Universe but the Human Body as well is explained in Tantrarāja :—

रत्नद्वीपो भवेद्देहो नवत्वं धातुरोमभिः ।

सङ्कल्पाः कल्पतरवः स्वाधारा ऋतवः स्मृताः ॥

Further details regarding this mode of worship will be given in my paper on "Śrī Cakra Pūja".

(ii) Antar-yāga.—It consists in both the subject and object of worship being invested with the veils (vijñāna-maya kośa and mano-maya kośa) of refined stuff of mind (antaḥ-karaṇa). The upāsaka, though aware of the essential identity between himself and the form worshipped, yet places his antaḥkaraṇa in a worshipful attitude with a view to approximate, as nearly as possible, to that of the devatā which is purer and more potent than himself.

The following is a well-known antar-yāga vidhi followed by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and other Śrī Vidyā Ācāryas:—Devī is experienced and worshipped through feelings. At uṣas, She is awakened from sleep and requested to look after the protection of the world. She is given danta-kāṣṭha (tooth-brush), gandūṣa (water to gargle) and mukhaprakṣālanam. She is then offered a simhāsana in a gold maṇḍapa; pādya (perfumed with flowers, etc.) to wash Her lotus-feet; arghya (scented with gandha, puṣpa, etc.) to wash Her hands; ācamanam (containing takkola, lavanga, etc.) to sip; and madhuparka to drink. Next, She is given campaka-oil to rub on Her hair and body; hot water, scented water and then puṣya-tīrtha for bath; red clothes and kancukas to wear; and dhūpa to dry Her hair. Then She is offered adornments, etc.:—flowers for hair; sauvirānjana for eyes; gold kaṭakas for feet; keyūras and bangles set with gems for hands; tāṭaṅkas for ears; cūḍāmaṇi for head; tilaka of kastūri and karpūra for forehead; flower-essence for body; candana for feet; campaka-taila for hair and sindhūra for the parting of hair (sīmanta). She is then worshipped (arcana) with the best of flowers. Her feet are illuminated (nīrājana) by a dīpa having three wicks fed by cow's ghee. Thereafter, She is offered āpośanam, bhojya, bhakṣya, pānīya (drink) of madhuparka and pure Ganges water and

uttarāpośanam. She is given prakṣālanam (water to wash) for mouth, hands and feet. She is then given the best of fruits and cold (śītaḷa) and perfumed (parimaḷa) water to drink. She is next offered tāmbūla with nice betel-leaves and best powdered and spiced areca-nut, as also for mukhavāsa (good smell of mouth) lavanga, takkola and jātiphala. She is given dakṣiṇa (presents) of gold and gems. Next many upacāras (usually sixteen) are offered:—śveta chatram; śveta cāmara (pair); gaja; ratha; turaga; music (vocal and instrumental), dance and songs of praise. The ārati (waving) of karpūra is made before Her. She is also given gandūṣa to gargle. At last, a soft bed in a gold cot is given and She is requested to rest there with Śiva (her husband). The upāsaka dedicates all his acts from morning till night and from night till morning to Her as worship:—

प्रातः प्रभृति सायन्तं सायादि प्रातरन्ततः ।

यत्करोमि जगद्योने तदस्तु तव पूजनम् ॥

He winds up the pūja with an apology for all shortcomings therein. The following is by Śrī Śankarācārya:—

एषाभक्त्या तव विरचिता या मया देवि पूजा ।

स्त्रीकृत्येनां सपदि सकलान् मेऽपराधान् क्षमस्व ॥

न्यूनं यत्तत् तव करुणया पूजिता मेतु सद्यः ।

सानन्दं मे हृदयकमले तेऽस्तु निख्यं निवासः ॥

(iii) Bahir-yāga.—Rudrayāmaḷa gives the following brief pūjā-vidhi:—

आदौ ऋष्यादि विन्यासः करशुद्धिस्ततः परम् ।

अङ्गुली व्यापकौ कृत्वा हृदयादिन्यास एव च ॥

तालत्रयं च दिग्बन्धः प्राणायामस्ततः परम् ।

ध्यानं पूजा जपश्चैव सर्वतन्त्रैष्वयं विधिः ॥

The simplest form of external worship is that in which an image representing Divinity is used as the object of worship. It is a worship on vital and physical planes (prāṇamaya and annamaya kośas). The vidhi is the same as that for antar-yāga but a number of rituals is observed in addition. They are, briefly, as below:—

Before beginning the pūja, the upāsaka attends to his personal cleanliness by washing his hands and feet. He selects a suitable place for pūja, cleanses it and does śoṣaṇa, dāhana and plāvana to it with mantras. He next meditates upon the parampara of his guru and does prāṇāyāma and saṁkalpa.

He then places on his right side all materials required for worship and on his left, the kalaśa filled with water. Taking sandal-paste and flower, he rubs his palms with them and cleanses them thereby.

In front of him, he places, on a seat, arghya, pādya, ācamanīya and snāna vessels and on another seat the corresponding pratigraha vessels. He cleanses the vessels with astramantra and does them śoṣaṇa, dāhana and plāvana. He next fills the vessels with water. Touching arghya-pātra, he recites ओं नमो भगवत्यै अर्थं कल्पयामि. In the same manner, he touches other vessels with suitable mantras.

He then does agha-marṣaṇa (killing pāpa-puruṣa in the body), nyāsa and bhūta-śuddhi. By this śuddhi the worshipper calls to mind that all tattvas and devatas (controlling śaktis) are in him; that they have evolved from Supreme Self (Saccidānanda Ātma) and resolved into It as Īśvara and Īśvarī, that is, afferent and efferent activities which are represented in Mantra Śāstra by हंसः and सोऽहं, respectively.

Jñānārṇava mentions five kinds of śuddhi as mandatory for pūja :—

आत्मास्थानं मन्त्रहव्ये देवशुद्धिस्तु पञ्चमी ।

यावन्नकुरुते देवि तस्य देवार्चनं कुतः ।

पञ्चशुद्धिं विना पूजा ह्यभिचाराय कल्पते ॥

He then performs āvāhana, *i.e.*, invites Devī to take Her seat in the bimba (image). Then by jīva-nyāsa and prāṇa-pratiṣṭha, the upāsaka projects on to the vital and physical planes what has been realized by him by bhūta-śuddhi, *viz.*, his identity with Saccidānanda, and by nyāsa, *i.e.*, the approximation of his mind to that of the devatā. By such

projection (prāṇa-pratiṣṭha), streams of mentative or substantive energy are made to impinge upon the matter of image worshipped. These streams of mental and vital energy envelop the matter of image and create round it an aura of radiant (taijasa) energy which so acts upon the material crust of the image that, while remaining apparently as matter to the senses, it becomes dematerialized as far as the worshipper is concerned. Consciousness, mind and vital force, which are ordinarily enfolded or latent in the image, become unfolded or potent. After this life-giving rite, the image is no longer mere matter to the upāsaka. As it is already in reality, it also becomes in perception, Consciousness (cinmayī), Mind (manomayī) and Life (prāṇamayī). These are not mere reflexes, as is the image of the sun in the mirror. The upāsaka's consciousness is not simply reflected in and imaged by something which is not unconscious; nor is it unconsciousness looking like consciousness. What the projective action of the worshipper does is to cast radiant energy of his inner being, vastly potentialized by bhūta-śuddhi and nyāsa, over the matter of image, thereby evoking, unfolding and waking up radiant stuff and energy folded up in it. The awakened energy (devatā) is no mere creature of the upāsaka. It now stands before him as an Embodiment of Full Power (Śakti), of Knowledge (Jñāna), Will (Icchā) and Action (Kriyā).

The pūja proper is then done, the vidhi and the upacāras being the same as for antar-yāga. During snāna, Devī Sūkta and Hymns are sung and during arcana, 1,000 names such as Lalitā Sahasranāma are recited.

The upacāras, sixteen in number, are as follow :—

पाद्यार्घ्याचमनीयं च स्नानं वसन भूषणे ।

गंधं पुष्पं धूपदीपनैवेद्याचमनं तथा ॥

ताम्बूलमर्चनस्तोत्रं तर्पणं च नमस्क्रिया ।

प्रयोजयेत् प्रपूजायां उपचारास्तु षोडश ॥

After pūja, Devī is given leave to depart, i.e., visarjana is done to the bimba. In the case of an apratiṣṭha image, it is thrown away.

4. Conclusion.

The following prayers to Devī may be recited as an appropriate close to this essay :—

(a) *Carcāstava*.—

त्वां व्यापिनीति सुमना इति कुण्डलीति ।
 त्वां कामिनीति कमलेति कलावतीति ॥
 त्वां मालिनीति ललितेति अपराजितेति ।
 देवाः स्तुवन्ति विजयेति जयेत्युमेति ॥

(b) *Ghaṭastava*.—

ददातीष्टान् भोगान् क्षपयति रिपून् हन्ति विपदो ।
 दहत्याधीन् व्याधीन् शमयति सुखानि प्रतनुते ॥
 हठादन्तर्दुःखं दलयति पिनष्टीष्टविरहं ।
 सकृद्ध्यात्वा देवी किमिव निरवयं न कुरुते ॥

CHANDRAGIRI

BY V. N. SRINIVASA RAO

THE picturesque little town of Chandragiri in the District of Chittoor (Madras Presidency) between 13°, 24' and 13°, 47' N.L. and 78°, 58' and 78-3' E. Long. lies at the foot of the sacred Tirupati hills seven miles south-west of Tirupati town. Its situation on the right bank of the Svarnamukhi in the centre of the valley commanding the Kallur and the Mamandur passes in the Eastern ghats, through which alone the road to the south lay in the past, made it one of the most important strategic posts either for defence or aggressive operations. Its position amidst mountains with the Seshadri range, rising to a height of about 2,000 feet on the north, the Pattikonda hills on the west and the Addakonda hills on the south, with their narrow passes and precipitous height makes it appear as if it had been designed by nature as an ideal fort. The innumerable spring channels and the river Svarnamukhi helped by the rich alluvial soil brought down by the mountain slopes have rendered the valley one of the most fertile. That these natural advantages were recognized and availed of from very early times is amply testified by the existence of the fort which, with the mahal it encloses, is the sole architectural legacy of the past ages to us. This circumstance and its close association with the renowned shrine of Sri Venkatesvara have always contributed to its history in the past. According to a local chronicle, a visit to the shrine and a subsequent desire to be in sight of the God have always been the beginnings of the Chandragiri Empire under various dynasties.

Chandragiri is now familiar to the devout as the place from which the ascent to the Tirupati hills is the easiest and to students of history as the capital of a Yadava dynasty of kings about whom few historical details are yet available and as the place of the rajah who gifted the site of Madras to Francis Day, the Superintendent of the English factories—the first bit of ground acquired by the British in India. Indeed,

the foundations of the British Empire in the East were laid here and no better monument to mark the spot can be conceived than the lovely granite palace of the ancient kings with turrets, in the form of "gopuras" which pleasingly break the sky line.

Early History up to 1000 A.D.

Very little is known about the early history of the place prior to 1000 A.D. Though several local chronicles are mentioned in Wilson's *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collections*, only a few are traceable and even these are fragmentary and furnish little material beyond a list of kings. The construction of the fort is attributed to Immadi Narasinga Yadava Rajulu who was reigning at Narayanavanam with an alternative capital at Chandragiri. According to some accounts, the name of the place was "Deyadurgam" and was changed to Chandragiri by this king after the construction of the fort as the Moon worshipped Siva here on account of some curse and obtained liberation. There is a ruined temple on the Durgam, the hill opposite to the mahal, dedicated to Somesvara to indicate the spot where Siva manifested himself to his devotee. A Tamil inscription in the ruined temple to the south of the mahal, dated Saka 1383 or 1461 A.D. mentions the temple of Somesvara on the Durgam. It is difficult to rely on the statement that the name Chandragiri was applied to the place only from 1008 A.D. for, Chandragiri was one of the twenty-four Kottams into which the old Thondamandalam province was divided and inscriptional references from 830 A.D. abound, mentioning Chandragiri as situated in "Vaikunta Valanadu in the Tiruvengada Kottam". The earliest references the place occur in the *Venkatachela-mahatmyam*, where it is described as the Ashrama of the Sage Agastya. It is here that Vakulamalika, the agent of the God, was commissioned to worship Siva before proceeding to Narayanavanam to negotiate the hand of Padmavati, the daughter of Akasaraaju, for the God. The Siva temple at Thondavada is identified as the shrine. After the marriage the God was prevailed on to remain at Chandragiri, as it was

considered inauspicious for a newly married pair to ascend hills. The God lived in Chandragiri till the temple on the hills was made ready for him. The Kalyanavenkatesvara temple at Mangapuram shows the spot where the God dwelt during his sojourn at Chandragiri. The evidence of *Venkatachelamahatmyam*, despite its mythical character, is interesting as it refers to a civil war on the death of Akasaraju between his son Vasudhara and his brother Thondaman in which the God mediated. The kingdom was divided into two halves over which each of the rival kings ruled. The construction of the temple on the hills is attributed to Thondaman who became the chief of the country around Seshachelam. It is to this circumstance that we owe the name Thondamandalan applied to the country forming the modern Chittoor, North Arcot, Chingleput Districts and portions of the South Arcot District.

Chandragiri was an important unit of the Thondamandalam province and was noted for its fertility and culture from very early times. The Andhras were rulers of Thondamandalam up to the third century A.D. when the Pallavas succeeded to their empire. Their capital was Kanehi but from the absence of any mention of local chiefs during all their rule which extended up to 900 A.D., it would appear that Chandragiri was included in the home province. It could not have been otherwise, as from the seventh century onwards, they had to contend against the rising western powers of the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Banas, whose chief road lay through the Damalcheruvu pass which was commanded by Chandragiri with a chain of outposts at Nagapatla, Pakala, Damalcheruvu, Kallur and Pulicherla. The modern Palayams of Kallur and Pulicherla are relics of this age. The Pallavas were patrons of Sanskrit learning and some of the kings were themselves authors of standard works in Sanskrit. They have, further, left their impress on the pages of time by their exquisite art in stone; and their land systems which were preserved up to very recent times, known as "the Mirasi system", may still serve as a model for democratic institutions. Inscriptions of Dantivikrama Varman (779 to 830 A.D.), Nripatunga

Deva (864 to 900 A.D.) and Aparigita (880 to 900 A.D.) are met with in the country around Chandragiri. After Aparigita, the empire passed into the hands of the Cholas under Aditya I to whom it remained subject till its absorption into the Vijayanagar Empire in 1339 A.D. With the Cholas, the beginnings of local chiefships are noticed, as naturally they could not rule their vast empire from their capital, Uraiyur, inconveniently situated at the extreme south of the empire. Viceroyalties had to be created which ultimately became hereditary. The so-called Yadava dynasty of Narayanavanam and "Saluva" Reddi dynasty of Nagaram or Karvetnagar, seem to belong to this class.

Yadavas, 1000 A.D. to 1339 A.D.

Mr. Wilson in his introduction to the *Mackenzie Catalogue* states that the general list of princes of the Deccan places a dynasty anterior to the (Hoysala) Ballalas and immediately subsequent to the Pandya and the Chola monarchs, designated the Yadavas who are said to have reigned from Saka 730 to 1012 or 808 A.D. to 1080 A.D. He observes: "Few circumstances are added to this nomenclature. Their capital was Narayanavanam, and Chandragiri and Tirupati were the chief seats of their fame, the fortress at the former and the principal temples at both being attributed to some of the family. The resumption of the temple of Tirupati from the Saivas and its appropriation to the Vaishnava religion by Ramanuja is said to have occurred in the reign of Toya Yadava, the twelfth of the number, which, if correct, proves the chronology of these princes to be wrong by about two centuries and they must have flourished from the eleventh to the thirteenth century or nearly the same time as the Ballala (Hoysala) princes. According to some accounts, however, it was Toya Yadava who cleared the thickets on Chandragiri and built the fort, whilst other accounts ascribe this to his predecessor Immadi Narasinga Yadava and affix the title 'Sri Bhashya' conferred on him to his successor Talalugotena Raja. Again Tiruvengada Yadava is said to have built the principal temples at Tirupati before the time of

Ramanuja and he is the fifteenth of the series. The accuracy of any of these identifications is rather questionable but there is no doubt that a dynasty of princes reigned at Narayana-vanam about the tenth and eleventh centuries, of sufficient political importance to impose a check on the extension of the Chola and Ballala (Hoysala) sovereignties in this part of the peninsula."

Though our knowledge of these princes has not improved materially since the above account of them was written nearly a century ago, recent epigraphical results, however, furnish sufficient data to fix their period with some degree of certainty. There are eighteen names of these Yadava kings as shown below :—

		A.D.		A.D.
1.	Sri Ranga Yadavarayulu	..	809 to	834
2.	Vira Narayana Yadava	..	834	857
3.	Tumbala Yadava	..	857	878
4.	Tiruvengada Yadava	..	878	900
5.	Perunjinga Yadava	..	900	915
6.	Gandagopala Yadava	..	915	938
7.	Narasinga Yadava	..	938	951
8.	Kambali Yadava	..	951	966
9.	Bukkana Yadava	..	966	988
10.	Vira Narasinga Yadava	..	988	1000
11.	Immadi Narasinga Yadava	..	1000	1008
12.	Toya Yadava	..	1008	1020
13.	Sri Bhashya Yadava	..	1020	1029
14.	Vasudeva Yadava	..	1029	1041
15.	Trivedi Yadava	..	1041	1056
16.	Katikya Yadava	..	1056	1070
17.	Rayavamsa Bhujanga Yadava	..	1070	1082
18.	Chalukya Narayana	..	1082	1092

The majority of the accounts ascribe the construction of the fort to Immadi Narasinga Yadavarajulu but so far it has not been possible to discover from the inscriptions who this king was.

The inscriptions so far published also reveal the following results :—

	A.D.	A.D.
1. Tirukalatti Yadava ..	1191	to 1246
2. Viranarasinga Yadava ..	1209	1262
3. Perunjinga and his son Kopperunjinga ..	1229	1272
4. Gandagopalas (There are two : Vira Gandagopala and Vijiya Gandagopala) ..	1250	1285
5. Tiruvengadanatha Yadava ..	1320	1337
6. Sriranganatha Yadava ..	1337	1360

Vira Narayana and Chalukya Narayana are titles assumed by all the Yadava kings and the names of kings Nos. 2 and 18 in the list should be presumed to be incomplete.

It will appear from the above dates that Narasimha No. 7 in the list was a contemporary of two Perunjingas, a father and a son, both powerful Chola feudatories who, according to inscriptions, twice imprisoned Raja Raja III at Sendamangalam and Vira Narasimha sided with the emperor. Tirukalatti Yadava describes himself as "the honey bee at the feet of Kalahastisvara" the ruler of Venkatagiripura and of Vengi. Probably, all the country from Kalahasti up to Godavari were ruled by him while the country south of Kalahasti, forming the old North Arcot and Chingleput Districts, were ruled by Vira Narasinga Yadava, with his capitals at Narayanavanam and Chandragiri. From the combination of the three names easily identifiable, Perunjinga, Gandagopala and Narasinga Yadavaraya, one shown as succeeding the other though they were contemporaries, it may be safely inferred that Narasinga is identical with Vira Narasimha of the inscriptions and that the Yadava dynasty had its beginnings from about the close of the twelfth century. The dates of Vira Narasinga Yadava, Tiruvengadanatha and Sriranganatha show that the order in which the names occur in the list does not follow any chronological arrangement, while the addition of the title of Yadavaraya to the names of Kopperunjinga, Gandagopala and Rayavamsa Bhujanga would indicate

that it was loosely applied, in the list, to all kings who need not necessarily have been of the Yadava dynasty.

It is learnt, from the inscriptions in the Tirumalai temple, that it was reconstructed during the reign of Vira Narasinga Yadava. The inscriptions of Tiruvengada Yadava show that he made endowments of villages and remitted taxes in favour of the temple. The names of Immadi Narasinga Yadava and Toya Yadava have not till now occurred in the inscriptions. According to the chronology furnished above, Immadi Narasinga Yadava came forty-nine years after Vira Narasinga while Toya Yadava came fifty-seven years after, *i.e.*, about 1319 A.D. There is, no doubt, a gap in the inscriptions from 1262 to 1320 A.D. As the conversion of the temple or "the trial by ordeal" is claimed to have taken place about 1111 A.D., according to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, and it is said to be a personal achievement of Sri Ramanuja, it could not have occurred during the reign of Toya Yadava who came at least two centuries later.

According to a manuscript designated *Ayetsagha Mala* or the "Triumph of Bhasikarar", in the *Mackenzie Collections*, the conversion took place during the reign of Bhupathi. This Bhupathi appears to be identical with Vijia Bhupathi or Vira Vijia Bukka III, son of Devaraya I and father of Srigriri, and Devaraya II, who had a short reign just prior to Devaraya II according to inscriptions since discovered (see the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1927). Srigriri also figures in the inscriptions of Tirumalai as the Viceroy of Chandragiri Rajya and his inscriptions are carried up to 1441 A.D. He was also known as Srigriri Bhupala. It would appear that the reference to Bhupathi in the manuscript is either to the father Vijia Bhupathi or to the son Srigriri Bhupala who was a Governor at Chandragiri during his father's reign at Vijianagar. The Tamil Saint Arunagiri Nathar, who was a contemporary of Devaraya II, has also sung about Tirumalai (Vadavengadam or North Vengadam) as a shrine dedicated to Subramania. The conversion would appear, therefore, to have taken place in the early years of the fifteenth century.

The combination of the "Virupaksha" aspect of Siva, the titular deity of the Vijayanagar kings, in the worship of Sri Venkatesvara whom the Vaishnavites claimed to have rescued from the Saivas, betrays the veiled hand of the Vijayanagar emperors in the daily ritual observed in the temple.

Two miles south-east of Chandragiri, on the Addakonda hill, are noticed the remains of a fort and some buildings. At the foot of the hill there are the remains of buildings well laid out into streets and an interesting temple formed by enclosing the sides of an overhanging rock and surmounted by "Gopuras" in brick and mortar. It is somewhat like the rock temple at Vellimalai in Chittoor taluk and is a perfect specimen of Saiva architecture, with sixteen-faced pillars and trumpet-shaped super-capitals. There are separate shrines for Subramania and Parvati. There is an inscribed stone within the temple but the writing is very much worn out. There is, however, an emblem of a fish and a snake, a combination of Pandya and Pallava emblems which would indicate the subordination of the local chief to the Pandyas. Inscriptions of Vira Narasinga Yadava show that he acknowledged his subordination to Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (1251 to 1270 A.D) and, in fact, this was the only period during which the Pandya influence spread so far north. From this circumstance it may be inferred that Vira Narasinga Yadava constructed the fort on the Addakonda hill and that the locality around Jangamgudi marks the site of the old Chandragiri of the Yadava period.

Immadi Narasinga Yadava, who is credited with having constructed the present fort, was probably Saluva Narasimha who was first a Vijayanagar Viceroy with his capital at Chandragiri, before he succeeded to the Vijayanagar throne. The style of architecture is distinctly of the Vijayanagar type. Mr. Cox, the author of the *North Arcot District Manual*, also observes "that Saluva Narasimha constructed a fort at Chandragiri as a safe place for his treasure and another at Vellore for occasional residence."

The Saluvas.

We learn, from an extract of an article contributed by Mr. Elliot to the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, that "A family of Saluva Reddies immigrated with their tribe from Pittapur in the Godavari District to the country at the base of the Nagari hills about the eighth or ninth century—one of the family, Saluva Narasa Reddi, obtained the favour of the Chalukyan king Vimaladitya and was appointed by him the chief of the country of Seshachelam or Tirupati with permission to use the *boar signet* in 930 A.D. His grandson Venkatapathi Naidu was dispossessed but the latter's son, Saluva Bhima Naidu, recovered the patrimony in 976 A.D. and built the town of Kempulapaliem where he founded a temple in honour of Varahaswami. His son Narasimha, a man of enterprise, assumed independence which he maintained successfully for thirty-five years till 1057 A.D. His possessions extended along the base of the mountain over the breadth of Carnatic Balaghat from the neighbourhood of Vellore to the sea, including the sacred places of Ghatikachelam (Sholinghur), Seshachelam (Tirupati) and Thanikachelam (Tiruttani). He surveyed the lands within this area and reformed weights and measures according to the Saluva standard, so called after his own family name, and caused them all to be stamped with the figure of the boar. His son Bhujanga Naidu was reduced to subjection by the Chalukyan king Virasomesvara and was carried away a prisoner to Kalyani where he died. Bhujanga Naidu's grandson recovered his patrimony in 1077 A.D. but they were curtailed to twenty-four villages by Raja Raja Chola II in 1230 A.D. During the next four generations, the decaying power of the Cholas enabled the Saluva family to regain their independence which was strengthened by the marriage of Narasa Naidu with the daughter of Prolaya Reddi, the founder of the Vema Reddi dynasty of Kondavidu." (*N. A. Dt. Manual.*)

Vimaladitya was the Eastern Chalukyan king from 1011 to 1122 A.D. He married Kundivviar, the daughter of Raja Raja the Great, about 1014 A.D., from which period the Chalukyan province was merged in the Chola Empire. This

accounts for Vimaladitya's giving permission to Saluva Narasa Reddi to found a kingdom in the Chola province. The early capital of these chiefs was at Narayanavanam where a palace, still in a fair state of preservation, is pointed out as the residence of these kings.*

With reference to the date of Vimaladitya, we may fix the date of the founding of the chieftaincy at about 1020 A.D. The next date is that of Bhima Naidu who built the town of Kempulapaliem in S. 898, *i.e.*, sixty-eight years after the founding of the kingdom. This brings us to (1020 *plus* 68) 1088 A.D. Narasimha who, according to this account, was the most powerful of this dynasty reigned till 1057 A.D. Adding to this date the difference of ninety years in chronology, we come to 1147 A.D. (or 1112 A.D. to 1147).

He must have been a contemporary of Kulottunga I and II and the reference to survey during his reign coincides with the general survey initiated by Kulottunga I. Narasimha's son, Bhujanga Naidu, was carried away a prisoner to Kalyani by Chalukya-Somesvara. This must have been the last of the Chalukyan emperors whose date was from 1182 to 1189 A.D. Bhujanga Naidu's grandson recovered the estate which was curtailed to 24 villages by Raja Raja II in 1230 A.D. This is a mistake for Raja Raja III whose date was from 1216 A.D. to 1248 A.D. This was probably after the battle of Uratti when Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya fought on the side of the emperor against Perunjinga. The emperor apparently made Vira Narasinga the Chief of this country to keep the Yadava princes and the Telugu Cholas of Nellore under control. It would appear from the above account that a dynasty of Saluva Reddi kings ruled at Narayanavanam from about 1000 A.D. up to the Vijianagar period with some curtailment of their powers from 1200 A.D. to 1360 A.D. when more efficient Yadava generals

* The present Rajas of Karvetinagar, though they adopt the Saluva titles, have no connection with the Saluva Reddi chiefs. They belong to a family of Kshatria adventurers from the Northern Circars who succeeded to the throne by treacherously murdering the reigning Saluva chief about the close of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century. (*N. A. Dt. Manual.*)

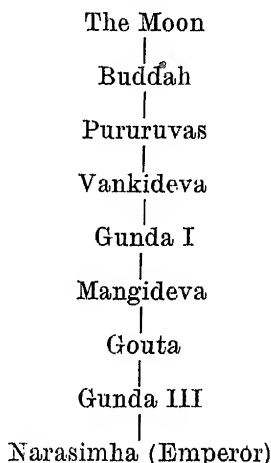
were placed above them in order to guard the frontier against the aggressions of local chiefs and of foreign powers. Thus, there appears to be no warrant to place a Yadava dynasty at Narayanavanam or at Chandragiri which was a part of Narayanavanam kingdom, during the same period. The last date furnished in the extract is S. 1236 or 1314 A.D. when Narasa Naidu is said to have married the daughter of Prolaya Reddi of the Vema Reddi family of Kondavidu. Adding to this date the difference of ninety years in the chronology, we arrive at 1404 A.D. The Kakatiya Kingdom of Warrangal disappeared from history from 1423 A.D. and the Reddi principality of Kondavidu rose on its ruins. This alliance of the Saluva Reddi chief with the family of the Kondavidu Reddi chief appears natural.

The names of the four generations of the Saluva chiefs prior to this alliance are not mentioned but there is sufficient warrant to credit their claim to have regained their kingdom, as the period covered by their reigns was one of considerable political upheaval in Southern India. The successive waves of invasions under Alla-u-din, Malik Kafar, Mubarak and Muhammad-bin-Toglak resulted in the complete ruin of the ancient empires of the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra, the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Kakatiyas of Warrangal, while the dissensions about succession to the Pandya kingdom, which had absorbed the Chola empire, brought down the Muhammadans as far south as Ramesvaram and resulted in the establishment of the Sultanate of Madura. Furious attempts were made by the Hindu royal houses to combine their powers to save their kingdoms, religion and their temples from annihilation. In fact, the Vijianagar empire itself was the materialization of their united effort to save the Hindu culture and institutions from destruction. It was just the opportunity for the Saluva Chiefs to regain their lost territory.

The Chalukyan invasion of Narayanavanam country, which resulted in Saluva Bhujanga Naidu being taken away a prisoner to Kalyani, might have also afforded opportunities to his descendants to carve out a principality for themselves at

Kalyani after the break-up of the major powers and the confusion which followed in addition to recovering their patrimony. Inscriptions in Tirumalai temple furnish us the name of Saluva Mangideva, with the usual Saluva titles of Medinimisaraganda and Mahamandalesvara from 1359 A.D. He figures prominently in the wars of Kumara Kempana, along with the Brahmin general Goppana, against the Sultanate of Madura. He earned for himself considerable renown by re-establishing at Srirangam the idol of "Alagia Manavalaperumal", which was rescued from the Muhammadans and secretly preserved in one of the valleys of Chandragiri for nearly a century. He gilded the Vimanam (the dome over the shrine) of Tirumalai temple and constructed a mantapam. Inscriptions mention him as residing in Chandragiri and the title "Mahamandalesvara" would indicate that he was a viceroy.

The genealogy of this family is extracted below :—



We know as yet nothing about Vankideva and Gunda, the father of Mangideva. His grandson Gunda III, the father of Saluva Narasimha, appears from the inscriptions as the commander-in-chief of the Vijayanagar forces with headquarters at Kalyani. *Saluvabhyudayam*, a Sanskrit manuscript describing the achievements of Saluva Narasimha, mentions that Gunda III retired from active life and handed

over the reins of government to his son Narasimha who changed his capital to Chandragiri, his ancestral kingdom, on the advice of his minister, on account of the inaccessibility of its hills and fortifications. The ancestral claim to Chandragiri, the Saluva titles assumed by Saluva Mangideva and Narasimha, and their association with Kalyani would appear to indicate that Saluva Narasimha belonged to the Saluva Reddi family of Narayanavanam. It is even possible that Saluva Narasa Naidu who, according to the chronicle, allied himself with the Kondavidu family in 1404 A.D. was identical with Saluva Narasimha whose inscriptions in Tirumalai date from 1456 A.D. The genealogical table can be taken as a guide only up to a certain extent, as exaggerated claims to exalted ancestry are claimed by all royal families after they acquire dominion and power. It is beyond the scope of the present sketch to further discuss this theory. It will, however, be seen that a dynasty of Saluva princes ruled at Narayanavanam, with an alternative capital at Chandragiri from about 1020 A.D. up to the Vijianagar period. It is not correct to say that "Saluva" was a title assumed by Mangideva after his conquest of the Sultan of Madura and that his successors assumed it after him as stated by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. There were Saluva chiefs, Saluva standard of weights and measures, Saluva coinage with the boar emblem, and Saluva system of survey, centuries before the advent of Mangideva. It seems also no longer necessary to invest the "Saluva Problem" with mystery by disconnecting it from the Saluvas of Narayanavanam.

(To be continued.)

CHITRAVAHANA II

Revolt of the Alupa King against the Rashtrakutas

BY GEORGE M. MORAES, M.A.

IN an important Viragal from Māvaḷi (Sorab taluqua, Mysore State) published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Vol. VIII, Sb., 10) there is a graphic account of the revolt of Chitravāhana, the ruler of Āḷuvakhēḍa Six Thousand against the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III. The inscription states:—

“.....When Prabhūtavarsha, favourite of earth and fortune, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśva Gōvindarasa was ruling the world bounded by the four oceans under the shadow of his sole white umbrella:—And Rājādityarasa was ruling the Banavāsi country as far as the ocean:—Chitravāhana, ruling the Āḷuvakhēḍa Six Thousand, not listening to orders, Kolli-Pallava-Nolamba being angry,—at the bidding of Nolambarāditya, that Kākarasa arose, and throwing the Pergunji fort into confusion, the brave warriors of both armies eagerly came out, and bow closing with bow, and horse with horse, a most exciting battle arose. Seeing Chitravāhana on the right hand fighting as if overpowered, he ordered Kulamudda, saying, ‘You go and fight on this hand’, who, accepting it as a favour, closed in, fought, brought down the enemy’s pride, put them to headlong flight and defeated that hand. He himself and many others, shooting arrows and approaching close, were caught up in a cage of arrows, and fell.....”

Who was this Chitravāhana? From the fact that he ruled over Āḷuvakhēḍa Six Thousand, we may unhesitatingly conclude that he was an Āḷuva King, and as another king of the same name had preceded him on the Ālupa throne a century or so before* we may style him Chitravāhana II. The Āḷuvas or the Ālupas, it may incidentally be observed, were a family of feudatory chiefs that succeeded the Kadambas

* The Chitravāhana mentioned in Kp. 37, E.C., VIII, and 38, Sb. 571, and XI, Dg. 66, cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 77.

as rulers of the Banavāsi or the Kadambamaṇḍala on the overthrow of his dynasty by the Chalukya, Pulikēśi II. The earliest Ālupa king known to history is Kundavarṇmarasa who seems to have been a contemporary of the same Pulikēśi* and consequently the founder of the Ālupa House. The next king of this line was Guṇasāgara about whose relationship to Kundavarṇmarasa the records observe an ominous silence. Guṇasāgara was succeeded by his son the just mentioned Chitravāhana I whose two inscriptions dated 692 and 694 A.D., respectively, have come down to us.† He may have ruled for some time more after issuing these grants, for there is no reason whatever for supposing that he died immediately after. After Chitravāhana, there is a void of almost a century in the history of the Ālupas, till we come to the revolt in c. 800 of Chitravāhana II above referred to. This blank period may perhaps be accounted for by two reasons: that his immediate successors were, unlike Chitravāhana who is styled Māhārāja and an illustrious king, weak rulers and in consequence soon fell into oblivion; and that with the downfall of the imperial Chalukyas the Ālupas too, being their dependants, fell on evil days, and it was only after they gave solid proof of their loyalty to the new masters of Kārṇāṭaka, viz., the Rāshtrakūṭas, that they were at length restored to their hereditary kingdom. We have reasons to believe that this event (the restoration of the Ālupas) took place somewhere in the latter half of the eighth century when the Rāshtrakūṭa power was firmly established in Kārṇāṭaka, and that the restored Ālupa king was Chitravāhana himself.

* "He was probably the Ālupa king, who became the vassal of the Chalukya, Pulikēśi II and was appointed by him to rule over the Kadambamaṇḍala or the Banavāsi province. For if Guṇasāgara could be placed at about 675 A.D., we may presume that his predecessor Kundavarṇmarasa was (at least partly) a contemporary of Pulikēśi who lived from 609 to 642 A.D." Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 77.

† Sb. 571; and Dg. 66. Kp. 37, however, is not dated. Dg. 66 does not mention the name of the Ālupa king. But there can be no doubt that he is Chitravāhana I.

Having thus far determined the identity of Chitravāhana we should now inquire into the reason why this Ālupa king went into rebellion against his Rāshtrakūṭa suzerain to whom he should have been bound by ties of eternal gratitude. This is verily a knotty problem. Nevertheless let us see if the inscription that records the event can give us some clue to its solution.

A careful perusal of this epigraph discloses the significant fact that the old Kadambamaṇḍala over the whole of which the Ālupas had once held rule, was in c. 800 A.D. divided between Chitravāhana II and Rājāditya: the former held the southern portion of this province known as the Āluvakhēḍa Six Thousand, while the latter governed the northern portion, the Banavāsi-nāḍ, with Banavāsi as his seat of government. The capital of Chitravāhana is not specified in the record, but we may reasonably believe that it was the old capital of the family, *viz.*, Humcha.* It is thus clear from this that at the time of the rebellion, the Ālupa kingdom had been shorn of some of its provinces.

Why was the Ālupa kingdom diminished in extent? The reasons for it are patent. It is the oft-repeated lesson of history that large provinces are the curse of empires, as they inevitably lead to their dismemberment, especially when the provincial governments are suffered to enjoy some degree of autonomy. This they certainly did in the period under review, and this seems to be precisely the reason why during the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy the large provinces were abolished and their place was taken by smaller ones. This is confirmed by a study of Rāshtrakūṭa history itself which shows that in the early part of their rule the Rāshtrakūṭas adhered to the old administrative units of the Chalukyas like *desas*, *vishayas*, etc., as we see in the reigns of Kṛishṇa I, Gōvinda II and so forth. But as this system directly or indirectly encouraged the provincial magnates to defy the imperial authority at any moment, Gōvinda III inaugurated the new system associated with the rule of the Rāshtrakūṭas, *viz.*, the division

* E. C., VI, Kp. 37.

of the country into smaller administrative units such as Banavāsi Twelve Thousand, Sāntalige Thousand and so on.* Though we cannot claim for Gōvinda III the honour of naming these districts after their revenue value, it may be maintained none the less that he gave the lead in the right direction by reducing the size of the old provinces.

It is now plain that in pursuance of this policy, Gōvinda III must have made Chitravāhana relinquish a part of his kingdom, namely, the Banavāsi-nāḍ, which was handed over to Rājāditya. This was naturally disliked by Chitravāhana and must have in our opinion constituted the main rock of offence and hence the chief cause of his insurrection reported in the Māvaḷi inscription mentioned above.

But Chitravāhana could not hold on against the numerous hordes which Gōvinda III must have directed against him, and he soon sued for peace. This was granted to him but under the penal clause that he ceded a large part of his dominions. Thus the upshot of the rebellion seems to be that the Ālupas lost almost half their kingdom, *i.e.*, nearly all their territories above the Ghauts and were made to limit their government to the small coastal strip which comprises the central part of what is now known as South Kanara. In fact the inscriptions found in the Mysore State do not at all refer to them as rulers after this date, *i.e.*, c. 800.

It now remains for us to identify the persons who took part in the suppression of the rebellion. Kolli Pallava Nalamba who looms large in this affair as the person commanded by Gōvinda III to mass troops on the enemy's territories was evidently a Nalamba in the service of the Rāshtrakūṭas. From the fact that his name does not appear in the Nalamba genealogy it is possible to conclude that he was not a king but merely a scion of the above family. Mr. Rice, however, supposes that he was one of the grandchildren of the Pallava King, whom the Gangas took under

* The numbers 12,000, 1,000, etc., may also refer to the number of villages constituting the provinces. This system came into vogue in Northern Kaṇṇāṭaka in the reign of Amōghavarsha I,

their protection after the crushing defeat the former had sustained at the hands of the Ganga King Bhūvikrama. "They may therefore," he writes, "have grown up at, and remained with, the Ganga court as hostages and were employed by the Rāshtrakūṭas who had seized the country."* This theory is no doubt fascinating, but in the absence of undisputed historical evidence, it does not stand the test of modern historical criticism. Similarly, Mr. Rice supposes that Rājāditya was the son of the above Kolli Pallava Noḷamba and the same as Noḷambarāditya mentioned in the epigraph. The latter, however, merely states that he was governing the Banavāsi-nāḍ and gives no cue whatever to ascertain his ancestry. In like manner Noḷambarāditya may be identified with Kolli Pallava rather than with Rājāditya.

Kākarasa appears to be a Śāntara chief. This we conclude from the subsequent history of the Ālupa possessions above the Ghauts. For, soon after the quelling of the revolt we see the Śāntaras stepping in as rulers of these territories forfeited by the Ālupa king. It may be supposed in this connection that they received these dominions as a reward for some signal service the latter had rendered to the Rāshtrakūṭa cause. If so it would follow that Kākarasa who was actually entrusted with the suppression of the insurrection and who succeeded very well in bringing the situation under control was a Śāntara.

* *E. C.*, IV, Introd, p. 10.

HEAVENLY MANSIONS OF THE HINDUS

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 2)

Vriscika (Scorpio)

SCORPIO is the eighth sign and a famous cluster of stars in the zodiac, called Vṛścika. It is white in colour, of the Brahmin caste, belonging to Jala Tattva and Lord of the North. It is a very realistic constellation, the principal stars being coiled like a scorpion's tail ready to strike. The lunar mansion next to Viśākha, a part of which is included in this sign, is the asterism Anūrādhā, bordering Viśākha or Rādhā, containing seven stars, having the appearance of a serpent and presided over by Mitra. It is identified with Akraḇ, β , δ , π , Scorpii. Jyeṣṭha, the next lunar mansion, resembles the tusk of a boar or hog; consists of three stars; has a circular shape and has Indra as its presiding deity. It is Antares, the brilliant star in the heart of the Scorpio, and its presiding deities are Vasus. Mūla is said to be the substratum and hence so called. It resembles the tail of a lion, consists of nine stars and its presiding deity is Nīṛti. Tilak considers Mūla to have been so named because its acronycal rising marked the commencement of the year at the time when the Vernal Equinox was near Mṛgaśīras (Orion), and the Winter Solstice fell on the Phalguṇī full moon or it may be that the star rose at the beginning of the first night of the equinoctial year. But Prof. Whitney regards it as due to its being considerably the lowest or farthest to the southward of the whole series of asterisms and hence capable of being looked upon as the root of all the asterisms. In Scorpio, a very bright star with a curving line of three other fairly bright stars will be noticed arresting attention. The first is Antares or α Scorpii (Jyeṣṭha) which appears at the head of a triangle. It is of a fiery red colour, rivalling Mars and it is a double star, the second one being of a bright green colour. This first-

magnitude star in one of the richest fields of the Milky Way is situated in the heart of Scorpio. Standing on a straight line which joins the Regulus and the Spica asterisms, it forms with Vega and Arcturus an isosceles triangle of which Arcturus is the head. β Scorpii, Akrah or Graffias is a triple star, pale white and lilac, on the Scorpion's head called Frons Scorpii. γ is a quadruple star. δ Scorpionis or Isidis is situated near the right claw of the Scorpii. ν or Lesath comes from Al lasha, the sting, and is a small star in the sting of the Scorpion.

New stars always appear in or near the Milky Way and the greater part of Scorpio and part of its neighbour Ophiuchus (Serpent-bearer) lie in the Milky Way. It passes across part of Aquila, the legend asserting that at this point the celestial angel is flying across the celestial river termed the Milky Way.

Due south, in an early July evening, will be found Scorpio and the Serpens is cut in half just above Scorpio by the constellation of Serpent-bearer or Ophiuchus, supposed to represent a giant treading on the scorpion and crushing the serpent in its hands. According to Greek mythology, Ophiuchus represents the famous physician Aesculapius who became so skilled in medicine that, in addition to curing ailments, he brought men back to life from death, so that Pluto, god of the underworld, complained to Zeus about the depopulation of his kingdom. Thereupon, Zeus slew Aesculapius with his thunderbolt and later at Apollo's request placed him amongst the constellations. According to another, the Serpent-bearer is Laocoon who with his two sons was killed by two sea-serpents during the siege of Troy and, as we know, this legend has sculptural representations. α , Ras Al Hague, a blue star with a faint companion, is the giant's head. His legs are set wide apart, the right in the Milky Way with the heel on the scorpion's tail and the left planted on the scorpion's body. β , Cebalraio is the north-eastern star in a trapezium. δ , a well-known double, marks the right shoulder and κ the left, ϵ (Sabik) and ζ representing his knees; two stars to

the right of ζ are the left hand which holds the serpent by its neck, while the right hand holds its tail. η is Marfik which has a close but fairly bright, bluish companion. Several new stars are to be witnessed in this constellation. It has several double stars and eclipsing variables. Though an ancient group, like several others, it is not in a sign of the zodiac but crosses the Sun's path or ecliptic, and the Sun occupies about sixteen days in passing through this constellation about the beginning of December.

Serpens is represented on the two sides of Ophiuchus; his head is below the Northern Crown, α , Unukalhai being its neck; and its body is twined around the left arm and leg of the Serpent-bearer.

In the Draco or the crooked serpent are α Draconis or Thuban (*Arabic*; Dragon), the Pole Star of Chaldean times (Kocab), β Alwaid, γ Etamin or Rastaban meaning the head of the dragon, the brightest in the group and the zenith star of Greenwich, δ moving away from the earth with a velocity of twenty miles per second.

Lying to the south of the signs of Libra and Scorpio is the Lupus group, occupying the space bounded by Scorpio and enclosing a number of fairly bright stars in a comparatively small area. The nose of the wolf points to the north and its tail to the south. α is its right hind leg, β , γ , δ and ϵ forming the loins of the animal which is difficult to trace in the heavens. But these stars, with two stars of the Centauri, go to make a figure in the manner of Orion. The great constellation of the Centaur occupies a considerable space in the southern heavens and is littered with innumerable stars of which the nearest to our earth is α Centauri, a very famous double star, the third most brilliant star in the sky and the first whose distance from us was measured. α Centauri is within 5° of β Centauri, a juxtaposition of stars not met with elsewhere in the heavens; and, in brightness, even Castor and Pollux do not rival it. In the system of the α Centauri are three constituent stars, the three nearest neighbours of the earth in space. ω Centauri is a well-known star cluster in

which 6,400 stars have been so far counted. This noble, glöbular cluster is, beyond all comparison, the richest and largest object of the kind even in the heavens.

Near the Centaur is the Southern Cross which, with two stars near the head, comprises Triśanku (Crux). Southern Cross, which had been included by the Greeks in the Centaur, was so named by the Spanish explorer, Amerigo Vespucci. α Crucis, the south star of the Cross, is a triple star which requires a powerful glass to separate the three and, in order of magnitude, the last of the first-magnitude stars. The Southern Cross also contains the famous, tinted cluster of stars surrounding the star κ and in it a number of blue, green and yellow stars will be noticed, forming, as Herschel describes, a gorgeous piece of fancy jewellery.

Crux or Southern Cross has a large number of bright stars in a comparatively small region, characteristic of the southern regions as the Great Bear is in the northern. α Crucis is the nearest to the South Pole, β Crucis.

The most brilliant part of the Milky Way is here, with two first magnitude, one second, five third, seven fourth and thirty-nine fifth magnitude stars. The Milky Way is also celebrated in Hindu mythology as having afforded Yudhiṣṭhira an opportunity to put on the body of immortality and ascend the heavens.

The Lesser Magellanic cloud is a cloud of stars in the constellation Tucana, near the South Pole, 6000 years being required for light at 186,000 miles per second to pass from one end of it to another, and 95,000 years to reach us, and it has at least 500,000 stars brighter than the Sun.

West of the Southern Cross is the Argo Navis, made up of Malus, Puppis, Vela and Carina, different constellations representing the different parts of a ship and named after the tradition of Jason having travelled in this ship of the Argonauts on his quest for the Golden Fleece. This huge and important constellation contains a multitude of stars including Canopus (Agastya), a most brilliant star in its keel (Carina), next in luminosity only to Śīrius and thousands of times as

bright as the Sun. Agastya is more than 20,000 times as brilliant as the Sun and is so called after the sage who, with the Saptarṣis, had the honour of a place in the heavens; who led an early Aryan colony to the south and before whom the Vindhya Mountains are said to have prostrated themselves as he passed. η Argus is associated with the Keyhole nebula, not ordinarily visible to the naked eye and a puzzle in the stellar universe.

The next constellation observable is the great group of Eridanus called after a river into which, according to mythology, Phæton fell from the chariot, when killed by the thunderbolt hurled against him by Jupiter, to punish him for the theft of the chariot. The southernmost in the Eridanus group is the bright star Achernar, while its northernmost point is observable near Rigel of the Orion group. The bunch of stars in the neighbourhood of Achernar is the Phoenix, near which are the Pisces Australis containing a star of the first-magnitude, Fomalhaut.

Eridanus, in which Achernar is the southern end of the constellation, contains a star which is the next brightest at the other end and close to Cetus, α , Cursa a chair or throne β , Zaurak a bright star of the boat and two other stars γ and δ which are very rapidly moving.

Pisces Australis or Southern Fish is described as the parent of the two fishes. When the giant Typhon attacked the gods on the banks of the Euphrates, Venus transformed herself and her son Cupid to fishes to escape from the giant's fury. In memory of this event, Minerva places these two fishes in the sky.

Arcturus (Svāti), Capella (the little she-goat) or Brahmaṛdaya and Aldebaran or Rohiṇī are yellowish in appearance, containing golden rays like the Sun. Spectral analysis reveals iron, sodium, etc., ascertained in them suggesting that these stars are much older than many others. The Great Dog or Canis Majoris constellation is heavier than the Sun, and has a sun which goes round it once in fifty years. Full of white light, like Abhijit (Vega) and Śravaṇa (Altair)

it burns luridly with fires of hydrogen gas. Antares (Jyestha), Betelgeuse and Hercules appear older than the other groups dealt with above in this paragraph and seem to be anticipating their end. Mizar is a spectroscopic binary and consists of two bright stars. Alcor has probably considerably increased in brightness in historic times, as it was unknown to the Greeks. Another star revolves round it once in 20 days. Vasiṣṭha or ζ Mizar, in the Great Bear group, is a very brilliant star and easily seen: it is a twin star, comprising one star of the second magnitude and another of the fourth magnitude. The latter of these, observable by the naked eye with a little straining, is the famous Arundhatī, wife of Vasiṣṭha; and, in the Hindu śāstras, it symbolises chastity and purity. Alcor is the best test of eyesight. Punarvasu or Castor is a twin star, containing a star of the second and another of the third magnitude.

The nebula M 13 is the finest globular cluster; light takes 33,000 years to reach us from this cluster which emits $2\frac{1}{2}$ million times as much light as the Sun; it is situated between ζ and η. Between Hercules and Bootēs is the Corona Borealis or Northern Crown, justified by its appearance, its chief stars forming a crescent or crown. This is supposed to represent the crown of seven stars which Bacchus presented to Ariadne, the daughter of the Cretan king Minos. This ancient constellation was called Ataroth or Wōmera by the Hebrews; it is the Boomerang of the Australian aborigines. α Coronæ or Alphecca or Gemma the jewel is the pearl of the crown, white in colour and a second magnitude star; γ is the Variabilis Coronæ, a well-known double; τ Coronæ is the blaze star of the Northern Crown, invisible without the telescope.

Dhanus (Sagittarius)

Sagittarius or Dhanus is the sign next to Scorpio and earns a bad reputation coming in its wake. According to Hindu mythology, Dhanus is represented as a being half man and half horse (Centaur), the man holding the bow,

It is of golden colour, Kṣatriya caste, belonging to Agni Tattva and Lord of the East. To the east of the asterism Jyestha or Antares, this sign forms a trapezium. A part of Mūla, already referred to; Pūrva Āṣāḍhā and a part of the Uttara Āṣāḍhā are in this sign. Pūrva Āṣāḍhā has the shape of a sūrpa or a winnowing basket and comprises four stars. It might even mean the two tusks of an elephant; so characterized from two of its stars being very bright. Varuṇa is the presiding deity. This is identified with ν Sagittarii. Uttara Āṣāḍhā is identified with π Sagittarii. It also has the shape of a sūrpa and has four stars, with Viśva as the presiding deity. Sagittarius contains four stars, forming a parallelogram and lies in the brightest part of the Milky Way.

A particularly striking patch of the southern sky is the great star cloud in Sagittarius, just to the left of Scorpio, and it is the richest portion of the whole celestial sphere, crowded with thousands upon thousands of stars. The Trifid Nebula M 20 in Sagittarius may be referred to as an interesting object of study in this sign.

In Sagittā are four or five stars in a straight line forming an arrow. Regarded as the arrow of Cupid, identified as the one with which Apollo slew the Cyclops for having provided Zeus with thunderbolts and lightning to kill Aesculapius and considered again to be one of the arrows with which Hercules killed the vulture which was gnawing the liver of Prometheus enchained to the Caucasus by the order of Zeus, is Sagittā. The constellation of Sagittarius is generally represented to be the famous Centaur Chiron with a drawn bow and arrow pointed at the scorpion. For, it is said that the famous Centaur Chiron, the son of Saturn and Philyra, famous for his knowledge in medicine, music and archery which he taught to Aesculapius, Apollo and Hercules respectively, was accidentally wounded by the poisoned arrow of Hercules; but, being immortal, could not die. Yet, Zeus listened to his prayers, allowed him to die in order to relieve his pain and, by way of compensation, exalted him into a constellation,

In the course of his journey, the Sun remains in Sagitta from December 16 to January 18, when the Earth is nearest to the Sun.

Sagitta can be easily recognized between Albeiro, β Cygni and Altair. The principal figure of Sagittarius is made up of eight third magnitude stars which form three right-angled triangles and if Sagittarius is a Centaur, the triangles represent his shoulders, arms, bow and arrow, his head being formed by the stars between the eastern triangle and Aquila. α and β , so called though of the fourth and fifth magnitude, represent one of the horse's forelegs. α Sagittarii is surrounded by an atmosphere of helium. β is called Rukbat, γ is Akrah, δ is Al-nash, ϵ is Nunki, ζ is Ascella, a binary star, situated in the armpit of Sagittarius, Ascelli representing the asses ridden by Bacchus and Vulcan in the war between the Gods and Titans. μ is Polis, ν is Manubrium in the archer's face, being part of the cluster there, σ is Pelagus and Al na'am is perhaps with σ , τ and ϕ Sagittarii. Below Sagitta is the modern Telescopium and to its right is Ara, the altar.

The brightest part of the Milky Way contains, as already observed, the star cloud in Sagittarius. On a clean, moonless night, the Milky Way will be observed to stretch an arch of light, like a great arc of faint lights and this cloud is justly described as a cart-wheel of stars by Herschel. The Nebula M8, a splendid spectacle in Sagittarius, is then easily visible to the naked eye.

Makara (Capricornus)

With Capricornus or Makara begins another section of the zodiac. Makara is a crocodile having the face of a Mṛga or antelope, of pingāla varṇa or tawny colour, Vaiśya caste, Pṛthvī Tattva and Lord of the South. The Sea Goat or Sea-monster is perhaps an apt term for this sign. This is on the line which joins Vega and Aquila to the south of Altair and in its head are two twinkling stars, α and β , of the third magnitude, also called Prima and Secunda Gieda from Al-jedi the goat, but for which the identification would not at all be easy. Of the lunar mansions in Capricornus, Uttara Āṣāḍhā has

already been noticed. Abhijit is triangular in form, has three stars and is so called because one born in it gets plenty. It is generally fixed between Uttara Āṣāḍhā and Śravaṇa asterisms. This is identified with Vega or α Lyræ, a pale sapphire star in the lower part of the lyre, in contrast to Antares. In July, it is the brightest in the northern half of the sky. It is a double star, its companion, however, being only visible under a large telescope. Owing to the precession of the Equinoxes, this will be the Pole Star 12,000 years hence, when it will be observable due north. With the Pole Star and Arcturus, it makes an isosceles triangle. β Libræ is Sheliak, a variable star with thirteen days' variation in brightness. γ is Sulaphat. δ is an interesting double; each is again a pair; each pair is revolving round a point between the pairs; and between them are three smaller stars. Between β and γ Lyræ is also another object visible under a small telescope, the annual nebula in Lyra, showing a bright oval ring.

Hercules is near Vega, in the equilateral triangle formed with the Pole Star and Arcturus, and is sometimes called the Kneeler. α is Rasalgeti or the Kneeler's head, the brightest, being a most beautiful double, of orange and emerald green. β is another double. γ is one of the nearest. ϵ is another double, being a little brighter than β , γ , and δ and η or Marsic is another double. Between γ and ϵ is the great star cluster in Hercules, one of the few visible to the naked eye, in which Herschel counted up to 14,000 stars.

Of the stars in Capricornus may be mentioned, α or Giedi, the slave kid, a multiple star, yellow, ash and lilac, situated on the southern horn of the goat; β or Dabih, a double but telescopically multiple star, orange, yellow and sky-blue in the left eye of the goat; γ or Nashira; δ or Deneb, Algedi, a small star in the goat's tail; ϵ or Castra, a small star in the goat's belly; η Armus; θ Dorsum; π Oculus; ρ or Bos, a small star situated in the face of the goat.

Cygnus or swan, meaning Rājahaṁsa, which should more appropriately be called the Northern Cross, is situated in one of the richest fields of the Milky Way. The principal

stars of this constellation form a beautiful-looking cross. α Cygni is called Deneb or Arided having an intensely luminous orb but vastly remote; β or Alberio at the back of the long, outstretched neck of the swan, a beautiful double star, golden yellow and sapphire blue, forming the beak of the swan; γ generally invisible; δ a double star, with ϵ representing the swan's outstretched wings; and δ 1 Cygni, one of the most rapidly moving stars, a double and most interesting star of the fifth magnitude, being the first whose distance was measured by the astronomers and constituting in the words of Herschel, 'the greatest triumph for practical astronomy'.

Of the small groups between Cygnus and Aquila, Vulpecula contains the dumb-bell nebula and Equus or Horse is easily picked out, lying well out of the Milky Way. Equus is an ancient group; but was included in Delphinus before Hipparchus.

The constellation of Aquila was, at one time, divided into two, the Aquila and Antinous. Part of the Milky Way around Aquila is worth study under a telescope, as it is rich in pairs and groups of stars. The Milky Way passing across part of the Aquila was ascribed by the legend as being due to the celestial eagle flying across the celestial river termed the Milky Way at this point. A new star was discovered in these regions on 8th July 1918, being the fourth new star discovered within twenty years.

The lunar mansion following Abhijit or Vega is Śravaṇa, meaning karna or ear, with three stars in it, having the appearance of an arrow, with Viṣṇu as the presiding deity. It is identified with α Aquilæ or Al Nasr Altair or simply Altair. ϵ Lyræ is a double star. The Pole Star, Arcturus and Vega form an isosceles triangle. Altair, which means the flier, is the brightest star in Aquila, eleventh in the order of first magnitude stars. It is regarded in the Chinese and Japanese legends as a shepherd boy who fell in love with Vega, a spinning damsel and the girl's father, objecting to the marriage, banished both of them to the sky where they are placed, one on each side of the Milky Way which is supposed to represent

a river. β , Al shain or white falcon, and γ , Tarazed or robber, with α point to Vega in a northerly direction. ϵ and ξ (Deneb, a green star) are the tail and δ and ρ the two wings of the eagle.

To the left of Aquila and a little lower in the sky is the small and ancient group of Delphinus, with the stars in which the lunar mansion of Dhanishtha or Śraviṣṭha is identified. Dhanishtha or Dhanavati or Śraviṣṭha is very wealthy, having four stars and presided over by Vasu. α Svalocin is a wide double with a faint companion; β is Rotanev; γ is a beautiful and easy double. These with δ make up Dhanishtha. The puzzle of naming α and β has now been solved by being traced to an astronomer at the Palermo observatory, after whom they are called Nicolaus and Venator. The four stars in the form of a diamond denote the dolphin's head, an isolated star in the right being its tail. A legend says that the constellation represents the Dolphin which carried Amphitrite to be the bride of the sea-god Neptune and so was rewarded with this place. But according to another myth, when the poet and musician Arion was returning home with the valuable prizes he had won at a musical festival, he was seized by the sailors who wanted to murder and rob him; and he prayed for permission to sing his last song. Attracted by his song, the Dolphins followed the ship and since Arion jumping overboard was carried to safety on the back of one of them, its services were rewarded with a place in the heavens.

Kumbha (Aquarius)

Aquarius or Water-bearer, known as Kumbha, has very few stars. Kumbha is represented as a person with a pot filled with water in his hand. He has no feet; he is of camphor colour, belonging to the Vāyu Tattva, of Śūdra caste and Lord of the West. This sign faces Mars (Kṣitija) and contains a fountain of water always flowing. Three stars of the triangle, all of the third magnitude, are α Aquarii, Sadal Melik, a pale yellow star situated on the right shoulder of Aquarius, derived from Al Sal Al Malakh, the lucky one of

the king; β Aquarii, Sadal Suud, a pale yellow star on the left shoulder of Aquarius, meaning luckiest of the lucky. The lunar mansion of Śatabiṣak has a hundred stars, like a hundred physicians, looking like a maṇḍala, with Varuṇa as its presiding deity. (Rig. V., i. 24. 9.) It is identified with β Aquarii.

Left of Aquarius is a small group, Lacerta, notable for a new, red star which appeared a few years ago.

The constellation of Pegasus is a conspicuous square of four bright stars. Pegasus or the Winged Horse is supposed to have sprung from the blood which dropped from the head of Medusa which Perseus was bringing. It is considered a good test of sight and good observation to count the number of stars inside the square of Pegasus by the unaided eye: 102 were counted in Athens.

Pūrvābhādrapada mansion is so called because it resembles the foot of a cow, whose two feet are in this asterism, the other two being in the next. It has two stars and Aja-ekapāda is its presiding deity. Uttarabhādrapada has the shape of a cot; consists of eight stars and the Vedic god Ahir-budhnya is its presiding deity. The asterism Pūrvābhādra is identified with α Pegasi or Markab, a thing ridden or a saddle, a white star on the wing of Pegasus. β or Scheat, is an irregularly variable deep yellow star on its left wing; γ Algenib, a white star on the hip of the wing; and δ Alpheratz, the horse's navel, no longer belonging to Pegasus but included in the neighbouring constellation of Andromeda. ϵ is Enif or nose, or Fom or horse's lip, ζ is Homan, the hero's happy star of the Aratians; and η is a quadruple star. A cluster of 162 nebulae in Pegasus may be mentioned.

There are a number of star groups connected with myths regarding Perseus and Andromeda. The parents of Andromeda are Cepheus and Cassiopeia. Cepheus is very largely in a part of the Milky Way; to the right of it and a little higher up is the Lady of the Chair or Cassiopeia. Below it, and on the right of the Pole Star is a large blank space entirely bereft of bright stars, and the faint ones there have combined

to constitute the modern Giraffe or Camelopardus constellation. β Cepheii is Alderamin which will be the North Pole star 5,600 years hence; above it is a variable, garnet star; γ is a double and telescopic variable; ϵ and ζ are also double stars.

Cassiopeia, which is identified with Śarmiṣṭhā, was the queen of Ethiopia. She claimed to be fairer than Juno and the Nereids and angered Neptune. In order to punish this presumption, Neptune sent a sea-monster to ravage Ethiopia. To avert the disaster, Andromeda, the daughter of Cassiopeia, was sacrificed, by being chained to a rock by the sea-shore as an offering to the great sea-monster. On his way back after slaying the Gorgon, riding on Pegasus, Perseus observed and released Andromeda by turning the monster into a stone with the help of Medusa's head. Thereafter, Perseus and Andromeda were married. Cassiopeia lies within the Milky Way. It is in the form of an inverted ω . β called Caph is the western star, forming the back of the chair; α Schedar is the variable star representing the breast of Cassiopeia; γ is her girdle, her right knee, and ϵ the right foot with a small star south of α indicating the head.

The large constellation of Andromeda reclines between Cassiopeia and the great square of Pegasus. α or Alpharatz, identified with Uttarabhādrapada and implying the horse, is her head. Its former inclusion in Pegasus is also thus explained. β is Mirach; γ , Almach is a beautiful triple under a large telescope, and one of the most beautiful of all double stars, being yellow and bluish green. The right hand of Andromeda is formed of ι , κ and λ , stretching towards Cassiopeia; her left hand is to be seen east of the square of Pegasus; β and μ are her girdle, between which and Cassiopeia is the nebula M 31; γ is her foot. This star γ , Almach, in a line from β , points to Mirfak which represents the heart of Perseus hastening to rescue Neptune's victim from the sea-monster and is one of the finest stars in the heavens. The first known and the most striking is the Great Nebula (M 31), the best known of all nebulae, the finest object of its kind in the sky and the brightest amongst

the 'distant cities' of the stars, for its light takes 900,000 years to reach us and 50,000 years to cross from side to side of the Nebula. It is so large and bright that it quite fills the field of even a small telescope and in a big one it has to be seen by parts. It is visible to the naked eye on a clean moonless night. It lies just west of δ Andromedæ, above the uppermost of the three stars in a vertical line.

Perseus, who changed the sea-monster into a rock, was the son of Jupiter and Danæ, a very chivalrous person and a very bayard in mythology. He is represented as swinging a falcon over his head which points to Cassiopeia. This constellation lies right in the Milky Way. α , Mirfak is the heart of Perseus, the demon star, in which β , Algol represents the head of Medusa which is carried in his left hand. Algol means demon. It is the most famous of stars known as Algol variables. It shines most of the time, is a second magnitude star but it fades at intervals. In three and a half hours, it becomes a fourth magnitude star, becomes faint for twenty minutes and brightens again in three and a half hours into a star of the second magnitude. It is a double star of which one is dark. Algol is the most interesting example of the short period variable stars with a period of two days, twenty hours, forty-eight minutes and fifty-five seconds. It remains at second magnitude, almost equal in brightness to Polaris for about two and a half days; then its decline begins and, as described above, it regains its maximum brightness in three and a half hours. The right leg of Perseus is bent towards Capella (Brahmahrdaya) in the Auriga or charioteer; his left leg extends to ζ and ω immediately above the Pleiades; and ϵ is his left knee.

Fomalhaut, one of the brightest stars in the southern sky, is in Pisces Australis (α) south of the signs of Pisces and Aquarius. Another star of the first magnitude is α Eridani or Achernar at the tail-end of Eridanus or the long celestial River which reminds us of the winding Vaitarani. Another is Canopus, the brightest star in the heavens next to Sirius.

Mina (Pisces)

The sign of Pisces or Mīna is to the south of Andromeda and Pegasus, and except α of the third degree, no stars are easily observable in this last sign of the zodiac. Mīna is represented by two fishes; he is feetless, pingāla in colour, of Brāhmin caste, belonging to Jala Tattva and Lord of the North with Pūṣan as the presiding deity. Pisces is a large constellation with no bright stars. α Okda and β are both doubles.

With ζ is identified Revatī, the last lunar asterism, the daughter of Reva or Narmada, in the form of a fish, composed of thirty-two stars and presided over by Pūṣa. η Piscium is Alpherḡ. Revatī is generally regarded as a star of evil influence. Cursed by Ritavak, she fell from her orbit in the presence of a wondering world on the sides of the Kumuda mountains which, on this account, came to be known as Raivaṭaka. The loveliness of Revatī also gave birth to the lake Pankajanī from which a most handsome damsel was born called Revatī by the muni Prathūca and she married Durgama, son of Vikramaśīla, of the race of Priyavrata. Subsequently, the sage by the exercise of his power re-established Revatī on the orbit of the moon, after she had given birth to a manu.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XLI

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Sema Naga Didactic Myth about the Common Indian Nightjar
and the Leopard Cat.]

THE Common Indian Nightjar (*Caprimulgus asiaticus*, Lath.) is found throughout India from Sind and the Punjab to Ceylon, as also in Burma as far south as Moulmein, but not in the higher hills nor in large forests. It is the commonest Indian species. It frequents the plains and the open and the cultivated countryside. It also dwells in groves, gardens and low jungles. It is commonly found near human habitations. Its call-note, which is constantly heard during the night-time, has been appropriately likened to the sound made by skimming stones over ice. This note is repeated slowly at first and then much more quickly. There is also, as usual, a chuckling note uttered by this bird while it is on the wing.

The Nightjar, which is mentioned in the undermentioned didactic myth, appears to be the Common Indian Nightjar (*Caprimulgus asiaticus*).

The Sema Nagas are a tribe of the Mongoloid Naga race and live in the north-east portion of the Angami country. The Common Indian Nightjar appears to be a resident of the Sema Naga country; and the Sema Nagas appear to be familiar with this bird.

The Sema Nagas narrate the undermentioned didactic myth about the Common Indian Nightjar and the Leopard Cat (*Felis Bengalensis*):—

The Leopard Cat and the Common Indian Nightjar entered into friendship with each other. The Leopard Cat enquired of the Nightjar:—"My friend! Why do you keep crying out in the night?" The Nightjar replied: "My friend! I do not know why I do so." Then the Leopard Cat said to the Nightjar: "My friend! If (you hear) a rustling at the top of

the tree, I am coming to have a speech with you, be on your guard, please. But if a rustling comes along the ground it is the wind blowing, fear nothing."

Having said this, the Leopard Cat came along the ground in the night.

The Nightjar thought in his heart that the Leopard Cat was not coming, and not being aware of even a breath of wind above him, feared nothing. Thus the Leopard Cat, having got to the top of the tree above him, devoured the Nightjar.*

From a study of the foregoing myth, I find that:—

1. The Common Indian Nightjar, in the preceding myth, typifies the foolish and the easily gullible person; while the Leopard Cat typifies the seemingly benevolent but inwardly false and treacherous friend.

2. The Nightjar very foolishly thought that such a bloodthirsty animal as the Leopard Cat, who was a born enemy of the bird-race, could be his sincere and benevolent friend and acted more foolishly by entering into friendship with the latter.

3. The Leopard Cat, true to the instincts of his blood-thirsty and carnivorous race, gave seemingly benevolent but really false and treacherous advice to the Nightjar, for the attainment of his own selfish ends. I am inclined to think that by narrating the foregoing myth, the Sema Nagas appear to disapprove of the treacherous conduct of the Leopard Cat.

4. When the Nightjar heard the rustling sound coming along the ground, he ought not to have taken it for the rustling of the wind, as there was not even a breath of wind blowing above him at that time. But he acted very foolishly by thinking it to be the rustling of the wind, while it was really the rustling sound made by the Leopard Cat in coming along the ground. As the result of his foolishness, he feared nothing and consequently got killed by his treacherous friend—the Leopard Cat.

* *Vide The Sema Nagas.* By J. H. Hutton, M.A., L.C.S., C.I.E. London; Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1921, Page 309.

5. All the Mongoloid Naga tribes do not look upon treachery as a very heinous offence. On the contrary, they consider it as lawful strategy. On this point, Mr. J. D. Anderson, M.A., I.C.S., says:—

“The Mongoloid tribes of Assam are much of the same kind, but in many cases, as among the head-hunting Nagas, live at perpetual warfare with one another. In such cases they usually capture their wives in war. It is interesting to note that, when population grows too dense for the profitable pursuit of the chase, their principal means of livelihood, such a tribe breaks up into two or more “villages”, which immediately begin waging war with one another, which is quite what a French sociologist would expect them to do. *I can tell of a case within my own experience in which the head-man of a parent village invited the chief of a colony-village (his own nephew) to a feast and palaver with his young warriors. The guests were all treacherously put to the sword, as a means of acquiring heads and concubines. I could not get the head-man to see that he had been guilty of an atrocious crime. For him it was lawful strategy. And indeed Naga warfare is merely a series of artfully planned ambushes in which not a few of all our officers perished before we understood the direct administration of the Naga Hills.*”*

If I have studied the preceding myth aright, I may state here that, by fabricating it, the Sema Naga myth-maker has taught the lesson that treachery on the part of a friend is culpable, that persons of two opposite natures ought not to enter into friendship with one another, and that considerable prudence should be exercised in the selection of friends. The preceding bird-myth should, therefore, be classified as a “didactic myth” or “a myth which inculcates moral lessons”.

6. The preceding myth appears also to illustrate the scriptural proverb, “*Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.*”

* *Vide The Peoples of India.* By J. D. Anderson, M.A., I.C.S. Cambridge; At the University Press. 1913. Pages 35—36.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XIX

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a South-Sea and a Chinese Ætiological Myth about the Evolution of the Cocoanut-Palm]

THE Cocoanut Palm (*Cocos nucifera*), which belongs to the Order *Palmææ*, is called in Bengali *Nārikel*, in Hindi *Nāriyal*, in Tamil *Tenna*, in Telugu *Nāri-kadam* and in Burmese *Ong*. It is one of the most valuable trees growing on the sea-coasts of India, Burma and the tropical islands. All the wants of human beings can very likely be supplied by the products of this single tree. The kernel of the cocoanut is a nourishing food. The water contained within the green or unripe fruit is an excellent cooling drink. The oil expressed from the dried kernel or albumen is used as an excellent substitute for *ghee* or clarified butter and is also utilized, in some parts of India, for burning in lamps. The oil-cake is used as an excellent manure. The sweet juice extracted from the flowering spikes of this tree is made into palm-wine or toddy. From this juice is also produced a coarse sugar. The timber obtained from the trunk of this palm is used for making into the framework of huts, posts, rafters, fences, shears, lathes, shingles, chairs, etc. The leaves of this tree are used for thatching huts with; and the leaf-stems and leaves are utilized for fuel for cooking rice on ceremonial occasions. The midribs of the leaves are made into broom-sticks. The shells of the dried fruit are made into *haggas*, drinking-vessels, pitchers, spoons, lamps, etc. The thick fibre surrounding the fruit is known as the coir-fibre of commerce. From this coir are made strong ropes and mats. In short, the uses to which the cocoanut-palm may be put are innumerable; medicinally, the green fruit is given as a refrigerant. Its flowers are used as an astringent. The oil of the cocoanut is an excellent substitute for cod-liver oil. As a valuable tonic for the hair, it is largely used by the womenfolk of Bengal,

The South Sea Islanders of the Pacific Ocean, the Chinese of China and the Malays of the Malayan Peninsula were struck, from very early times, by the strange shape of the cocoanut-shell with its two eye-sockets which bears a striking similarity to the human-skull with its two sockets containing the eyes. Being unable to account for the origin of this strange and curious similarity, all of them have fabricated the following myths to explain the evolution thereof:—

Ina, the heroine of a myth current among the South Sea Islanders, used to bathe in a pool of water, and there struck up friendship with an eel. At last, the fish, mastering up courage, declared his love for Ina. This fish was no other than Tuna, the chief of all eels. He requested Ina to marry him; and the latter complied with his request. For some unknown reason, he was obliged to abandon her, but (like the white cat in the fairy tale) requested her to cut off his head and bury it in the ground. Ina, with great determination, but in great sorrow, carried out her husband's behest; and from the buried eel's head grew up two cocoanut trees, one from each half of the brain of Tuna. As a proof of this, it would appear that, when the cocoanut is denuded of its surrounding husk, we always find on it the two eyes and the mouth of Ina's husband—the eel.*

Closely parallel to the foregoing South Sea myth is the undermentioned one from China:—

Prince Liu Yeh quarrelled with Prince Yueh, and deputed a man to assassinate the latter. The assassin carried out the order and suspended the murdered prince's head from a tree. This head was miraculously metamorphosed into a cocoanut with two eyes on the shell. In this way, this fruit derived its name of "Yueh-wang-t'ou" or "Prince Yueh's head"†

In a similar manner the Malays of the Malayan Peninsula believe that the cocoanut has eyes and, therefore, will never fall on anybody's head.‡

* *Vide An Introduction to Folk-Lore.* By M. R. Cox. New and Enlarged Edition. London—David Nutt, 1897, page 264.

† *Op. cit.*, pages 264-265.

‡ *Vide The Handbook of Folklore.* By C. S. Burne. New Edition. London, Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, page 31.

I am told that a belief, parallel to the Malay one, is also current among the Bengalis of Bengal and Northern India. They also believe that the cocoanut has eyes, can see and will not, therefore, fall upon the head of any one passing below a cocoanut-tree, or picking up the fallen fruit from near its roots.

From a study of the foregoing myths and beliefs, we find that:—

(1) The South Sea Islanders, the Chinese, the Malays and the Bengalis are careful observers of Nature.

(2) The South Sea Islanders and the Chinese noticed the similarity between the round shape of and the socket-like depressions on the shell of the cocoanut-fruit, and the almost rotund form and the eye-sockets of the human skull and have, therefore, fabricated the two preceding myths to account for the evolution of the cocoanut-fruit.

(3) Although Miss C. S. Burne has not given any legend or myth connected with the origin of the Malayan belief that the cocoanut has eyes, can see and will not, therefore, fall on the head of any one passing below the tree, I am inclined to think that there must be a hitherto uncollected myth connected with it and similar to those current among the South Sea Islanders and the Chinese. This much is certain that the Malays noticed the resemblance between the two eye-like cavities on the cocoanut-shell and the eye-sockets on the human skull and have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the cocoanut-fruits can also see.

(4) Like the Malays, the Bengalis also noticed the same similarity and have come to the same conclusion.

(5) It will not be out of place to state here that though the Bengalis believe that the cocoanut has eyes and can see, they believe that the fruit of the Palmyra-palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*) is blind and will fall on the head of any one passing below the tree or picking up the fallen ripe fruit. Hence has arisen the Bengali proverbial saying *তাল্ কান* or "*Blind as the palm-fruit*". This is applied to anybody who is careless about seeing things around him,

REVIEWS

Census of India, 1931. Vol. XXV, Mysore

BY M. VENKATESA IYENGAR, M.A.,

Census Superintendent.

(Government Press, Bangalore. Part I Report, Rs. 4-8-0;

Part II Tables, Rs. 6-0-0; Part IV Rs. 2-8-0

and Part V—Village Population Tables, Rs. 3-8-0.)

MR. MASTI VENKATESA IYENGAR deserves our hearty congratulations on his excellent work in connection with the recent census operations in Mysore. Information bearing on all matters is up-to-date and very valuable. Attention may be drawn to the increase in population during the last decade which is the third largest since the first census in 1871 and regarded as perhaps recording the normal rate of growth. Since all communities except the Christian practise universal marriage and widow marriage is not prohibited except amongst some classes of the Hindus and the Jains, it may be predicated that, *mutatis mutandis*, the rate of growth will be the same in the present decade. Though the Hindus and the Jains are expected to observe auspicious days for marital life and even though birth-control is explained at the chief hospitals at Bangalore and Mysore, the educated are not, however, quite familiar with it: these are not likely to affect the growth of population. The census figures cannot be relied upon to deduce any inferences regarding the reproductive powers of particular races; and age *per se* is no safe guide.

Hassan and Shimoga are regarded as Malnad and Arkalgud as Maidan taluks, a new classification perhaps attempted in the light of modern conditions.

As regards the problems relating to the ethnography of the Kannada-speaking castes in Mysore and the anthropometric surveys of Dr. Guha in the course of which he has collected some data in this country at Bangalore, it is too early to offer any remarks and Mr. Venkatesa Iyengar himself has not found it possible to deal with them. The Jenu Kurubas, Betta Kurubas, Soligas and Iruligas are called primitive tribes (Part I, App. X, p. 359) and it is a point for consideration whether these compare favourably with the pre-Dravidians of Bruce Foote, Haddon and

others. More valuable than this, however, is the interesting information compiled by the Superintendent on these tribes and it is to be hoped that this important work will be undertaken and pursued under the auspices of the Mysore University.

Equally interesting and important for Kannadigas is the account of the growth of Kannada literature given in Appendix VII. Himself an author of note, Mr. Venkatesa Iyengar has, out of sheer modesty, not mentioned his own name in the list. He is a prince of short story writers in the decade and he has composed several elegant verses which are enjoyed in Kannada homes. Asvatthaman of 'Sri', a beautiful grafting of Greek on Indian legend, might well have been mentioned along with the 'English Lyrics' which deservedly gets the pride of place amongst Sri's works. It is pleasing to observe that attempt is being made successfully to bring the language of modern Kannada literature near to the spoken language, thus taking poetry out of the traditional ruts.

S. S.

Administration of Mysore under Mark Cubbon

BY K. N. VENKATASUBBASASTRI, M.A., PH.D.

(George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 16s. net.)

THIS was a thesis approved for the Doctorate of Philosophy in the University of London in 1930. A full bibliography, complete index and several appendices are included in this informing, useful and excellently got-up volume. For the condition of Mysore at or about the time it came under the British administration, we have, no doubt, to fall back upon contemporary records and the monumental work of Rice. Dr. Sastri's purpose in this book is to continue Wilk's *Mysore* in order to trace the growth of a model Indian State and Cubbon's contribution thereto. He is surely on safe ground in viewing matters from Cubbon's standpoint and in appraising his work by the standards of his day.

The work of Dewan Purnia as chief minister in the State during the Maharaja's minority forms a fitting background to Dr. Sastri's narrative, but it requires to be understood and appreciated in its proper perspective. The pacification of the country was secured by frequent tours and by evolving a policy

towards the Palegars. An efficient administrative system suited to the needs of the country was set up, the old corrupt administration giving place to the new. Suppression of disorders was followed by the destruction of forts and the opening of roads. The Civil Government was divided into the three departments of (1) Treasury and Finance, (2) Revenue and (3) Miscellaneous (including heads not belonging to the other two) and the Military Department comprised (a) Cavalry and (b) Infantry. The Kandachar became a department in itself with the combined functions of the Police, the Post Office and the Army. Over all these Purnia himself presided. The damage done to the country in the previous period was repaired in several ways; the finances of the State were placed on a sound basis to meet the responsibilities under the treaty; steps were taken to make payment of assessment regular and possible by the grant of Takavi advances; and extensive restoration of irrigation tanks and channels was undertaken. These and other reforms enabled the people to obtain peace and to enjoy the fruits of their labour unmolested. Purnia's military administration won the admiration of Arthur Wellesley and other European contemporaries and Marquess Wellesley commended His Highness' Government and its loyal fulfilment of the treaty obligations. The country was thus able to recover rapidly from the ravages of a century and its increasing prosperity was appreciated by the Governor-General. Changes in the judicial system were introduced in 1805 by the establishment of a Court of Adalat consisting of two Judges, two Sheristadars and a Panchayat. Vaccination was introduced in 1806.

After the Dewanship of Purnia, the Faujdars were under the Dewan who managed them with an office consisting of 18 departments, all personally subordinate to him; but there was no change in the system. The Government of Mysore participated in the operations against Amir Khan (1810), the Pindaris (1816-17), the Mahrattas (1817-18) etc., doing signal service in the British campaigns and receiving the thanks of the Marquess of Hastings. However, differences arose from a misapprehension of the financial position of the State about 1814 between Resident Cole and the Maharaja and assumed enormous proportions. Sir Thomas Munro visited Mysore in 1825 to remove, if possible by a personal visit, the causes of

irritation; and as he found that subsidy had been duly paid throughout and there was nothing seriously wrong, intervention was stopped.

Disturbances in Nagar in 1830 which were due, in a large measure, to the faulty system of renting out large tracts of the country to the highest bidder who oppressed the people in his turn, were attributed by the Supreme Government to the alleged maladministration of the Maharaja. Compared with similar disturbances in Canara, they were not, as Bowring said, "a sufficient justification" for interference. A committee consisting of Hawker, Morison, Macleod and Cubbon was appointed to investigate into the origin, progress and suppression of the disturbances. But even before the report of the committee was received, the governance of the State was resumed by the British on the general assumption that the misgovernment of the Raja had produced grave and widely-spread discontent, rapidly falling revenues and maladministration in all departments of the State. The case for either view has been discussed in detail by Hayavadana Rao in the *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. IV (1930), pp. 2866-2884. It will, therefore, be clear how Mysore had been wronged in this matter. V. N. Mandlik, *The Examiner*, Allen's *Indian Mail*, *The Morning Standard*, *The Daily News*, *The Morning Star*, John Morley in the *Fortnightly Review*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Campbell, Evans Bell, General Briggs and others supported His Highness in his strenuous fight for a just cause, constituting a memorable chapter in his life's history. A perusal of the documents referred to will prove the popularity and sagacity of the Sovereign, His Highness the late Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III.

The Commission introduced reforms which aimed at making everyone to look to it for orders and not to the Dewan who was made primarily responsible for financial matters. Sir Mark Cubbon, who became Commissioner in June 1834, conducted the administration on lines which won universal admiration. "The history of the State during his administration is that of a people made happy by an illustrious member of the patriarchal school of Indian administration, who conducted it in a manner honourable to the British name, on the lines of a benevolent despotism worked through the agency of selected British officers." Peace and order prevailed; speculation died out and affairs

generally were conducted with such prudence and economy that though the tax was greatly reduced and different kinds of vexatious imposts were swept away, the revenue greatly exceeded the expenditure. Abuses in the working of the land revenue were removed and payments by *Khists* introduced; batayi was largely abolished. The country was opened up for traffic by inexpensive but practicable roads and all transit duties were done away with. Abolition of the post of Resident in 1843 brought the Maharaja into closer contact with Cubbon and from 1847 they continued on friendly terms. When he left the State, he had, by his zeal and ability, introduced, as acknowledged by His Highness, great improvements without changing the indigenous system and thereby ensured the continued prosperity of the country and the happiness of its people.

Cubbon was born in September 1785, son of a Manx clergyman. He came out to India in 1800 with the Madras Infantry at the early age of sixteen and joined Wilks, his uncle, at the Mysore Residency, where he gained considerable experience of Indian customs and habits. Captain in 1816, he was appointed early enough to the Commissariat Department at Hunsur of which he later became the head. He was transferred from the line to the artillery solely on account of his parents and made Instructor. He became Surveyor-General and Commissary-General in turn. He served in the Commissariat Department in the Pindari War, 1817-18, and in Madras; he became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1818. He was the first Madras Officer, since Clive, selected for a seat on the Supreme Council. A junior commissioner with Col. Morison, after the latter's departure he became sole Commissioner. He was adept in disentangling webs of local intrigue and he abhorred and never resorted to espionage, often deploring that European officers should descend to that low level. His intense conservatism was modified by wide reading of the public journals. He generously and kind-heartedly supported subordinate officers of wisdom and practical knowledge.

Cubbon held the post of Commissioner in Mysore for twenty-seven years, governing the province patriarchally but successfully through Indian agency and exercising a profuse hospitality. He was made Lieutenant-General in 1852, C.B. in 1856 and K.C.B. in 1859. He never married or left India until he retired in 1861, after sixty years of service in India. On the way back, he died

at Suez on April 23 and his remains were taken to the Isle of Man for burial, as the greatest man produced by that island for a century.

Cubbon, says Dr. Sastri, found an effete government; an inefficient and unreliable police and army; a mutinous and ill-equipped soldiery; a non-co-operating people and little public opinion. The north-western parts were the danger zone. The unsatisfactory law courts, the disaffected Palegar, the disgruntled Lingayet, the unruly Mahomedan and the Brahmin monopolist had all to be managed in a country where confused accounts and universal corruption held sway. The work was neither impossible nor beyond Cubbon. For, as he admits, Purnaiya, with his judgment, capacity and thorough knowledge of the resources of the country, had been able to improve the finances, pay regularly the subsidy and save over two crores of rupees in a decade. It is, therefore, possible to infer that the settlement of the country except in the far west was easy of accomplishment and that, tired of the uncertainties of a century, people were anxious to settle down to peaceful avocations. They were gravely disturbed by the risings in Nagar and, with the treatment of these symptoms, there was no trouble elsewhere. When the intentions of the government became known, quiet was soon restored. When peace, law and order was secured, introduction of reforms to define the action of government and ensure its stability, efficiency and energy became easy. And it became possible to aid the people to progress morally and materially and to take their legitimate share in the general prosperity of India.

How Cubbon achieved these is explained in Chapter II, pp. 32-133. A disciplined and contented army, a well-organized police, a systematized judiciary and satisfied Palegars were some of the results. As regards inter-communal relations, while old mamools and practices were recognized and kept up, no new ones were introduced, there being no part of the State in which the question was in doubt. The departments of Public Health and Public Instruction were two new creations. Cubbon's work and ideals were characterized by simplicity, publicity, efficiency combined with vigour. Fresh standards of right and wrong, energetic work, sense of duty and responsibility, enhanced scale of pay, calculation and payment of allowances, putting down bribery,

frequent tours and inspections, and reports and returns formed his watch-words. Treasuries were established at headquarters. The responsibility of every officer was fixed and his sphere of duties marked out and officials of merit got honour and reward.

Among the many beneficent measures introduced, mention may be made of the registers, forms and rules with sanction for expenditure prescribed under finance, reduction of assessment, abolition and modifications in the farming of revenues and introduction of a cash basis for batayi, reduction in the number and rate of imposts, tackling of social problems like the prohibition of sati, reforms in jail and prison rules, undertaking of public works which included communications, roads and bridges and large projects like the Marikanave, Simsha and the Hemavati. Under agriculture may be mentioned repair of tanks and irrigation channels, horse breeding, improving the condition of live-stock, researches into Indian Botany, industries relating to coffee, sugarcane, silk, merino, cotton and indigo, sericulture. Ideas of forest conservancy had not been thought of in those days nor the influence of trees on rainfall. Under industries and commerce, which developed in the country enjoying peace and security with roads and communications, in 1855-56, 107,003 maunds of iron were produced of which 42,681 maunds of iron and 3,354 maunds of steel were exported but the export was extinct in 1863-64. The abolition of the Company's leather and timber factories at Hunsur and Seringapatam involved a loss of capital and enterprise to the State as well as the decline of a flourishing industry; while the command of the Supreme Government to admit sea-salt free of duty into Mysore seriously affected the earth-salt manufacture within it, ruining the local producers and affecting the health of the cattle. Cubbon's work as a trustee for the Maharaja and others, which is detailed in p. 125 *et seq.*, won the encomiums of all. His relation with the jaghirs appears justified by subsequent events and it contributed towards their present financial and prosperous position. A main duty cast on him, however, was the liquidation of public debts. J. P. Grant, who was directed to inquire into their nature, assessed the liabilities and they were paid off from the surplus revenues of the State. Both private and Company's debts were paid off to the tune of fifty-seven lakhs of rupees. Dr. Sastri discusses the principles of Cubbon's administration in Chapter III, p. 136:

"Throughout the existence of the British Commission" Mysore was a foreign state outside the Indian administrative system. The impulse to the British intervention had not been annexation but assimilation of standards. It was designed to benefit the Maharaja and his subjects by suspending the connection between the two, but not at all to promote the Company's interests. The Commission was a trust for and on behalf of the Maharaja who was still sovereign of the land. When the Maharaja died in 1868, the treaty lapsed but an instrument of transfer was prepared in 1881 for which a fresh treaty was substituted in 1913 by Lord Hardinge, by which Mysore became an Indian State in alliance with His Majesty. Considerable reforms have since been effected in every branch of the administration by the father and son who have so worthily occupied the Mysore gadi. Assemblies have been constituted for legislative purposes and the Mysore ruler is a most constitutional sovereign of modern days and his State is a pattern for all progressive administrations in the world, as recently observed by Lord Sankey.

Chapter IV deals with the instruments with which Cubbon's work was rendered possible. Chapter V deals with the criticisms levelled against Cubbon's régime. The Maharaja's position appeared to be that of subordinate co-operation. There was satisfactory government which the people wanted and contribution in men and money was forthcoming for the Company's military expenditure. Mysore was thus a partner in a commonwealth and an associate in a common cause, Cubbon as the Raja's representative performing both duties and protecting the interests of the country at large. The Canara rebellion of 1837 and the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 are instances where the wonderful loyalty of the people enabled the administration to render substantial help to the Company. Hence, Rangacharlu considered that the administration was conducted upon practical lines intended to meet actual wants and in accordance with the ideas of the people. He was nevertheless of opinion that great latitude of authority was given to high officials and that there was an absence of feeling and sympathy for the ryots. Dr. Sastri's view is that concentration of authority was necessary to secure efficiency, that a paternal despotism and patriarchal government was wanted, that the danger of the Superintendent and the Amildar being disobeyed had to be safeguarded and that, besides, State documents

were full of the milk of human kindness for the ryot. There might have been steady progress of the administrative reforms in all departments without radical changes in any, as Seshadri Iyer suggested. But it must be pointed out that the abolition of the Panchayets and the decay of the industrial classes were a result of the iron régime, as Shâma Rao says. There was encouragement of sericulture, the coffee industry (which mostly benefited the European planting community) and the sugar industry, but an increasing decline in iron, cotton, earth-salt, indigo, etc. and the loss was greater than the gain. It may be that Cubbon was powerless like Bowring later whose protest regarding encroachment of the financial resources met with a rebuff. Commissioners of Mysore, however, who had nominally little independent authority, were really as uncontrolled as the Czar. We may forget all these little defects in a man of Cubbon's calibre (and many have been pointed by the author, *cf.* pp. 232-33) and remember that a Deccani power became a model Indian State, the best governed Indian province of the nineteenth century.

Cubbon left Mysore full of honours as full of years and his memory is still cherished with affection by the people. As was stated by the Maharaja at the time, "The zeal and ability you have displayed in your administration of the State's affairs, the great improvements you have introduced without changing the native system of administration, the continued prosperity of the country and happiness of the people have been the theme of admiration and praise in everybody's mouth I will only add that you have earned for yourself a world-wide fame, and have enrolled your name with those of the Duke of Wellington and other great statesmen, who by their generous rule and wise policy have established for themselves a name and reputation in the country which can never be obliterated." An equestrian statue by Baron Marocheti erected at Bangalore stands in glorious splendour in front of the Public Offices in the Cubbon Park as a monument of affection and grateful recognition of his work by the people of Mysore.

S.S.

Preliminary Classification of Prehistoric South-Western Basketry

(S. I. Collections, No. 3169.)

BY GENE WELTHISH.

THE author has drawn his materials from well-documented specimens obtained from sites of undoubted importance as well as general and miscellaneous collections. The outstanding Basket Maker types associated are the close coiling with non-interlocking stitches on two-rod-and-bundle-triangular foundation and two-rod-and-reed-triangular foundation, etc. and lead to the inference that the appearance of a distinct Texas type of coiled basketry south of the Lower Rio Grande probably marks the limit of the prehistoric South-Western Area.

S. S.

Maharaja of Mysore's Pilgrimage to Kailasa and Lake Manasa

BY P. S. SRIKANTASASTRI.

(Annas 8.)

THE work is profusely illustrated and well got up. It is a faithful rendering of Dr. N. Rangachar's Diary of the progress of the Royal Party to Kailāsa. Attention may here be invited to an article entitled "A Royal Pilgrimage to Kailasa" in the *Q.J.M.S.* and Mr. Sadeg Z. Shah's entertaining *Journey to Tibet*.

The Age of the Human Race in the Light of Geology

(S. I. Collections, No. 3097.)

BY STEPHEN RICHARZ.

THE author discusses the problem of the antiquity of the world. The date of the exegetical flood mentioned in the Bible was given up long ago and the question at present is: In what geologic period do we find the first unmistakable indications of man's presence? (1) Man was witness of the glaciation in northern and central Europe. (2) Man was in Europe even before the last period of severe cold. (3) Man of the Neanderthal race, living in the first portion of the Old Stone Age, in the cultural stages of the Acheulian and Mousterian, is represented at least by eleven skeletons, of which seven are in good preservation, and by fragmental remains of nineteen individuals. Neanderthal man was

succeeded by quite a different human race which lived in the last part of the Old Stone Age and the glacial period. Fifty-two skeletons of this race are extant as also portions of other skeletons representing about thirty individuals.

At least 13,500 years have passed since Central Scania was freed from ice and the ice border halted a long time, at least 2,000 years, before it melted away. The duration of this stoppage and the time required for the retreat of ice from Northern Germany to Southern Scania has also to be considered. Dr. Geer from these calculations says that 18,000 years ago, the German Provinces of East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg-Strehlitz and the eastern part of Schleswig-Holstein were still covered with mighty ice-sheets. Regarded in the light of the movements of Alpine glaciers and calculated at the rate of one foot per day, it would take about 11,000 years for the ice to travel the distance of 750 miles from its origin in Scandinavia to Northern Germany. Hence, man was certainly in Europe 30,000 years ago, living in a rather warm period preceding the last glaciation, excluding the problem of repeated glaciations and minor oscillations of the ice front.

The geologist gives a longer period for the human race from the following considerations: (a) The rate of movement of the advancing ice was less; (b) the melting of the ice during its advance has been neglected; (c) how long was man living in a genial climate before the temperature dropped to such a level that the ice started its advance to the South has not been considered; (d) if the inter-glacial period preceding the last glaciation lasted much longer than the post-glacial period which had a duration of 10,000 years for Northern Germany and if man was already in Europe at the beginning of the last inter-glacial, then many thousands of years have to be added to the above figure; and (e) the cradle of mankind was hardly in Europe. How long did man live elsewhere before his migration to Europe? The more recent discoveries of the Java and the Peking skulls have added largely to our knowledge of the subject. Geological and palæontological evidence seems to indicate a very high age to the *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* and as that dates back to the lower quaternary, the figures for the absolute age of man rise considerably. Man was then undoubtedly in Europe 30,000 years ago, even if he were not elsewhere much earlier still,

The Indian Caste System

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

(Bangalore Press: Price, Annas 4.)

THE author has reprinted, in book-form, his several essays on Indian Caste System originally contributed to the *Mysore Economic Journal*. The relationship of caste to race; the theories as to its origin, the original Indian and the recent European ones; and some of the effects of the caste as a socio-religious system are touched upon in this interesting pamphlet. In his edition of the *Mysore Gazetteer*, also, the author has considered these matters in great detail and yet, as he says, unless and until a scientific and critical study of the Sanskrit and Vernacular literature of the country is undertaken, nothing final can be said. It is not possible to assert, with any certainty, the extent to which the Aryans, the Rajas, or the Moghuls (in later times) claimed and exercised the right of promoting and degrading members of the various castes or state the areas and the communities within which there was such wide-spread miscegenation as to influence their entire future. The innate conservatism of the castes forcing them to cling to principles of endogamy and exogamy so rigidly laid down by tradition is another factor whose effect has properly to be valued. Application of generalizations, drawn from stray instances and inferences from the observances of particular castes or particular families, to other castes or different families is another danger to be guarded against. Regional considerations again play an important part in these matters and conclusions and inferences vary with altitude and climate. Nevertheless, even bearing all these in mind and interpreting the past with our present-day trends and tendencies, we can safely assert that from the dawn of history in India kings donned a mighty rôle in promoting social intercourse and in relaxing the rigidity of caste. Dissenting creeds and new religious beliefs also helped them. These are referred to and summarised in Chapter II. The break-up of Vijayanagara, like that of the Chola Kingdom before, tightened and strengthened instead of relaxing the bonds of caste; and Brahman expounders of law and usage lost the services of the court authority to which they were long accustomed to look for sanctioning a necessary change in religious or social matters.

S. S.

Two Centuries of Wadiyar Rule (1565-1761), Part I

BY N. SUBBA RAO.

THIS is a Kannada rendering of the articles on the same subject in the *Q.J.M.S.* The writer had opportunities of examining the original documents of which he has taken full advantage. This brochure deals with the polity of the Mysore Wadiyars in a clear and instructive manner.

S. S.

Sakalavaidya Samhitasararnavam by Virarajendra, Vol. I

EDITED BY D. SRINIVASACHAR AND D. L. NARASIMHACHAR.

*(Oriental Library Publications of the University of Mysore.**Kannada Series, No. 19.**Printed at the Government Branch Press, Mysore.**Price, Re. 1-14-0.)*

THE work belongs to the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The author was a ruler of Kalale and his descendants filled high positions under the Mysore Kings in the succeeding centuries. The book deals with many ailments to which human flesh is heir. It deserves scrutiny by the members of the medical profession belonging to the several systems.

The C. S. S. Review for December, 1932

THIS is a Special Christmas Number published by the Christ Seva Sangham, Poona. W. A. Brown writing about 'What India owes to Christ' says that admittedly there was a certain quality in the life of the Christian Colleges in India that it was difficult to put into words but which made their influence in character-building of central importance.

Report on Archæological Research in the Foothills
of the Pyrenees

BY J. T. RUSSELL.

*(Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 87, No. 11,**Pub. No. 3174.)*

THIS refers to the find of a Triton Shell in a Palæolithic level, indicating wide migrations or trade contacts of the Palæolithic hunters, provided the species existed in those seas during

Quaternary times and suggesting that these hunters travelled or had contacts farther afield than had been previously considered possible.

**Archæological Reports of the Travancore State
for 1105 and 1106 M.E.**

ATTENTION may be drawn to the highly specialized variety of hand gestures (mudras) and poses of the body and limbs in the art of pantomime in Kerala. Twenty-four of the mudras in *Kathakali*, *Bharata Sastram*, etc., are given, (1) Patāka, (2) Tripatāka, (3) Karttarimukham, (4) Ardachandram, (5) Arālam, (6) Sukatundam, (7) Musti, (8) Sikharam, (9) Kapittham, (10) Katakāmukham, (11) Suchīmukham, (12) Mudra, (13) Sarpasirassu, (14) Mrigasīrsham, (15) Añjali, (16) Pallavam, (17) Mukuram, (18) Bhramaram, (19) Hamsāsyaam, (20) Hamsapaksham, (21) Vardhamānam, (22) Mukulam, (23) Ūruanābham, (24) Katakam. We look forward, with great interest, to the note on ritual and worship in Kerala temples promised by Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, the Superintendent.

The Śuṇḍindram temple, the Parthenon of the State, and the greatest ancient monument there, has sculptural representations drawn from Hindu myth and legend, suggesting deep spirituality and the abstraction of a super-terrestrial sphere.

S. S.

A. Studies in Cola History and Administration

BY K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

(*University of Madras, Historical Series, No. 7, 1932.*)

B. Mauryan Polity

BY V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

(*University of Madras, Historical Series, No. 8, 1932.*)

A

THE pioneer work of Venkayya and others was carried further by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and now Mr. Nilakantasastri has published the work before us. As he says, nowhere in India do we get a sober and realistic picture of contemporary life as in *Puṇānūru*, while the inferences it affords for reconstructing the history of South India are substantial. Mr. Sastri, in considering in

detail the date for Karikāla, is of the opinion that several events described in the eleventh century inscriptions must have happened at least five centuries previously and prefers the Puṇanānūṟu version to the late legends of the Eastern Chalukya and Telugu Cōḍa grants. Venkayya and P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar naturally therefore come in for a great deal of criticism in their attempts to fix the date of Karikāla basing their inferences on antiquated views and wrong premises. The author further discredits the efforts made to discover common ground between the early Tamil literature of the Sangham period and the late Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions as the attempt to resuscitate legends so decisively rejected by the older epigraphists like Fleet and Hultzsch is no forward step in the reconstruction of early South Indian History. We should take a warning inasmuch as in Indian conditions history has too often a tendency to degenerate quickly into mythology and as historians may be led to take legend for history because of its connection with a name of undoubted historic authenticity.

Particular attention may be drawn to the author's account of moral life and administration in Cōḷa times which gives adequate reasons for the vitality of village institutions in India, and he furnishes once more a general survey of Cōḷa administration from Uttaramērūr of Pārantaka. We welcome this addition to the existing literature on Cōḷa history.

B

No. 8 in the Series is the *Mauryan Polity* by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. Purāṇas, contemporary literature, Aśoka's inscriptions and gleanings from classical writers have furnished the sources of information for five lectures delivered at the University in 1929-30, which have now been elaborated and published in book-form. The author believes the extant *Arthaśāstra* to be the accredited work of the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya and thinks that it is largely followed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Chapters on the central and provincial administrations and on local governments form instructive reading. From a critical study of the relevant inscriptions, Dikshitar believes that neither was Aśoka a Buddhist nor Chandragupta a Jain. Who then is that Chandragupta referred to in the Sravaṇabelagoḷa inscriptions? Can we say that

Chandragupta and Bhadrabahu Srutakevali of these records are different individuals? A theory is postulated to show that the edicts of Aśoka are not essentially religious in tone and character, as they contain data affording a reconstruction of the political history of this great monarch and his predecessors. From this viewpoint and with fresh interpretations and suggestions for different terms and passages of the edicts, Dikshitar endeavours to describe the character of the government of the time, whose constitution was a benevolent form of monarchy with democratic institutions, almost modern in character. Incidentally, he regards Bhāsa to have been prior to Kauṭalya, in fixing the date of whose work astronomical evidence has also been canvassed (Book II, Chap. XX of the *Arthaśāstra*). "In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king: it is no happiness or welfare to the king which is not the happiness or welfare of the people at large." The character of the Mauryan Empire approximated to the triple ends of a State advocated by von Holtzendorff: der nationale Machtzweck, der individuelle Rechtszweck and der gesellschaftliche Culturzweck.

S. S.

Pralaya Tandava

BY G. VASUDEVA RAO.

(*Printers. Modi Power Printing Works.*)

THIS is a collection of three poems published with an introductory note by Prof. B. M. Srikantia. The descriptive sketches are good, the metre is entertaining and the subject-matter is furnished by the forms of Isvara himself.

1. The Death of Socrates

BY S. G. SASTRI.

2. Buddhist Pilgrims from China

BY G. P. RAJARATNAM.

(*Publications of the Karnataka Sangha, Central College, Bangalore.*)

THE authors of these interesting works are well known to the Kannada-reading public. Mr. S. G. Sastri has translated the 'Death of Socrates' by Lawrence Houseman and incidentally served to remind us that Socrates was the father of freedom of thought,

Freedom is a noble thing and to it "stone walls do not a prison make nor iron bars a cage". As Sir Walter Scott has delineated in the character of the splendid gipsy, even where a man is arrested and put in prison, his 'boasted' freedom lies in his thoughts. Advantage has also been taken in this work of utilizing the great knowledge of Mr. D. V. Gundappa and of securing his services for an excellent Kannada account of the life of Socrates and the condition of Greece during the period.

Mr. G. P. Rajaratnam's book is equally meritorious and historically of great value to Kannada readers. Works on the travels of Fa Hien, Sangyun, Hientsiang and It-Sing are found in English but not so far in our vernacular. A concise account of Buddhism is given as an appendix.

Both these will be valuable acquisitions to the vernacular literature of the country.

Upadesa Sahasri of Sri Sankara

BY Y. SUBBA RAO.

(Adhyatma Granthavali Series. Printed at the Adhyatma Prakasa Mudranalaya, Chamarajapet, Bangalore City and Published by G. D. Rachappa.)

MR. Y. SUBBA RAO, in his prefatory note, considers that the poetical portion of the work was that of Śankara as his disciple Sureśvarācārya himself so asserts. As regards the prose portion, Vedanta Desika no doubt ascribes it to Śankara but that cannot be taken as sufficient testimony as he lived several years after Śankara.

Another circumstance that gives colour to this is that the exposition of this work is quite in keeping with the views of Śankara as expressed in his other writings. The author has established this recension by a critical examination of the two editions of the work already published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, and the Oriental Library, Mysore. He has copiously quoted from Mr. K. A. Krishnaswami Iyer's "Vedanta or the Science of Reality". He has throughout the work tried to assert that there is no Mūlāvidya, a matter on which, however, philosophers widely differ. The book comprises three prakaraṇas, (1) Śiṣya-pratibodhana Vidhi, (2) Kūṭasthādvayātma Bodha, and (3) Asaṅgatmaparisaṅkhyana. Summaries of the prakaraṇas and appendices giving

bibliography and word index enhance the usefulness of this valuable work. It is a welcome addition to Kannada literature.

S. S.

String Figures from Gujarat and Kathiawar

BY JAMES HORNELL, F.L.S., F.R.A.S.

(*Mem. Asiatic Society, Bengal, XI, No. 4, pp. 147-164. Rs. 1-2-0.*)

THIS is the first successful attempt to collect string names of "cat's cradles" from Indian sources. Tabulation of the objects represented in this game shows that none is of any complete or flowering plant. Natural features of the landscape and countryside and celestial bodies and mythological subjects are not at all represented and features of zoological interest are rare. The geographical distribution of these games is not confined to India and most of these are also common to Africa.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of

H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1927-28 A.C.

(*Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press.*)

THE inscription from Jainad (*cf.* Report for 1925-26 A.C.) was deciphered and found to relate to the foundation of a temple of the Sun called Nimvāditya, by Padmāvati, the queen of Arjuna, who was born in the Dahima family and was the subordinate and favourite of the Paramāra King Udayāditya.

A number of interesting plates *re.* the frescoe paintings of Ellora are included in the Report under review with an account of them in the Appendix by G. Yazdani. Our attention is further drawn to the fact that besides at Ellora and Ajanta, frescoes are found at Pillalmari, 3 miles N.-E. of Surayyapet of the Nalgonda District, and at Anagondi (Hampe Ruins). The fresco at Anagondi represents nine female acrobats who have arranged themselves into the form of an elephant and the subject is painted on the ceiling of a ruined temple built outside the present village near the ferry. From the undated inscription there, the painting probably belongs to the fifteenth century. Fresco work has recently been discovered elsewhere and we trust it will not be long before a connected and descriptive account, in relation to chronology and development, is published for the benefit of the public.

S. S.

**Bibliography of Indo-Moslem History excluding
Provincial Monarchies**

BY MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.

(*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 45.*

Price Rs. 1-10-0.)

A PERUSAL of the list shows few indigenous writings prior to the advent of the Mughals into India, partly due to the fact that they have disappeared and were but few. Babar, Humayun, Akbar and Jehangir had memoirs of their work written either by themselves or others. They later gave place to annals of their reigns and chronicles either under official auspices or private authors and historians. These would serve as an invaluable storehouse of information to research scholars, if adequately published.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1930

(*Kern Institute, Leyden.*)

AMONGST other matters dealt with in this important work of reference, attention may be drawn to the excavations into the site of Nagarjunikoṇḍa, Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, in India and a pre-Angkor monument at Angkor in Cambodia as well as the study of Buddhist archæology frescoes of Sittanavāsāl.

South Indian Epigraphy—Annual Report for 1930

(*Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras.*

Rs. 4-14-0.)

MR. K. V. SUBRAHMANYA IYER has been able to verify and correct the view of Krishna Sastri that the introduction Pūmalar-tiruvum belonged to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, from the torn inscriptions of a Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya collected during the year. He refers to No. 291 from Aḷagarmalai which states that at the request of his māmadi (uncle) Hoysaḷa Vira-Sōmēśvara, the Pāṇḍya King Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya ordered the assignment of the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr in Kēraḷa-śinga-vaḷanādu to the temple of Tirumāḷirujōlai niṇṇaruḷiya-Parameśvāmin, for conducting the Vira-Sōmēśvara-Śandi-instituted in it by the Hoysaḷa King. This order having been issued in the eighth year and 988th day (*i.e.*, the eleventh year) of

the Pāṇḍya king's reign would be about A.D. 1249 and not A.D. 1228, and the absence of reference in these inscriptions to the conquest of the Chōḷa country are relied on.

The first lithic record giving the specific information about the original place of residence of the Nayaks of Madura is noticed. They came from Kāñchī (*cf.* No. 255, dated S. 1488) and this is confirmed from other sources (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 330).

Baroda State Museum and Picture Galleries

A DESCRIPTIVE guide to the Baroda museum and picture galleries gives very interesting information, and several pamphlets relating to early Indian coins, Muhammadan coins, coins of the Gaekwads of Baroda, and Moghul coins, have been published. Of the early Indian coins, mention may be made of the following: Eukratides, Heliokles and Atellodotus amongst the Bactrians and Indo-Greeks, Arsaces VI and Arsaces XII of the Indo-Parthian dynasties, Kadphises II and Huvishka amongst the Kushans, Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I of the Guptas, Nahapana, Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, Simhasena and Valabhi amongst the western Satraps and punch-marked coins. Amongst the Moghul coins, it is interesting to observe that there are a few gold ones minted at Agra and containing the figures of Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Leo, Sagittarius and Pisces. Tavernier tells us that he saw the zodiac represented in the coins of Jehangir issued on a particular occasion and gives the diagrams. They are also referred to amongst the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society and it is to be hoped that it will be possible to secure a representative of each sign of the zodiac for preservation in the Numismatics Section of the Baroda Museum.

S. S.

Jatakaparijata

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY V. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, B.A.

(Printed at M.B.D. Electric Printing Works, Bangalore City.

Price Rs. 7.)

MR. V. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI is a well-known translator of such standard works on Astrology as Brhat Jātaka and Śrīpati-paddhati. The authorship of the present book is ascribed to

Vaidyanātha Dikṣita whom Keśava Daivajña, author of Muhūrta-Tattva, acknowledges as his Guru. The book is said to contain all that is valuable in Garga Samhita, Parāśara Samhita, Sārāvaḥ and the like.

Mr. Sastri has given an English translation with explanatory notes for each verse in this voluminous work of nine adhyāyas. This is a second edition and it is a great improvement on the first. The descriptive contents answer the double purpose of a table of contents and a subject index. A chart of valuable information arranged within a circle round the figure of Kāla-puruṣa is an interesting feature.

No astrological library and no student of that science can be without this book.

S. S.

Geography of Early Buddhism

BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

(Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.)

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, to whom the public is obliged for many valuable publications on Buddhistic matters, has assembled together, in this handy and well-got-up book, all available geographical and topographical information under the well-known heads of the five Indies—Majjhimadesa, Uttarāpatha, Aparāntaka, Dakkhināpatha and Prācya. Under each division, the author gives its boundaries and treats of the sub-divisions, with their towns and villages; rivers and lakes and hills and caves. He also furnishes, in another chapter, similar information regarding Ceylon, Burma and other extra-India countries. The appendix on Cetiya is an instructive feature.

This treatise is bound to serve a most useful purpose, which is enhanced by a comprehensive index and detailed references to authorities, both in the body of the book and as foot-notes.

N. I.

Dutavakyam.

TRANSLATED BY H. L. HARIAPPA, M.A.

(Published by the Intermediate College Union, Bangalore.)

MR. HARIAPPA has, in this work, closely followed Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstri's Trivandrum edition of the play. As an accomplished playwright, Bhāsa has drawn much from his

imagination, though he has presumably based it on the episode of that name in the Mahābhārata which chronicles Śrī Kṛṣṇa's embassy to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's court on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas. As regards the date of Bhāsa, a much-discussed problem, there is no reference in this book since the translator has referred to it elsewhere (*cf.* *Q.J.M.S.*, his article on "Pratijñā Yaugandharāyaṇa"). Mr. V. R. Dikshitar seems to consider that Bhāsa was earlier than Kauṭilya as the playwright is referred to by that statesman.

The language is unexceptionable and the letterpress and get up of the book are attractive.

S. S.

Astavakra Gita

(Translated into English by Swami Nityasvarupananda,
Ramakrishna Mission, Mysore.)

THIS is a dialogue between Janaka Mahārāja and Aṣṭāvakra Mahārṣi and embodies the latter's teachings whereby the king attained Mukti while discharging his onerous duties. Janaka was a Jīvanmukta aptly answering the description given in this Gīta, *viz.*,

अतद्वादीव कुरुते न भवेदपि बालिशः ।

जीवन्मुक्तः सुखी श्रीमान् संसरन्नपि शोभते ॥

This excellent work has been dedicated to the Rājārṣi of India (His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore) whose detachment may be referred to in the words of Aṣṭāvakra himself:

भिक्षुर्वा भूपतिर्वापि निष्कामः स शोभते ।

भावेषु गलिता यस्य शोभनाशोभनामतिः ॥

N. I.

A True Interpretation of Vedic Sacrifice

BY SRIMUṢHNA NARASIMHACHARYA, B.A.

(Printed at the Kandan Press, Broadway, Madras. Price Re. 1-0-0.)

THE author claims to have found the golden key to a true interpretation of the Vedas, so far wrongly understood and incorrectly expounded, in the significance of sacrifices which, in his view, are only anatomical analyses and physiological functions and which all Vedic scholars from Śāyana to Macdonnell and Keith have failed to discern. In support of this, he gives extracts

from the descriptions of the various sacrifices in the Vedas. An examination of the originals referred to by him shows that analogies have been confounded with facts and that the excerpts themselves have been so extracted by him as to give a meaning not warranted by the context. It may be that the Vedic Ṛṣis had a peculiar fascination for comparing the sacrificial rituals with natural phenomena on the one hand and physiological functions on the other, but that is no justification for characterizing the Vedas as either physical science or biology. This attempt of the author reminds us of Vasant G. Rele's exposition of the Bhagavad Gīta and his theory that Vedic gods are figures of biology, a suggestion which is as ingenious as it is fanciful. We cannot get away from the facts that the Saṃhitas treat of hymns, the Brāhmanas of rituals and the Upaniṣads of philosophy. Nor can it be denied that Vedic Ṛṣis were at first naturalists and became gradually pantheists, polytheists and monotheists. It is surprising that terms occurring in 'Soma sacrifice' have been identified by the author with parts of the human body, *e.g.*, "Aindra-Vayugraha" is alimentary canal; "Samya" are ribs; "Upabhrīt" is brain; "Agrayana" is aorta; "Maitravaruna graha" is spinal column and so on.

N. I.

Karnataka Kavirajamargam

EDITED BY A. VENKATA RAO, B.A., L.T.

AND

PANDIT H. SESA AİYANGAR.

(*University Oriental Research Institute, Madras, 1930.*)

(*Price Rs. 1-8-0.*)

THIS is the oldest known Kannada work, which the late Mr. K. B. Pathak edited in 1898 for the Bibliotheca Carnatica Series, published under the direction of Mr. Lewis Rice. Thirty-five years after, *i.e.* in 1933, it still retains that unique distinction and a second edition of the classic, under the auspices of the Madras University, is eagerly to be welcomed by all students of Old Kannada Literature.

In the present edition, the transliterated text in Roman characters is omitted and the room thus found is well utilized for appendices comparing the names of figures of speech in Nripatunga,

Daṇḍi and Bhāmaha, and supplying the Sanskrit originals from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍi which have been translated in *Kavirajamarga*. Another appendix collates passages quoted or adapted in Nagavarma's *Chandambudhi*, Kesiraja's *Sabdamani Darpana*, Bhattakalanka's *Sabdanusasana*, and Nagavarma's *Kavyavalokana*. Others deal with passages proving the author a Jain, and a few *Bandhas* illustrating the text. An alphabetical index of stanzas and a running analysis of the contents and suitable headings are also provided, for which the critical reader is duly thankful. The corrigenda cover eight pages and the different readings are given at the end in two lists and not at the foot of each page of the text. There is, however, no reference in the text to suggest that there are these readings to consider.

It is not clear from the remarks on page xxiv of the preface regarding the MSS. whether the editors had before them any additional MSS. besides those on which Mr. Pathak's edition was based. The present editors have evidently followed one of the MSS. instead of making up the text from the best readings available.

In the very first stanza, the reading is thus left unsatisfactory, the sense of the sentence being quite incomplete :

ಶ್ರೀ ತಲ್ಲು ರಡೂಳ್ ಕೌಸ್ತುಭ ।
 ಜಾತದ್ಭುತಿ ಬಳಸಿ ಕಾಂಡವಟದಂತಿರೆ ಸಂ ॥
 ಪ್ರೀತಿಯಿನಾವಗಮಗಲ್ ॥
 ನೀತಿ ನಿರಂತರನುದಾರನಾ ನೃಪತುಂಗಂ ॥

Surely, Mr. Pathak's reading of the third line, based on another MS. should have been adopted—

... ಅವನನಗಲ್.

This is also observable in the following :—

(i) P. 5, st. 21—

ಕಾವ್ಯಸ್ವೀಕರಣೋದ್ಯುಕ್ತನಕ್ಕೆ should, we think, read ಕಾವ್ಯಶ್ರೀ

(ii) P. 8, st. 39—

For ಕಿಞ್ಜಿವಕ್ಕಳ್ ಮಾಮೂಗರಂ, read ಕಿಞ್ಜಿವಕ್ಕಳ್ಳುಮಾ

(iii) P. 15, st. 72—

ಕೇಡಡಸಿದಂದು ಬಗೆಯಂ
 ಮಾಡದು.

This should be ಕೇಡಡಸಿದ್ದಂದು ಬಗೆಯಂ ಕೂಡದು, as is clear from the sense and from the reading in st. 74. .

(iv) P. 19, st. 91—

ತತ್ಸೇವನೆಯಿಂ should, we believe, be ತತ್ಸೇವನೆಯಂ, which preserves the dosham exemplified, the wrong collocation of words and phrases.

(v) P. 23, st. 114, lines 3-4—

ವಚನಮೇಳ ಬಹು ಕೃಮದಿಂದೆರಚಿತಿ ||

ಕೃಮಯೆ ಪೇಟಿತಿಂ ||

Here ತೇಟಿಕ್ಕೆ is clearly an error for ತೇಟಿತ್ತು. Read ಎರಚಿತಿ || ತೃಮಯೆ

(vi) P. 26, st. 128, line 3—

ಅದಿರ್ಪಿಬಾ (ರದೆ) |

ಪೋದೆ (ನಾಯೆ)ಡೆಯೊಳ(ಂ) ||

Here is an attempt at emendation which sacrifices the metre and misses the point of the illustration.

Mr. Pathak has—

ಅ . ಪಿ . ಬಾ |

ರದೆ ಪೋದೆಡೆಯೊಳ ||

which seems to be nearer the text. This is an interesting stanza and we shall give the readings of the two editions and our own suggestion.

Mr. Pathak—

ಸಾದುಗೆತ್ತು ಬಗೆಯಾದವನಾನೋಡಲಿಟ್ಟಿದೇ
ನಾದ ಮಾನು ಮುಟಿಮಾನಸನಾಗದೆ ಮಾಳದೊಳ
ಮೋದದಾನುವ ಸೀರೆಗೆಮೆನ್ನ ನ . ಪಿ . ಬಾ
ರದೆ ಪೋದೆಡೆಯೊಳ ತಡೆದಾನವನಂದವೆಂ.

Messrs. Venkata Rao & Sessa Aiyangar—

ಸಾದುಗೆತ್ತು ಬಗೆಯಾದವನಾನೋಡನಟ್ಟಿದೇ
ನಾದಮಾನುಮುಟಿಮಾನಸನಾಗದೆ ಮಾಳದೊಳ
ಮೋದದಿಂ ನುಡುವ ಸೀರೆಗೆ ಮೆನ್ನ ನದಿರ್ಪಿ ಬಾ(ರದೆ)
ಪೋದೆ (ನಾಯೆ) ಡೆಯೊಳ (ಂ) ತಡೆದಾನವನಂದವಂ.

The true reading probably is—

ಸಾದುಗೆತ್ತು ಬಗೆಯಾದವನಾನೋಡನಟ್ಟಿದೇ
ನಾದಮಾನುಮುಟಿಮಾನಸನಾಗದೆ ಮಾಳದೊಳ
ಮೋದದಾನುಡುವ ಸೀರೆಗೆಮೆನ್ನ ನದಿರ್ಪಿ ಬಾ
ರದೆ ಪೋದೆಡೆಯೊಳ ತಡೆದಾನವನಂದವೆಂ.

It is apparently thought that no quotations from previous literature are to be found in this work (Preface, p. 22), the quotations under prasa, etc., being interpolations (foot note, p. 22).

¹ A. ನೋಡ. ² A. & C. ನಟ್ಟಿದೇ.

But it has to be noticed that one merit in Kannada Lakshana-granthas is a careful and meticulous use of quotations from older writers by way of illustrations to rules and "Nripatunga", whoever he is, is no exception. In the stanza under reference, the writer is giving an instance of one of two errors mentioned in st. 127; that of using a Guru where a Laghu ought to be, and *vice versa*. In st. 128 he gives examples of ಗೌರವ ದೋಷ, making a syllable long where it should be short. These are: ಬಗೆಯಾದೆ for ಬಗೆಯದೆ, ಅವನಾನ್ for ಅವನನ್, ಅಟ್ಟಿದೇನ್ for ಅಟ್ಟಿದನ್, ಬಾರಾದೆ (the true reading, which satisfies the metre) for ಬಾರದೆ (which is the corrupt reading, apparently corrected by a copyist), ತಡೆದಾನ್ for ತಡೆದನ್. These, especially the negative forms of the verb, are taken even by the author of *Kavirajamarga* as errors, and as objectionable, when really the negative forms were the older forms found in inscriptions and nearer the Tamil forms which still persist to our own days. The older form in the accusative is noted by Kesiraja : Sutra 118, example: ತನತ್ತು ಬಿಲ್ವಾ ನದನಂತೆ ಕಿಸುಮಂ. (Kittel, p. 143. Parishad, p. 103. Nripatunga himself in II. 15, 16, 17, 362. See also II. 104, p. 54.) That of the first person singular verb occurs in *Kabbigarakava* of Andayya—

ತನಿವಣ್ಣಂ ಲಂಚಂ ಮೀವೆಂ ಪುರುಳಿ ಮೆಲಿಕ್ಕಿಗೆಯಂ ಮಾಣದೆಂದುಂ | ನಿನಗೀವೇನಂಚೆ (st. 318)—corrected in a MS. into ಈವೆಂಪಂಸೆ—but recorded by Bhattakalanka under Sutra 442. ಎನೋಧೀರ್ಘಮಸಿ ಕೇಚಿದಿಷ್ಟಂಚಿ : ತನಿವಣ್ಣಂ ನಿನಗೀವೇನಂಚೆ The negative form of the verb with the long *ಅ* however, seems to have become obsolete early. A curious trace of this is preserved in Kesiraja : (one wishes the full stanza had been kept intact) Sutra 61 Kittel (p. 70; Parishad, pp. 48, 49). ಬಗೆವೊಡ ಮಿಸಿಸಿನಿಸಿರ ಅದೆ. ಇರ ಅದೆ, ಇರಾದೆ, ಇರದೆ. It is not obviously possible to go further into this question in the course of a review.

(vii) P. 30, st. 145, ಪ್ರತಿಜ್ಞೆಯನೆತಿರ್ದು should perhaps be ತೀರ್ಚು.

(viii) P. 36, st. 19, line 4, ಓಸರಿಸುವುದು should be ಓಸರಿಸುವುದು.

Similarly, p. 42, st. 48, line 3, ಒಂದೊದರೊಳ್ should be ಒಂದೊದರೊಳ್ and p. 60, st. 145. ನೀಟ್ಟು should be ನೀಳ್.

These have not been corrected in the corrigenda and we regret to say that we have noticed similar slips regarding ಟಿ & ಟಿ in the editions of *Sāntipurāṇa* and *Rasa Ratnākara*.

(ix) P. 38, st. 26, line 3. ಪುಲ್ಕಿ should be ಬಲಿ.

(x) P. 42, st. 46, line 2, for ತಪಿಸಲಾಗಂ read ತಪಿಸಲಾಗಂ.

- (xi) P. 44, st. 55, line 4, ತದ್ವವದೊಳ್, we suspect the correct reading is ತದ್ವಯದೊಳ್. Cp. Stanza 51 above and 60 below. This is a phrase which the editors have also pressed into service for their theory about the author and nature of *Kavirajamarga*, p. viii.
- (xii) P. 52, st. 99, line 4, ಪ್ರಶಾಂತವಿಂ should clearly be ಪ್ರಶಾಂತದಾ.
- (xiii) P. 53, st. 104, line 2, ಅನಂತಸುಖ is surely ಅನಂಗಸುಖ. See st. 106, line 2.
- (xiv) P. 62, st. 155, line 4, should not ಅಯ್ದವರಿಂ be ಅಯ್ದವಜಿಂ ?
- (xv) Do. line 4, ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಪ್ರಭಾತಮುದಮಂ. This is an important passage on which the authorship of the work has been discussed, but the editors quote this in their preface as ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಪ್ರಭಾತಮನಿದಂ (p. ix). Again, their reading of ಕ[ವೀಶ್ವರಂ] calls for explanation, as Mr. Pathak reads ಕವೀಶ್ವರಂ without any readings from MSS.
- (xvi) P. 89, st. 133, line 2, ನುಡಿವುತ್ತಿರಿಂ should be ನುಡಿಯುತ್ತಿರಿಂ.
- (xvii) P. 90, st. 134, line 1, ಕಳಿದಿಯನುಭಿಮತ should be ಕಳಿದಿಯನುಭಿಮತ
- (xviii) Pp. 109-110, stanzas 232-236. We agree with the foot note that these are either displaced from Chapter II or interpolated. They should be omitted from the present place. The remark in prose “ಈನಾಲ್ಕುಂ ಬೇಟೆ ಅನ್ಯಮಾರ್ಗಲಕ್ಷಣಂ” seems to imply that these have been interpolated from another work on rhetoric or prosody. No such prose sentence occurs in the body of the work elsewhere.

Into the vexed question of the authorship of *Kavirajamargam* we do not propose to go at any length, but refer the interested reader to the arguments and counter-arguments, involved interpretations and mistaken identities, clever inferences and tangle of surmises contained in (1) the Introduction to “*Kavirajamarga*” by Mr. Pathak (1898), (2) two articles on Amoghavarsha I as a patron of literature (p. 197) and Kavisvara’s *Kavirajamarga* (p. 258) in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, (3) the discussion under *Kavirajamarga* by the profound veteran scholar Rao Bahadur Prakthanavimarsa Vichakshana R. Narasimhachar in his *Kavicharite*, Vol. I (1907, see p. 19, Revised Edition, 1924), (4) the article ಕವಿರಾಜಮಾರ್ಗಗ್ರಂಥದ ಕರ್ತೃವು ಯಾರು ? by Sriman Narayana Srinivasa Rajapurohit in *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrike* Vol. VI, (1921-22) pp. 96-113, and (5) ಪತ್ಯವ್ಯವಹಾರ pp. 63-68 and

266-294, the last by Professor T. S. Venkannaiya in which the whole question is thrashed out carefully with all the materials available and the conclusion is arrived at that Sri Vijaya is the author. Briefly stated, the results are that Messrs. Rice, Pathak and Rajapurohit are for Nripatunga, Dr. Fleet for Kavisvara, and Professors T. S. Venkannaiya and A. R. Krishna Sastry for Sri Vijaya, a court-poet of Nripatunga.

The present editors have a thesis of their own, compounded of all these views. It is that Sri Vijaya wrote a *Kavimargam* (according to Durgasimha), and that his disciple Kavisvara adapted the work, added some stanzas and illustrations and called it *Kavirajamargam* and ascribed it to his royal patron Nripatunga. We have carefully scrutinised every argument advanced in the preface and must frankly confess that they are not convincing. No fresh or reliable evidence of any kind is adduced, but assumptions are freely made in support of an arbitrary conclusion reached by them.

For there is no evidence for the assumption that Sri Vijaya was the Guru of Kavisvara (ix, xi) or that Ponna refers to Kavisvara in his gibe at poetasters who make a re-hash of other's works—"ಎನೆಯದೆ ಪೂಟ್ಟು ಕೆಟ್ಟ ಪಟಗಟ್ಟುಮನಾವಗಮೆಮ್ಮವೆಂದು ಬಾಜಿಸಿ ಪೆಜರ್ಗತ್ತು" (xviii). And if Sri Vijaya's work was not current and was buried and lost, how did Durgasimha and Kesiraja know the work? If it was current and well known, how dare Kavisvara offer this stale dish to his imperial patron as his work and even try to pass it off as the emperor's own production? And was Sri Vijaya a contemporary of Nripatunga? (vii) and did he write a panegyric on Nripatunga? (vii). Do the phrases ವರಮ ಕವೀಶ್ವರ, ಅಕ್ಕ ತಕಾಚಾರ್ಯವರ, ವರಮಕವಿವೃಷಭರ್ಷ, in their context refer to poets in general or to Sri Vijaya only? (viii). How can ತವ in ತದ್ವ ವದೊಳ refer to "ಆ ಕವಿ-ಮಾರ್ಗ" (viii). Are we sure of the reading? Why is the last line of the last stanza of the second pariccheda misquoted as "ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಪ್ರಭೂತ ಮನಿದಂ ? (ಮುದಮಂ) ತನಗಾಗಿಸಿದೂಂ ಕವೀಶ್ವರಂ" ? (ix). Kesiraja gives the names of a number of celebrated poets as sources of his ಅಕ್ಷೃ's and adds there are other famous poets he has quoted. One such is Ranna, another Nagavarma and yet another may be Nripatunga. He is not mentioning Lakshanikas at all but poets and Sri Vijaya may have been mentioned here for his *Chandraprabhapurana*. The argument from silence (vi) is not a convincing one. Durgasimha's phrase ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯರ ಕವಿಮಾರ್ಗಂ may

refer to his poetic manner and style, and not to any work on ಮೂರ್ಗ. Seeing that we have not got this “ಕವಿಮೂರ್ಗ” the exact process of adaptation detailed on p. xi would be a very fascinating study indeed. On pp. xiv-xv, we are treated to speculations as to Nripatunga's mastery of the Kannada language, his disquisitions on the Alankaras to court pandits and the possibility of a Sanskrit work by him called “Nripatungadevamarga” “ಇರಬಹುದು ಇರಬಹುದು ಇರಬಹುದು” . “ಅದರ ಈ ಊಹೆಗೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ಅಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಬಲ ಕಾರಣಗಳು ದೊರೆತಿಲ್ಲ” (xv).

In the absence of real evidence or even of definite clues, we are not inclined to speculate in the matter of authorship but after reading all the literature on the subject we cannot help feeling that “Kavisvara” is a mere phantom and Durgasimha's ‘ಕವಿ ಮೂರ್ಗಂ’ a delusive phrase. Sri Vijaya seems to be the only true begetter, if even he does not someday dissolve into a title of Nripatunga, the Parama Sarasvati Tirthavatara and author of *Prasnotharamalika*. *Kavirajamarga* is not a wonderful masterpiece in either matter or style, and there have been royal authors enow in the world's history and Indian annals before. Tradition and Bhattakalanka may yet stand justified when better MSS. without gaps at a decisive place (III. 217-230) are forthcoming.

S.

Zoological Survey of India. Bulletin No. I

(Price Rs. 1-12-0. Director, Zoological Survey of India, Calcutta.)

WE congratulate Messrs. B. S. Guha and P. C. Basu on the excellent anthropological information which they have furnished in a report on the human relics recovered by the Naga Hills (Burma) Expedition for the abolition of human sacrifice during 1926-27. A useful map showing the region from where the skulls were obtained forms a frontispiece for the bulletin. The villages in the area where the human sacrifice is practised number over seventy and are under the influence of two Kachin families. It may be unreasonable to assume that the skeletal relics of the victims of human sacrifice belong, in the main, to the head-hunting Naga tribes and it may possibly be that some captives outside that are included in these specimens. Applying Sir Arthur Keith's method, the authors say that in the forward development of the cheeks and the amount of protoplasm, the differences between the

two groups dealt with by them are not striking, both displaying Mongolian characteristics. But in the development of the nose and the forehead, the differences are fundamental. In comparing the results with other Naga tribes, certain affinities with other races appear to disclose, as for instance, the Melanesian skulls of New Caledonia, and the extinct Tasmanians in Oceania noted for their spirally curved hair. In summing up the discussion, it is stated that the Tasmanian skulls agree very closely with skulls of Group II in the conformation of the lower part of the forehead and nasal root, the similarity being greater than that shown by the Melanesian skulls with Group II. Hence, the Group II of the Naga crania agrees with both the Melanesian and Tasmanian skulls in the formation of the lower forehead and nasal root, showing undoubted Australoid characteristics in these respects, while on the other hand exhibiting equally distinct projection of the cheek bones and the retrocession of the nasal wall, characteristic of the Mongolian races. It may be Naga miscegenation with a strong Mongoloid element is responsible for it. Possibly, the Negroid element, as revealed in the Papuan and Tasmanian skulls, was fairly extensive at one time in India. The tables and photographs give comprehensive details for a thorough and diligent study of this absorbing subject.

S. S.

EDITORIAL

WE regret to record the demise of the lamented Rajadharna Pravina C. S. Doraswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L., Chief Justice of the High Court of Mysore, and also that of Mr. S. Shamanna, B.A., B.L., one of the senior advocates of that Court. A distinguished lawyer, an eminent judge and a thoroughly practical man of affairs, Mr. Doraswami Iyer had endeared himself to all. He was one of the foundation members of the Mythic Society and latterly a Vice-President. Mr. Shamanna was also an old member of the Society and had great literary tastes. We offer our condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

* * *

We congratulate Lt.-Col. Burke, the British Resident in Mysore and Mr. V. T. Krishnamacharya, Dewan of Baroda, on the knighthoods conferred upon them; Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao on being admitted into the Gandabherunda Order by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as Rajasevasakta and Rajacharita-visarada, respectively, and Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao again on the title of Rao Sahib bestowed upon him by H. E. the Viceroy of India. The recipients richly deserve these honours and it is a matter of great gratification to us to have to record them.

* * *

The Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague, is the *Archiv Orientalni* of which we have before us Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2. One of the articles relates to the sign of the Griffon-vulture and the true nature of the early alphabets by S. Yeivin. While its original name was not known, the sign of the bird, however, was used as an ideogram. In No. 2, V. Lesny writes on the language of the Mitanni chieftains—a third branch of the Aryan group. While he agrees that the Kassites (whose records of the eighteenth century B.C. are referred to) may have contained some Indo-European elements, he holds with Prof. B. Keith that it is far from established that they were Indo-Europeans. Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nasatya are found amongst the deities of Mesopotamia in the fourteenth century B.C., identical, according to

Jacobi, in form with Vedic gods; but it does not follow that the Mitanni must have borrowed them somewhere in the Aryan period or before the Indo-Iranians were differentiated. The Babylonian origin of at least two of the gods has to be considered. Though Mi-it-ra-as, A-ru-na-as and In-da-ra might be thus explained, what about Agnis in the Hittite records? From a study of several aspects of these problems and the main distinction between the Aryans and the western group of the Indo-European languages being the retention or otherwise of the *r* in the nominative singular of the *-r* stems, the author concludes that the language of the Mitanni chieftains was probably neither proto-Indian nor proto-Iranian, but represented with those two, a third yet unknown branch of the Aryan group.

* * *

In the *Adhyatma Prakasa*, a Kannada monthly devoted to the study of Indian philosophy, the talented editor in the September issue discusses that love of the waking state is the impediment for the true knowledge of the Tattvas, after having considered "Avastha-traya" in the preceding issues. It is because of this, dream and sleep stages appear as non-existing; viewed in a true light, the waking, dream and sleep stages of others are included in our waking state. It is a great mistake not to take note of these facts. And he continues the discussion in the October issue under "Avastha".

* * *

Attention may usefully be drawn to the following in the *Shrine of Wisdom* for Winter 1932 under "Lieh Tsze" and the classic of fullness and emptiness.

"The Perfect Man has no thought of Self.

The Spiritual Man has no thought of merit.

The Sage has no thought of fame."

* * *

Writing on the Svastika in *Man in India* for April-September 1932, Principal Kalipadamitra regards it as an auspicious symbol, of hoary antiquity, representing the movement of the Sun and connected with his worship as Apollo, Surya, Odin or other Sun-gods. Its occurrence on coins, ancient inscriptions and elsewhere no doubt established its use in Assyria, Egypt and

India. It may also be pointed out that it is commonly used in the rangavalli designs of Hindu houses.

* * *

"The Mysore Tiger" is the heading of an article on Tippu Sultan in *Subodha* for December 1932. The writer C. Sadasiviah, in the course of an interesting sketch, refers to the Koran which Tippu was using for his prayers. He has collected the views of various writers on the character of this ruler and concludes that he was no religious bigot or cruel tyrant as he had been portrayed by many previously.

* * *

M. Rama Rao writing on the political history of the Kakatiyas; in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, regards Krishna or Kanha Naik as a son of Pratapa Rudra Deva of Warangal, identifiable with the Hindu king of Warangal from whom Alauddin Hussain, the first Bahamani Sultan, exacted tribute. We do not know on what basis Krishna of Sewell or Ludder Deo of Barani is equated in this manner and no reasons are given. There is no reference to Pratapa Rudra after 1326 A.D., and if his territories were divided by his 'sons' after his death, there ought to be some evidence forthcoming. It has to be noted that after his defeat, Pratapa Rudra died on his way to Delhi (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 138), a statement made on the authority of Elliot III, p. 367 : Tarinn-i-Firoz Shayi.

* * *

Rama Sankar Tripathi does not consider that the last word has been said on the extent of Harsha's Empire and he elaborately discusses this problem from several aspects in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September-December 1932. In his view, the theory of Harsha's invasion of the South does not rest on solid foundations. The identification of Siladitya with Harsha is far from certain, and it does not seem probable that Harsha could play the rôle of a second Samudragupta, or that his victorious arms could penetrate so far South, at the very time when he had to bear the humiliation of an ignominious defeat on the frontiers of the Deccan by Pulikesi II, claiming to be victorious over the Pallavas. And there is no air of reality in the passage of the Mayura. Under these circumstances,

a proper explanation of the references to Siladitya and Mahendra in the Gaddemane inscription becomes necessary.

M. A. Doraswami Iyengar says that the date of Kumara Vyasa was probably about the beginning of the fourteenth century in the *Jayakarnataka* for October 1932. Thus the period 1509-1526 allotted to his Bharata by Kittel and Rice would require rectification. This question deserves further investigation and scrutiny, more especially as it involves the determination of the date of Lakshmisā as well.

In the *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, a new monthly Journal devoted to the presiding deity of Tirumalai, for August, September, 1932, T. A. Venkatesvara Dikshitar gives a reply to some of the criticisms of Dr. Thibaut on Śāṅkara's interpretation of the sutras of Bādarāyaṇa. Thibaut rejects the views of Śāṅkara and adopts those of Ramanuja: these reasonings of Thibaut have already been criticised by Prof. Sundararaman and others. Yet a fresh examination is timely and the writer has done justice to Śāṅkara in his criticisms. The same Journal for November 1932 contains a beautiful coloured portrait of Svēta-Varāha rescuing Bhū-Dēvi, referred to in the August issue. The latest issue received, *i.e.*, for December, has two excellent articles. V. Sankara Aiyar deals with Śabda Sāmrājya Chakravartin or Pāṇini Ācārya, the greatest of the Sanskrit grammarians. He is noted for terseness and brevity of expression without giving a chance for misunderstanding. His influence and fame lie in the fact "that he gave so accurate, so complete and so learned a record of the language he spoke that his predecessors are ousted and his contemporaries and the succeeding generations look upon him with admiration on all the rules he uttered, as if they were revelations from above."

The other article on 'Srutis' is by P. S. Sundaram Aiyar. While there are no records in music about the lakṣaṇa in each rāga, there is full evidence that writers on music have, in the past, attempted to note the Samvādi, Vivādi and Anuvādi relations between the notes in a rāga, the graha and nyāsa also in a rāga; the duty of solving these characteristics devolved on

the modern observer. Indian music owes its origin to the Sāma-veda-gāna and contains seven notes in the descending order in their pitch. As Nārada says, the pupil has to follow and imitate the teacher to master the art and the teacher to be qualified should be able to distinguish the Śrutis as Dīpta, Āyata, Karuṇa, Mr̥du, Madya, etc. Following Nārada again, when you pronounce a svāra, you pronounce a Śruti, to be traced and found in the svāra, like butter in the curd, fish in water, or bird in the air. These Śrutis or sounds pronounced in music can be known only by the upadeśa on the Vīṇa alone.

The Doctrine of Sphoṭa is discussed by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in the *Journal of the Annamalai University* for October 1932. Śabdādvaita or Sabda-monism or the other terms by which this doctrine has been known in some Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads which also mention two other conceptions of monism, viz., Sattā-monism and Vijñāna-monism, fully developed into two different schools of philosophy by Śāṅkara and Gautama Buddha. The four disciples of the latter to whom Gautama imparted his gospel propounded four different schools of Buddhistic philosophy. These are proposed to be considered by the author in this and the succeeding issues of the Journal. The fundamentals of the Sphoṭa doctrine, according to Kātyāyana whose elucidation of śabda is nearest, śabda is nitya, artha is nitya and their relation or Vācyavācakabhāva is nitya. Patañjali distinguishes the Sphoṭa śabda from dhvani. Bhartṛhari believes in the ultimate reality of the one being, i.e., śabda; and the Vedas are sources of the realization of Śabdabrahman, as mankind cannot find better means to understand the nature of the ultimate reality in this world. Dhvani and Sphoṭa are the two kinds of śabda, artha being only a vivarta of sphoṭa and related to śabda only as tādātmya. Hence, cognition is impossible without linguistic expression.

**

K. A. Krishnaswami Aiyar discusses the Bhakti cult in India in the *Vedanta Kesari* for November 1932. Faith being above the distinctions of caste and distinctions of life being due to Māya, offerings and sacrifices became of no avail. Liberation did not annihilate the individuality of the soul but meant freedom from the stains and frailties of the body. God, again, was to be

worshipped not in poverty and solitude but in the midst of life's enjoyments. In these and various ways, the Bhakti cult has proved a spiritual support to ebbing national faith. Private worship, ritualistic observances and purificatory ceremonies still continue, though suffering under a melancholy cloud in an age of indifference towards religion and spiritual ideals. Under such conditions, what is the critical value of faith and reason? The author describes faith as bold, quick and impulsive; credulous, flexible and generous; promoting superstition and questionable practices: reason being suspicious, slow and deliberative; calculating, steady and circumspect; cautious, discriminating and iconoclastic; and the professed guide of all; and concludes that where reason distinctly points to one way, it is unwise to be led by faith into another.

* * *

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for September 1932, K. Markandeya Sarma replies to the criticisms of R. Rama Rao in regard to the question of the identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya. Absence of reference to the pre-Sanyāsa stage in later works and to Vidyāraṇya in the admitted works of Mādhavācārya is natural and easily explained. Attention is invited to the fact that Jīvanmukti Viveka is a work of Mādhavācārya and the author of this work has announced himself as the author of Parāśara-Smṛtivyākhyā. This is generally accepted and supported also by the author of Vīramitrodaya. There could be no hesitation, on many another ground, in agreeing with the writer that the character and description of Vidyāraṇya agree, point by point, with that of Mādhavācārya, the brother of Sāyaṇa. Rama Rao only repeated, without breaking any fresh ground, old arguments to which R. Narasinhachar had given an effective reply.

**Books received during the Quarter ending
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Studies in Cōla History and Administration—by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Composition of Caddoan Linguistic Stock (S.M.C., Vol. 87, No. 6)—by A. Lesser and G. Welthish.

Preliminary Classification of Pre-historic South-Western Basketry (S.M.C., Vol. 87, No. 7)—by Gene Welthish.

Archæological Researches in the Foot-hills of the Pyrenees (S.M.C., Vol. 87, No. 11)—by G. T. Russell.

Government of Travancore—

Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. VII, Pt. II—by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Government of Mysore—*(Departmental Reports)*—

Stationery Depot—1931-32.

Presses—1931-32.

Meteorology—1931-32.

Geology—1931-32.

Health—1931.

Revenue Survey—1931-32.

Administration—1931-32.

Proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly—June 1932.

Government of Madras—

Report of the Madras Govt. Museum and Connemara Library—1931-32.

Triennial Catalogue of MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, 1919-20 to 1921-22—by S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy, March 31, 1930.

Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum (Bulletin N.S.G.S., Vol. I, Pt. 2).

The Palace, Mysore—

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Moulvi Zafar Khan.

The Authors—

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charya.

Indo-Sumero-Semitic-Hittite Problems, Pt. I—by R. S.
Vaidyanatha Iyer.

ಮೈಸೂರು ಒಡೆಯರ ಎರಡು ಶತಮಾನಗಳ ಅಳಿಕೆ—by N. Subba Rao.

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Shrine of Wisdom, London—

Plotemis on the Beautiful and on Intelligible Beauty—by the
Editors.

Ramakrishna Ashrama, Colombo—

Ceylon Branch Report—1931-32.

University of Dacca—

Annual Report—1931-32.

Progress Book-Stall, Mysore—

ಒಲವು—by T. N. Srikantaiya.

University of Calcutta—

Journal of the Department of Letters.

Andhra University—

Chitraprabha—by Bhagavata Hari Sastry.

Purchased :—

Jataka Parijata, Vol. I (Adhyayas 1-9)—by V. Subrahmanya
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TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE
IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 2, p. 193)

II. Economic System

Early Conditions.—Under the feudal organization of the period (1565-1610) agriculture formed the main occupation of the people. Land grants were, in general, made by the Emperor to his vassals. In some cases, especially whenever there was relaxation of imperial control due to the complex conditions of the times after Tālīkoṭa, the Viceroy (*Mahā-māndaleśvara*) at Seringapatam himself made these grants. These were mainly of two kinds: (1) *Umbālī*—the bestowal of a rent-free estate or village on a chieftain or individual for some meritorious deed or service. In this case the transfer of property to the donee was accompanied by the traditional eightfold⁶⁷ rights of full possession, (2) *Koḍagi*—

⁶⁷ *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 23 (1578), 82 (1605) etc. *Nidhi* (underground stores), *nikshēpa* (hidden treasures), *jāla* (springs), *pāshāṇa* (rocks), *akshīṇi* (present profits), *āgāmi* (future profits), *siddha* (actualities), *sādhya-gaḷu* (possibilities)—*emba aṣṭavidha tejasvāmyagaḷu* (eightfold rights).

an ordinary gift of land. In 1598, during the reign of Venkaṭapathi Rāya (Venkaṭa II), there was a grant⁶⁸ of lands in Beḷagoḷa to Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, brother of Rāja Waḍeyar. This grant, according to the inscription, included some lands previously awarded by Tirumala, the Seringapatam Viceroy, to the Mysore Royal House, as a *Koḷagi*. The circumstances of the grant throw interesting light on the economic conditions of the times in the principality of Mysore: In the year Viḷambi (1598) Rāja Waḍeyar of Mysore is stated⁶⁹ to have had an interview with Tirumala in the course of which the former said, 'In our place there are no tanks and consequently no irrigational crops. We are growing *rāgi* only, which is the staple crop.' 'Thereupon Tirumala gave him lands in Beḷagoḷa yielding 100 khaṇḍugas of paddy.'

Numerous other grants also, dealing with the economic conditions in the Viceroyalty, were made by, or under the control of, the imperial dynasty of Vijayanagar. One of these,⁷⁰ dated 1576, refers to the agricultural organization of the villages and the items of taxes. Another inscription⁷¹ of the same date relates to the grant of exemption from taxes on the barbers of Seringapatam sīme. Another,⁷² dated 1584, is a grant of lands to Brahmins on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. An inscription⁷³ of 1605, in particular, refers, among other items, to excise (*baṭṭi terige*), tolls (*sunka*), cash dues (*suvarṇādāya*), import (*oḷavāru*) and export (*horavāru*) duties. There was a *customs house* also in Seringapatam as early as 1576 and perhaps even earlier; and we are told⁷⁴ how the officials of the department were obstructed by the people of the principality of Mysore.

⁶⁸ *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 52.

⁶⁹ *The Kaiḥyat*, ff. 6-7; *Puttiāh's Ms.*, ff. 13-14.

⁷⁰ *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 21.

⁷¹ *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, *loc. cit.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 82.

⁷⁴ *Vide* f.n. 3, *op. cit.*, ff. 2-6; 7-9.

Later Developments (1610-1761)

Landed Property.—Rāja Waḍeyar and his successors modified and developed the earlier system so as to suit the altered conditions of the times. The economic system under them was at first feudal but later, with the gradual decadence of the Vijayanāgar Empire, the old system underwent thorough changes in the light of ideas of paternalism and contract.

The agricultural organization of the period was influenced by certain ideas regarding landed property. Religion being a basic factor in the daily life of the community dominated the transactions connected with land. Custom and force of tradition were also governing factors. The Hindu law of property, contract, inheritance and gift as laid down in the *Mitākshara* of Viṣṇuśvara and the *Dānakāṇḍa* of Hemādri was, as elsewhere in South India, freely observed in all transactions. The classical theory of state landlordism existed side by side with the belief in individual ownership. The numerous land grants of the period give us an insight into these matters.

We may note some interesting details relating to landed property. Possession of property by mortgage, sale, gift and exchange or transfer (*ādhi kraya dāna parivartanagalemba vyavahāra chatuṣṭayagaḷu*), as recorded in inscriptions,⁷⁵ had the binding force of law, only when the transactions were authenticated by the ruler of the time. The authentication generally consisted of the signature of the king followed by the *Earth and Boar seal* (*bhūvarāha mudrā*) of the Mysore Royal House, impressed on the document.⁷⁶ Gifts, the common mode of acquisition of property in the period, varied in character: *Umbali*—a regular rent-free (*mānya*) gift followed by the traditional eightfold rights of possession; *jodi*—a gift of land with the right of the government to quit-

⁷⁵ *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23 (1623); 1908-09, p. 26 (1663); *E.C.*, III (i) SR 64 (1722); Nj. 15 (1761) etc.; cf. *Wilks*, I, Ch. 5.

⁷⁶ *M.A.R.*, 1924, pp. 22-23 (1635); 1908-09, p. 26 (1663); *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 43 (1667); Hg. 113 (1670), 57⁹ (1672); 1920, p. 40 (1673); 1911-12 pp. 56-57 (1674); III (i) SR. 14 (1686); 64 (1722); Nj. 267-268 (1758) etc.

rent from the donee; *sarvamānya*—a gift wherein the government relinquished all rights (tax-free)⁷⁷; and *free gifts* of lands to gods, Brahmins and charitable institutions—these were generally in vogue. Disputes about property, such as⁷⁸ release of property mortgaged, payment of debts, etc., were occasionally attended to by the king whose decision was final. Grants once made with the right of the ruler to revenue and taxes were sometimes declared⁷⁹ rent-free or tax-free according to exigencies. Land grants to Brahmins were generally made in a village or group of villages under the designation of *agrahāra*, the entire landed property thereof being divided into *vrittis* (shares) which varied according to the extent or area of the villages. Sometimes these rent-free grants were followed by additional⁸⁰ grants also. A special type of grants was that connected with the success⁸¹ of the army in war. In this case a village or group of villages was set apart for the service of God. Another type was connected with the grant of lands or villages on the day of eclipse, holy occasions (such as *ardhodaya*, *sankramana*, etc.) and anniversary days (of previous rulers) for the merit of departed souls.⁸² Grants of lands to individual⁸³ Brahmins for distinction in ritualism, sacred lore and literature, to others⁸⁴ for distinction in special arts and sciences, and to religious⁸⁵ institutions (*mathas* and

⁷⁷ *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 157 (1614); TN. 116 (1615); My. 17 (1620); TN. 62 (1623); SR. 13 (1664); 14 (1686); V (1) HN. 8 (1666); IX BN. 118 (1705); *M.A.R.*, 1928, p. 54 (1708); XII TM 47 (1720); II SB. 249 (1723); IV (2) YD. 17 (1761) etc.

⁷⁸ *E.C.*, II SB. 250; 352 (1634) etc.

⁷⁹ *M.A.R.*, 1924, pp. 22-23 (1635).

⁸⁰ *E.C.*, III (1) MD. 114 (1663); IV (2) YD. 43; 53 (1666-1667); *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-57 (1674) etc.

⁸¹ *E.C.*, XII Kg. 46 (1664).

⁸² *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 36 (1620); *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23 (1623); IV (2) Hg. 119 (1670); XII Kg. 4 (1671); 1911-12, pp. 56-57 (1674) etc.

⁸³ *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 5 (1643); XII Kg. 33 (1663); *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26 (1675) etc.

⁸⁴ *E.C.*, IX DB. 64 (1668); *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, pp. 54-55 (1673).

⁸⁵ *E.C.*, III (1) NJ. 81 (1662); IV (2) Gu. 64 (1665); *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40 (1673); IX AN. 90 (1750); 1924, p. 55 (1755); 1923, pp. 41-44 (1760) etc.

dharma) for their upkeep, are frequently recorded in the inscriptions of the period. Land grants in villages for the maintenance⁸⁶ of feeding houses (*annasatras*) were also common. We have cases where villages acquired by purchase were given away as grants⁸⁷ by private persons with the consent of the ruler. Such grants were generally made to temples to provide for the rites and festivals of the gods. A kind of grant known as *archaka svāsti*⁸⁸ (land for the maintenance of the temple priest) was also in vogue. Sale deeds relating to sale of *vrittis* by the donees (with all the usual rights) were often drawn up, and they had the legal effect on full payment⁸⁹ of the value of the *vrittis* by the purchaser. A unique form of land grant known as *kaṭṭu kodige*⁹⁰ (a species of rent-free land granted by private parties) is noticeable in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Assignment of lands for military purposes (*i.e.*, to meet military expenditure) was also a feature of grants⁹¹ of the period. Sale deeds relating to sale of villages by government to private parties during the period throw light on the legal and economic aspects of ownership of land. It is said⁹² that as regards these sales 'the price received in each case was nearly ten times the annual rental value of the same'. The quality and price of lands in villages were, obviously, governed by their rental value, among others, in such sales.

Rural Economy.—Inscriptions and other sources further reveal the agricultural organization and rural life in Mysore under the Wodeyars: the village was, as ever, the most important centre of rural economy.⁹³ The village lands were

⁸⁶ *E.C.*, II SB. 401; IV (2) HS. 22; V (1) CN. 273 (1672), IV (2) Ch. 138 (1676); Gu. 10 (1640) etc.

⁸⁷ *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 94; IV (2) KP. 45 (1678); III (1) SR. 14 (1686) etc.

⁸⁸ *E.C.*, XII TM. 45 (1699).

⁸⁹ *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 55 (1720).

⁹⁰ *E.C.*, IX CP. 34 (1756).

⁹¹ *E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 267-268 (1758).

⁹² *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 24 (1761-1762).

⁹³ *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 82 (1605); III (1) TN. 62 (1623); *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23 (1623); IV (2) Gu. 10 (1640); 1908-09, p. 26 (1663); III (1) SR. 13 (1664); XII Kg. 4 (1671); 1911-12, pp. 56-57 (1674); IX BN. 118 (1705);

usually classified into wet lands (*gadde*), dry lands (*beddalu*), garden lands (*toṭa*, *ārūma*) and fallow lands (*kshetra*). Small plots of ground used to build store-houses (*tuḍike*) on, also formed part of village lands. Every village had a grazing ground (*kāvalu*). In the forest regions the pasturage was known as *giḍakāvalu*. Cultivation was carried on largely by rain water (*kāḍārambha*, i.e., natural cultivation) and partly by river water (*nīrārambha*), after the traditional manner. Tanks (*here*), minor reservoirs (*kaṭṭe*), ponds (*koḷa*), wells (*bāvi*) and river channels (*kālve*) were standing sources of water supply. The use of piggotta (*yāta*, *kapile*) was very common in places not served by channels and tanks. In addition to the traditional eightfold rights of full possession, the owner of lands had the proprietary right to store water (by means of a dam on his field, *ane*) for irrigation purposes and to safeguard the cultivable area (*achhugaṭṭu*) by proper boundaries, the right to make a bye-path or lane (*kālōṇi*) passing through his fields and to make sluices (*nīrōṇi*) to facilitate the flow of water thereon. He was also entitled to use a portion of his land as threshing floor (*kaḷakoṭhāra*) during the harvest season and to build a house (*griha*) on his manor. We have an interesting⁹⁴ list of kinds of paddy grown in the wet lands in the time of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Wāḍeyar. Although there are no data as to the details of the agricultural profession, it is not impossible that the time-honoured methods were scrupulously followed by the ryots.

The wants⁹⁵ of the rural folk were catered for by the ancient self-governing *bārābalūti* system consisting of the "village" headman (*gowḷa*), accountant (*shānabhāga*), Brah-

1928, p. 54 (1708); 1910-11, pp. 55-56 (1716); III (1) TN. 63 (1749); 1923, pp. 41-44 (1760) etc. (*vide texts in the originals*).

⁹⁴ Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam, Ch. V, vv. 67-70: *Kaṇiveya saṇṇa*, *satyāgālāda saṇṇa*, *gōveya saṇṇa*, *piriyarājānna*, *īrige rājānna*, *kaṣṭūri rājānna*, *sōma sāli*, *boḷumallige*, *kembūti*, *konevāḷa*, *pushpa manjari*, *koḷagu*, *maḷala kānti*, *chandrodāya sāli* etc. It is significant to note that most of these kinds of paddy survive to this day in many parts of Mysore.

⁹⁵ *Palace History*, pp. 133-52 (Extracts bearing on *Economic and Social History*)

min almanac reader (*pañchāṅgaḍa brāhmaṇa*), blacksmith (*kabbiṇaḍa kelasadavaṇu*), goldsmith (*akkaṣāle*), potter (*kumbāra*), washerman (*agaṣa*), barber (*kelasi*), scavenger (*tōṭi*), watchman (*taḷavāra*), regulator of tank water (*here nūruganṭi*) and carpenter (*ōjaravaṇu*). To Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar is attributed the fostering of corporate life in the villages by placing this system on a solid foundation. Barter and money, economy existed side by side. The emoluments of the village officials under the scheme of Chikkadevarāja varied according to the nature of their duties, being usually paid in *kind*, the *gowḷa* and *shānabhāg* being permitted to receive a greater share than others. Half the *shānabhāg*'s pay was paid in cash and the other half in kind. He had, besides, the right to *kaḍitada kāṇike* (fees for making revenue entries in the village accounts) from the ryots. The carpenter, potter, washerman, scavenger, blacksmith, watchman and others were allowed the right of receiving bundles of straw and a measure of corn from the cultivators. The village officials other than the scavenger and the watchman were to receive from the ryot a fixed quantity of corn (*haḷade*), on the basis of numerical strength of the ryot's family. In addition to all these perquisites, the village Brahmin almanac reader, accountant, scavenger, watchman and the regulator of tank water, in particular, were given rent-free lands varying in value from one to six *varahas*, according to their status. As regards the channel *maṇegār* (official in charge of channels) and others, it was ruled that they should be given a bundle of straw together with one measure (*koḷaga*) of corn out of the produce. All the village officials were exempt from payment of taxes.

Irrigation.—Irrigation was part and parcel of the agricultural system. Special attention was bestowed upon it by the rulers of the period. Rāja Waḍeyar⁹⁶ is credited with the enlargement of the Kalastavāḍi tank and the grant of lands yielding 52 *khaṇḍugas* of paddy under it. Chāmarāja

⁹⁶ *Mackenzie Collections* : Ms. 18-15-20, fol. 27 (1616).

Waḍeyar⁹⁷ is recorded to have repaired and restored the channel near the capital, erected a big bridge and constructed channels on both sides of it, the lands irrigated thereunder being styled *hosa bayalu* (new plain land). Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar took keen interest in providing traffic and irrigational facilities to agriculturists, as is evident from his construction of bridges across the Kāveri and of the famous channel *Bangāradoḍḍi nālā* named after his favourite consort.⁹⁸ To Devarāja Waḍeyar is attributed the channel known as *Devarāya nālā*. Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar,⁹⁹ his illustrious successor, is said to have projected an embankment on the Kāveri (to the west of Seringapatam, *i.e.*, on the spot where the present Krishnarājasāgara Dam stands) but his scheme, we are told, failed owing to heavy floods. However, his abiding interest in irrigation is evident from the *Chikka-devarājasāgara nālā*, one of the longest channels in the Mysore District extant. The successors of Chikkadevarāja maintained the earlier traditions. We have reference¹⁰⁰ to irrigation under *Krishnarājasāgara tank* newly built during the reign of Krishnarāja Waḍeyar I, and to grant¹⁰¹ of villages as *agrahāras*, with tanks, ponds, etc., during the reign of Krishnarāja Waḍeyar II. We have also frequent references¹⁰² in inscriptions to the construction, maintenance and repair of ponds and tanks in villages, particularly of those tanks which had breached, both by the government and private parties.

Industries, Trade and Commerce.—Inscriptions prominently refer to weaving and tax on looms (*magga terige*) and cotton (*hatti pommu*).¹⁰³ As an indigenous industry, next to

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, fol. 30 (1631).

⁹⁸ *Palace History*, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁹ *Bertrand*, iv. pp. 182-83; *Lockman*, ii. pp. 300-301 (*vide* Satyanatha Iyer's *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 212 and *Appendix*).

¹⁰⁰ *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 55 (1720).

¹⁰¹ *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 17 (1761).

¹⁰² *E.C.*, IX KN. 95 (1671); III (1) ML. 61 (1685); SR. 14 (1686), 64 (1722); V (1) BL. 29 (1717); IX CP. 34 (1756) etc.

¹⁰³ *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 62 (1623); *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23 (1623); XII Kg. 4 (1671); 1910-11, pp. 55-56 (1716); 1928, p. 54 (1708); TN. 63 (1749) etc. (*vide texts in the originals*).

agriculture, weaving appears to have been in a highly flourishing condition.¹⁰⁴ Rattan weaving was a by-occupation of the village folk. Mining and metallurgy especially as applied to iron, once in the hands of private individuals, formed the activities of the government under the reforms of Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar, as already referred to. The minor professions, such as painting, tailoring, masonry and artisanship, catered to the demands of the people both in villages (*halli*) and towns (*hiriyūru*), besides being a necessity to the government. We have reference¹⁰⁵ to special treatment of artists by the rulers by the grant of houses and settlements to them. The military and civil professions derived their income (*suvarṇādāya*) from salaries, and, in exceptional cases, from lands also (*davasādāya*) granted to them by the rulers.

Trade and commerce were generally in the hands of the *Vyśya* and *Banajiga* (*seṭṭis*) communities. Trade routes were controlled by associations of merchants in different parts of the country (*nāḍu*) and transport of articles from place to place was conducted by means of pack-bulls (*goniheru*). Articles of commerce were liable to local customs dues¹⁰⁶ (*sthala sunka*) and import and export duties (*olaṅvāru*, *horavāru*), on the basis of loads, the rates varying according to the nature of the stock. With the growth of the kingdom and the consolidation of conquests, certain reforms are recorded to have been introduced by Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar in respect of trade and commerce.¹⁰⁷ The places occupied from the pāllegars were strengthened, and market places extensively laid out. The merchants having, it is said, represented to him the necessity of bringing the different products grown in various parts of the country to a prominent place and of determining the profit and loss on that account, trade centres were established in Gubbi, Turuvekere and other places where cotton, areca-nut and other products were

¹⁰⁴ *Palace History*, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *E.C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663).

¹⁰⁶ *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 64 (1665); *M.A.R.*, 1923, pp. 41-44 (1760) etc.

¹⁰⁷ *Palace History*, *loc. cit.*

brought and weighed and, later, taken to local markets for sale. Thus a sort of *trade emporium* for distribution of economic products over different areas was established. Besides, arrangements were made for the import and export of grains, spices, cloth and other things to and from the market places of the 84 taluks (*gaḍis*), for the determination of profit and loss on their account and for the assessment or levy of *tolls* (*sunka*) on different commodities. The *customs house* (*sunkada chāvaḍi*) was accordingly reorganized, a *maṇegār*, *shānabhāg* and *kolukāras* (menials) also being appointed to be in charge of it. On the road sides also, additional customs houses were set up with necessary officials whose pay was fixed. Sometimes special duties were levied on articles of commerce in local parts, the amount thus realized being formed into a fund (*puḍivaṭṭu*) to provide for car festivals, offerings and worship of gods. A record of 1733¹⁰⁸ gives interesting details in this connection. Tobacco, ghee, oil, cloth, jute and cotton yarn—all these articles were levied at one *tāru* (a small currency denomination) per load; paddy, rice and other commodities at $\frac{1}{2}$ *tāru*. Corporate life in the merchant community was fostered by their own rules and regulations, the infringement of which involved 'the deprivation of the privileges' of the body politic.

Weights and Measures.—The *koḷaga* was the unit of measure, used for measuring corn. *Palla* and *khaṇḍuga* indicated, as now, the sum total of *koḷagas* multiplied by *seers*. The unit of measure, however, varied in different parts of the country according to local custom or usage. Thus there were *koḷagas* measuring 5, 12, 15 and 16 seers respectively. The entire system, it is recorded,¹⁰⁹ was reformed by Chikkadeva-rāja Wāḍeyar who introduced uniformity in all the 84 *gaḍis* (taluks). The gold signet rings in vogue in different localities since the time of the Pāllegars were examined, and as they were found to be varying, the anomalous system was given up and a new one introduced. The name of the taluk on either

¹⁰⁸ E.C., IV (2) Ch. 139.

¹⁰⁹ *Vide f.n.* 107.

side and the figures of the sun and the moon were engraved on the signet ring which was left in charge of each taluk. Another type of signet ring made of silver with the monogram *De* (दे)¹¹⁰ engraved on it was given to the subordinate executive, such as managers of *aṭhavane* (local revenue establishment), *killedars*, *hobli* and village officials, collectors of taxes (*sunka*, *pommu*, *samayāchāra* etc.) and prominent local men for daily use by them. Besides, the *toṭi*, *talavar* and *nīrganṭi* (the village menials) were provided with wooden planks with which to impress the seal upon those who disobeyed the Huzur orders and also on heaps of corn. A staff with the figures of the sun and the moon and the monogram *De* in the middle engraved upon it, was also ordered to be maintained in the village *chāvāḍi* (local public place) for purposes of estampage whenever the official (*pārūpatyagār*) desired. It was further laid down that the managers of temples in the taluks should be in charge of signet rings thereof, which had the names of the respective shrines engraved upon them. In the same way the different units of weights and measures, such as the maund, $\frac{1}{2}$ maund, $\frac{1}{8}$ maund, *koḷaga*, *balla* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ seers), *seru* (seer), $\frac{1}{2}$ *seru*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *seru*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *pāvu*, *chaṭāku* ($\frac{1}{4}$ *pāvu*), were all impressed with the royal seal, and it was ruled that all commercial transactions should be conducted with the help of these stamped measures. The weights were standardised as follows: 3 *Kanṭhīrāya varahas* (weight)=1 *duḍḍu*; 1 *duḍḍu*=1 *tola*; 24 *duḍḍu*=1 *kachha seer*; 10 *seers*= $\frac{1}{4}$ maund (*daḍeya*); 4 *daḍeya*=1 maund (*maṇa*) (No. I small) (40 *seers*); 44 to 46 *seers*=1 maund (*maṇa*) (No. II big). Grains, jaggery, areca, turmeric, tamarind, pepper, chillies and miscellaneous spices required for the palace were to be measured by big weight (44 to 46 *seers*) while purchasing them and by small weight (40 *seers*) while using them for consumption. The same practice was ordered to be adopted in the market place also.

¹¹⁰ That the use of the monogram *De*, as the distinct mark of the government, was widespread, is indicated by inscriptions on *boundary stones* thus, ' *Maisūru*, *De*', ' *De Maisūru*' (vide E.C., IV (2) Gu. 98-102, C. 1680).

Coinage and Currency.—Rāja Waḍeyar and his immediate successors appear to have followed the coinage and currency system of the Vijayanagar empire, the most important denomination of which was the *varaḥa* (a gold coin equivalent to 9 *haṇas*). Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar, however, struck a new line. His spirit of independence found definite expression in the reorganization of the currency. We are told,¹¹¹ the innumerable estampages of figures of gods on the gold coins in the country (belonging to the pāllegar régime) having led to confusion, he found it expedient to have a uniform seal for all gold coins. Accordingly he struck in his newly established mint at Seringapatam, a species of gold coins famous as *Kanṭhīrāyihana* (named after God Lakshmi-Nṛsimha) and regulated that these coins should be circulated widely as *faṇam* or *hana*, 10 *haṇams* being equivalent to one *varaḥa* and the weight of 9 *haṇams* being equivalent to the weight of one *varaḥa*, the two denominations being ordained to relate to the account and actual monetary transactions respectively. This was in the cyclic year¹¹² *Pārthiva, Vaiśākha śuddha* 11 (corresponding to 26th April 1645). Kanṭhīrava issued also another type of gold coins known as *Kanṭhīrāya varaḥas*, as can be gleaned from references¹¹³ in inscriptions and other sources. To denote smaller currency denominations he appears to have issued¹¹⁴ the *elephant* type of coins (*Ānekāsu*)

¹¹¹ *Palace History, op. cit.*, pp. 103-04.

¹¹² *Mackenzie Collections*, MS. No. 18-15-20, ff. 36-37. These coins were also known as *Kanṭhīrava Rāya*, *Kanṭhīrava Rāyaravi* (*vide Mysūru Rājara Charitre* by Venkatāramaṇayya: *Extract*). On the obverse of the available type of this coin (familiar as *agala Kanṭhīrāyi hana*) is to be seen the figure of Lakshmi-Nṛsimha, whereas on the reverse are some *dots* which have been variously interpreted. The writer is, however, inclined to take them to represent the position of some constellation of stars, under which the king was born or the coin issued at first.

¹¹³ *E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 267 (1758); *M.A.R.*, 1928, p. 52 (1761); Nj. 7 (1762), etc; also *Palace History (loc. cit.)*.

¹¹⁴ This seems to be warranted by the circumstance that Kanṭhīrava was victorious over the neighbouring chieftains, the spoils of war consisting mainly of *elephants* which were stabled in his capital (*vide K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. VI, vv. 28-31). It is possible that the *elephant* type was issued in commemoration of the

as well, about the same time as the *hanams*. The coins thus issued continued down to 1761 and even later, side by side with the older types of Vijayanagar coins, such as *varahas*, *nishka*, *gadyāna*, *gūtagadyāna*, *gūḷavarahas*,¹¹⁵ etc. It is also interesting to note that Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar struck coins in his name styled *Tāṇḍava Krishṇamūrti Devarāja*,¹¹⁶ soon after the erection of temples to gods Krishṇa and Varāhaswāmi. The *hana* and the *varaha* were, however, the prevailing currency in the period, as inscriptions testify.

Finance: Sources of Revenue under the Early Rulers.—

The system of revenue which obtained in the Vijayanagar viceroyalty of Seringapatam was continued under Rāja Wāḍeyar and his successors with modifications and improvements. Land revenue was, as ever, the mainstay of finance. Excise, income-tax, customs, local and miscellaneous taxes were the other sources of revenue. The exact basis on which lands were assessed under the early rulers (down to Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar) is not clear, nor the share of income to which the government was entitled. It is possible that the rulers took from the ryots the traditional $\frac{1}{4}$ part of gross produce. Assessment was, however, fixed in terms of *varahas*, such as *eraḷu varahada bhūmi* (lands assessed at 2 *varahas*), *nālku varahada bhūmi* (lands assessed at 4 *varahas*) and so forth; and the assessment was payable either in cash or kind

victory. The *obverse* of this type of coins contains the figure of elephant, while the *reverse* is chequered.

¹¹⁵ *E.C.*, IX KN. 94 (1662); DB. 64 (1668); IV (2) YD. 54 (1666); Hg. 57 (1672); *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40 (1673); 1923, p. 54 (1707); V (1) BL. 29 (1717); XII TM. 48 (1720); 1910-11, p. 55 (1720); 1916, pp. 71-72 (1737); 1911-12, p. 58 (1753); IX CP. 32, AN. 90 (1759); 1923, pp. 41-44 (1760); III (1) Nj. 15 (1761) etc. *Note*:—As regards the *varahas*, among other currency denominations, the records would indicate that both the old and new types were used alike in accounts and cash transactions during the period.

¹¹⁶ *Mackenzie Collections*, *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, ff. 54-55. The exact date is not given in the record. Since temples to Varāhaswāmi and Krishṇa are both mentioned, the coin must have been struck only after the *Varāha* from Śrī Muṣṇa was brought to Seringapatam by Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar (*i.e.*, 1675) (*vide M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26). Dr. M. H. Krishna describes this coin (a *varaha*) as the *Krishṇa* type (*vide M.A.R.*, 1929, p. 33).

according to local conditions. Land revenue comprised income from the following items: assessment of wet lands, dry lands and garden lands (*gaddē, beddalu, toṭa*), irrigation cess (for *ane, achhugattū* etc.), quit-rents (*jōḍihana*), tax on straw (*hullu hana*) and income from sale of soapnut (*sīge*), sandal (*srīgandha*) and other revenue-yielding trees which formed the property of government. Excise revenue was known as *baṭṭi terige, īchalu handāya* (tax on toddy trees). Income-tax appears to have been levied on the following items: cash incomes (*suvarṇādāya*), incomes from grains (*davasādāya*) and the aggregate of village incomes (*grāmādāya*). Profession tax, a species of income-tax, was levied especially on weavers, being known as *magga terige*. The income from tolls was known as *sunka*, a special form of it being termed *sthaḷa sunka* (applicable to particular places or localities). Tax on tobacco was one of the items under this head. Tax on imports and exports was termed *olavāru, horavāru*. Property tax, an item of local tax, was levied on incomes from movables (*charādāya*). The house and sheep taxes (*mane terige, kuri terige*) were the common items of local taxes. Under the miscellaneous taxes were included *kāṇike, beḍige* (presents, benevolences) etc. The nature and amount of taxes collected appear to have varied according to the conditions of localities under the different rulers. Revenue remissions are frequently recorded in the inscriptions of the period.¹¹⁷

Revenue Reforms of Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar:—Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar, it is recorded,¹¹⁸ reformed the revenue system—particularly as applied to land tax. Elaborate rules and regulations were drawn up by him for the organization and administration of it. A distinction was drawn between *demesne* lands and public lands, and separate officers appointed to

¹¹⁷ *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 82 (1605); *HS.* 36 (1607); *TN.* 62 (1623); *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23 (1623); III (1) *SR.* 13 (1664); IV (2) *Gu.* 64 (1665); XII *Kg.* 4 (1671); III (1) *ML.* 63 (1672); 1911-12, pp. 56-57 (1674); 1922, pp. 122-23 (1676) etc. (*vide texts in the originals*).

¹¹⁸ *Palace History*, pp. 133-152 (Extracts bearing on *Economic and Social History*),

look after them, as already pointed out. The theory of state landlordism was the governing factor and every effort was made to increase the revenue resources (to meet the needs of the growing kingdom) with due regard to the happiness of the subjects.

At first it was laid down that half the produce (such as paddy, sugarcane, the staple crops) grown in lands under the irrigation scheme (*i.e.*, under dams and canals) in the *Ashṭagram* division should be credited to government. The subjects, however, we are told, represented that this arrangement would not enable them to make both ends meet. An enquiry was accordingly instituted into the details of produce of one whole year, and it being found that the estimated income from and expenditure on production were in an equilibrium, the produce was divided into three portions, one portion being allowed to meet the cost of production by the ryots, one being left for their maintenance, and the last one being ordered to be given to government. It was regulated that this arrangement should last for a year or two and that when normal conditions were restored, the original settlement should be brought into operation. It was also regulated that in lands irrigated by tank water, paddy and other crops should be raised when the tank was full, half the produce being given to government, while on the other hand during the year when the tank was dry the cultivator was allowed to raise dry crops and pay the government the assessment usually levied on dry lands. To facilitate the discharge of water in the canals and the cultivation of crops thereby, one *maṇegār*, one *shānabhāga*, one *toṭi* and one *nīrgaṇṭi* were appointed according to the conditions and importance of the canals. To help the ryots in the harvest season on the *demesne* lands, one *maṇegār*, one *shānabhāga* and menials were likewise appointed.

As regards waste lands, revenue concessions were granted, with a view to bring them under cultivation. In the case of such lands which, after removing the overgrowth, yielded 12 *haṇas* worth of produce, the *shānabhāga* was

authorized to receive from the ryots, according to the custom of the locality, at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce for a period of five years. In the case of middle class lands expected to yield 16 *hanas*, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the yield was to be received as revenue for five years, after which period the usual revenue (assessed on lands in general) was to be collected. In places where the ryots were few and waste lands innumerable, remission of a portion of land revenue was allowed in order to bring such lands under cultivation. In some parts of the country, we are told, the ryots represented their inability to pay the land revenue in view of the barrenness of lands. It was ruled that in such cases half the produce should be taken from them in lieu of regular revenue (in cash), and the produce so collected should be stored in the big stores at the capital. An order to this effect was accordingly issued to the taluk subedār.

In addition to land revenue thus organized, a system of taxes, direct and indirect, was brought into vogue, with a view to meet the needs of the growing kingdom. At first these taxes were light. Thus cocoanut trees were taxed on the basis of yield of fruits, varying from 30, 28, 25, 18 to 15 *varahas* per 1,000 fruits. The regressive method is interesting indicating as it does the quality of garden land, from the highest to the lowest, in different localities. In parts of the country where taxation on cocoanut trees was not the custom, the system of taking half the produce of areca and cocoanut trees was adopted. The procedure for letting out garden lands for areca and cocoanut plantations was as follows: usually on every 100 plantain trees a tax of 3 *hanas* was levied. As soon as the areca and cocoanut trees yielded harvest, the tax on plantain trees was remitted. As regards the major produce, it was ruled that either half of it should be given to government, or a suitable tax received from the owners. The tax on tamarind (*amarai*) and jack trees in dry lands was based on the yield, varying from 1 to 2 *hanas* per tree.

In spite of these facilities the haughty and wealthy ryots in some parts of the country are said to have protested against

paying land revenue and other dues to government and disobeyed the rules and regulations.¹¹⁹ The ring-leaders were, we are told, brought to book and their property confiscated to the State. Some of the ryots, however, realizing the severity of punishment, were timorous enough to obey the orders. They were left just enough means to maintain themselves and to carry on the agricultural operations. The remaining portion of their wealth was taken over by the government. Having realized that the facilities afforded to the ryots would lead to relaxation of control, if continued any longer, it was thought advisable to curb them further and increase the revenue resources of the government. Accordingly the *house-tax* and other items of revenue, altogether 19, were levied and systematized. These may be classified under two main headings: (1) *Local taxes*: *Mane terige* (house tax), *hullu hana* (tax on grass), *devarāya vaṭṭa* (a currency discount), *ēru sunka* (duty on plough), *guḷavina pommu* (tax on agricultural implements), *angaḍi vasara* (tax on shop in the house), *angaḍi paṭṭadi* (tax on workshop), *magga kāṇike* (dues on looms), *pashāvāra* (dues from fishery), *uppina moḷe* (tax on salt heaps), *danakaru māriddakke sunka* (dues on cattle sales), *kuri terige* (sheep tax), *giḍa kāvalu* (tax on forest pasture), *ubbe kāṇike* (dues on clothes washed) and *kōudi terige* (tax on dress). (2) *Communal taxes*: *Samayāchāra* (tax on social customs), *kūṭachāra* (tax on assembly), *jāti mānya* (tax on caste privileges), and *maduve terige* (marriage tax).

Officials were appointed for the collection and supervision of these taxes. A *maṇegār*, *shānabhāg*, *ōlekār* and others were generally held responsible for each item. Usually all these items of revenue were leased out, the total collections being added on to the aggregate revenue receipts of the

¹¹⁹ This was in the year 1686, according to *Bertrand*. Political and economic conditions, as is well known, act and react on one another. It is possible, in the light of this contemporary writer's testimony, that the exertions of Chikkadevārāja Wāḍeyar to save Mysore by meeting the financial obligations occasioned by his relations with the Marathas under Sāmbāji, brought about a friction between him and his subjects which was successfully overcome (*vide* the writer's article *Chikkadevārāja Wāḍeyar and his Successors*, in the *Q.J.M.S.*, July 1932, p. 33).

respective villages. The taxes were also subject to enhancement according to the status and condition of the ryot. It was laid down that revenue from this source should be remitted to the headquarters treasury along with the general revenues, while arrangements were made for the strict collection of revenue from the divisions thrice a year (*i.e.*, in three instalments). The *subedār* of each taluk (*gaḍi*) was required to execute a bond to the effect that he would increase the revenues of the taluk in several ways, such as *pairu*, *pachhe* (taxation of economic crops) etc. It was ordained that out of the annual revenues of 7,20,000 *varahas* (approximating to Rs. 36,00,000), every day two bags containing 1,000 *varahas* each should be sent from the *gaḍis* (taluks) to the king through the chief officer of the palace, at the time when the former used to put on his forehead the *tīkā* (the vaishṇava mark). If there was undue delay on any day in the remittance of the sum to the palace, we are told, the king would devote his whole time that day to the recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa and would not attend to other avocations of his until he had personally seen the bags and sent them for deposit to the treasury, after having got the *varahas* counted. The system was indeed strict, but the rigour of taxes told only on the recalcitrant section of the subjects, while as regards others, the ordinary practice and procedure were observed. It was by his prudent husbanding of the revenue resources of the kingdom, we are told, that he was able to amass in his treasury vast sums of money, which is said to have won for him the appellation. *Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa*.¹²⁰

Sources of Revenue under the Successors of Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar (1704-1761).—The revenue history of Mysore in the eighteenth century (down to 1761) reveals the old system—modified by Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar—as being adjusted to the requirements of a polity dominated by the official and military elements. The main sources of revenue were, as usual, land revenue, excise, income-tax, tolls and customs,

¹²⁰ Literally *Lord of nine crores* (*Wilks*, I, p. 102); *cf.* the tale related by Taylor (in *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. II, pp. 224-29).

local and communal taxes, and miscellaneous items. The details of some of these items differed in some respects from, and were improvements on, the earlier system.¹²¹ Thus, under land revenue, besides the traditional items, were included tax on land sites of Brahmins and Sūdras (*brāhmaṇa niveśana*, *sūdra niveśana*) in villages and towns (*haḷḷi*, *hiriyūru*), moiety of income from rent-free lands granted to menials (*uḷiga mānyada arevāsi*), dues from *joḍi* lands granted as rent-free (*mānyada joḍi*), fee for assessment rolls (*paṭṭe kāṇike*), fee for estampages of seals on documents (*mudre kāṇike*), tax on plots of land where greens were grown (*soppina toṭa*), tax on minor crops (*chiluvāna pairu*, *jājari pairu*), surplus revenue collections of minor villages (*upagrāmagala hechhu huṭṭuvali*), surplus revenues from lands under tanks—dues on crops raised under tanks and in gardens (*kere keḷagaṇa hechhu huṭṭuvali*, *kere pairu*, *toṭada pairu*), fixed cash assessments (*sistu nagadu kaṇḍāya*), tax on dunghills (*tippe haḷḷa*) and on iron sugarcane mills (*kabbināda kabbinā gāṇa*). Under income-tax were included tax on profits in business (*lābhā-dāya*), and tax on income from exports (*horādāya*). Tolls and customs formed a major source of revenue and under this head were included octroi duties (*sunkada pommū*) on cloth (*javaḷi*), cotton (*hatti pommū*) and road tolls (*mārga sunka*). Under local taxes it is interesting to note that while the earlier traditions were maintained, most of the taxes introduced by Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar, as an exceptional measure, appear to have been already in disuse, only some being in vogue (such as *devarāya vaṭṭa*, *kuri terige* and *mane terige*). An interesting development under this head in this period, however, was the tax known as *bāla terige*. It appears to have been a tax on animals having tails (i.e., cattle) as distinguished from sheep and goats (*kuri terige*, *āḍu terige*), and was apparently synonymous with, or a shortened form of, the

¹²¹ E.C., IX BN. 118 (1705); M.A.R., 1924, p. 54 (1708); 1928, p. 52 (1711); 1910-11, pp. 55-56 (1716); p. 55 (1720); III (1) SR. 64 (1722); TN, 63 (1749); 1914-15, p. 64 (1750); 1923, pp. 41-44 (1760) etc. (*vide texts in the originals*).

item of tax *danakaru māriddakke sunka* (dues on cattle sales) introduced by Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar.¹²² Another development was the item known as *devatā arevāsi* (a moiety of incomes set apart for divine service). A unique tax throwing light on the political conditions of the times was the *dandina kāṇike* (military cess). A similar item was that known as *senāya* (cess levied on military officers). These taxes appear to have been introduced in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Among the communal taxes, inscriptions prominently mention only *jātikūṭa*, *samayāchāra*¹²³ and *puravarga* (tax on certain sections of people in the city) which would indicate that the government had still its hold on caste customs and meetings in particular localities. Under miscellaneous sources were included the items known as surplus presents or benevolences (*hechhu beḍige* or *kāṇike*) and fees for putting the *tīkā* on the forehead (*nāmagāṇike*).

Public Expenditure.—The details of public expenditure under the different rulers, as can be gathered from the available sources, may be grouped under the following heads, though the amount allotted under each item (which seems to have invariably varied) is not clear: (1) Expenses of civil and military departments—such as salaries of establishments (*aṭhavane*, *kandāchāra*, etc.), maintenance and repair of forts and arsenals, and expenses of war; (2) Works of public utility: expenses connected with irrigation—construction, maintenance and repair of tanks, canals, minor reservoirs, ponds and wells; erection of feeding houses (*annasatras*) and maintenance of roads in the interior; (3) *Devādāya*: expenses connected with

¹²² Mr. R. Narasimhachariar would interpret *bāla terige* as *taxes on children* (?) (*vide M.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 64). Dr. R. Shama Sastri would render it as *tax on animals with tails* (?) (*vide M.A.R.*, 1923, pp. 41-44). Although the exact nature of this tax is not clear, two circumstances would make it probable that it was levied on tailed animals: one is the precedent set up by Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar, referred to above (*i.e.*, *danakaru māriddakke sunka*, dues on cattle sales); the other is the survival of the custom of levying *fee* on cattle in *fairs* and on the occasion of *car festivals* in many parts of Mysore.

¹²³ Tax or fees levied for settling social and religious disputes (*vide M.A.R.*, 1923, *loc. cit.*). The object was, primarily, to prevent disturbance of public peace in local parts.

gods—such as construction, maintenance and repair of temples, mantapas, with provision for worship, offerings, ceremonies and special services (such as on the occasion of car festivals) to gods; (4) *Brahmādāya*: expenses connected with Brahmins and Brahmanical institutions (*mathas*), such as, provision for the maintenance of Brahmins and encouragement of sacred lore, in the form of agrahāras, donations and grants; (5) *Personal*: Expenditure under this head comprised of gifts and deeds of charity, endowments to institutions of other communities, and household expenditure in the palace.

An interesting feature of expenditure under the last three heads was that the entire income of a village or group of villages was often made over to the individuals or institutions or set apart for their maintenance. Although Brahmins and gods claimed special favour and privileges, the interests of the other classes were not neglected. For instance, the expenditure on feeding houses was confined to all classes of people, while endowments were made to institutions of all communities. Similarly, services in the country were thrown open to all sections, as we have already seen. For the taxes paid, the details of which varied under different rulers, the subjects had adequate returns in the security of life and property they enjoyed in villages and towns, and protection against the tyranny of the recalcitrant section of the populace. The happiness and contentment of the people during the period was no myth or fancy, but a hard fact, testified by the materials on the available records. It is significant to note that even when the power of the king was on the wane—especially in the eighteenth century—the paternal character of the government continued unimpaired, as can be gathered from the sources for the period. Conservatism and patriotism characterized the system (political and economic) which remained in full vitality and vigour undaunted by political cataclysms outside the country and unfettered by warring prejudices within.

(To be continued.)

CHANDRAGIRI

BY V. N. SRINIVASA RAO

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 3, p. 387)

Chandragiri and the Vijianagar Empire—The First Dynasty

THE various dynasties which succeeded to dominion in the south up to the end of the thirteenth century were all indigenous Hindu powers, with similar traditions, culture and institutions so that the exchange of dynasties did not affect the government or the civil life. Village communities remained the real governing power under all the dynasties and looked up to the rulers only for protection from foreign or local aggression. No wonder, therefore, that the Hindu sentiment, then, about their rulers was 'What does it matter whether Rama rules or Rayana rules so long as we are allowed to live peacefully?' The Muhammadan invasions gave a rude shock to this complacent attitude. The people were accustomed to wars and, as these were confined to the fights between the armies of the rival kings outside the city walls, the general population was untouched. They were allowed to follow their peaceful pursuits and the worship of their gods unmolested. It was a terrible spectacle to them to see their sacred places of worship desecrated and pillaged and innocent people massacred. The wanton cruelty to the unhappy wretches who fell into the hands of these conquerors filled them with unspeakable horror. South India felt that she must perish with her arts, her civilization and her liberties before these cruel hordes. People were roused to a sense of their common danger and flocked to the standard of any local chief who could lead them against their common foe with any degree of capacity. The universal reaction against the Muhammadans and the union of the Hindu royal houses resulted in the foundation of the mighty Empire of Vijianagar which, for a period of over three centuries, struggled with unabated zeal to preserve whatever was noblest in the Hindu ideal of a perfect government.



Krishna Deva Raya, Chinna Devi and Nagala
Devi on the Tirumalai Hills.



Venkatapathi Raya, Founder of Chandragiri
Empire, and Achyuta Raya and his Consort.



The inscriptions of these kings which are ably edited from year to year by the Madras Epigraphical Department, the accounts of travellers, such as Ibn Batuta, Nicolo-di-Conti, Abdul Razack, Varthema, the letters of Nuniz and Pæs (Mr. Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*) furnish us contemporary accounts of this empire at successive stages of its progress. Modern researches by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Father Heras and other scholars have contributed richly to our knowledge of this empire. Abdul Razack exclaims, "One might seek in vain throughout the whole Hindustan, a mere absolute Rai—for the monarchs of this country bear the title of Rai. The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a plan like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the whole world. All inhabitants of the country, both high and low, down to the workman in the bazaar wear pearls, or rings set with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand and on the fingers." Nicolo-di-Conti who visited Vijianagar during the reign of Devaraya II (1420 to 1422 A.D.) writes, "The great city of Bizengalia (Vijianagar) is situated very close to steep mountains. The circumference of the city is sixty miles. Its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their feet so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city are estimated to live 90,000 men fit to bear arms. Eight days of journey from Bizengalia lies the noble city of Palagonda (Penukonda) subject to the same sovereign. Twenty days by land brought me to the seaport of Pendifetamia (Dharmapattanam near Tellicherry)—on the road I passed two cities, Odescheria (Udayagiri) and Centragiria (Chandragiri)." Nuniz and Pæs shower unreserved praise on the splendours of Vijianagar, its wealth, its beauty and the grandeur of its festivities.

It is however outside the scope of a local history to follow in detail the fortunes of this empire; our task is to show only the contributions of Chandragiri to this empire. It has been shown that Chandragiri was the seat of a viceroyalty almost

from the inception of the Vijianagar empire. Its chief Saluva Mangideva and his grandson Gunda III were commanders-in-chief under the emperors and were actively associated with them in their task of consolidating the empire. According to inscriptions, Saluva Gunda III conquered the Keralas, Tuluvas, Andhras and Katakas and gave their wealth to his king. 'He was to Harihara as Maruti was to Rama, faithful and devoted.' He is credited with having set up '*Satakumbhala-
nkruta Jayastambas*' (pillars of victory coated with gold) in all countries conquered by him. His office as the generalissimo of the Vijianagar forces made him shift his capital from Chandragiri to Kalyani and on his retirement, his son Saluva Narasimha changed the capital back to Chandragiri, though he succeeded to the high office of the commander-in-chief of the Vijianagar army and chief minister of the emperor.

During the period Gunda III was occupied with his military expeditions, separate governors were appointed to the Chandragirirajya. Nicolo-di-Conti also mentions having visited Chandragiri and refers to it as an important town in 1420-22 A.D. Mahapradhana Mallana was the first governor. Inscriptions at wide intervals dated 1408, 1417 and 1444 A.D. mention him as residing in Chandragiri. His first viceroyalty appears to have lasted from 1408 A.D. to 1417 A.D. An inscription dated Saka 1339 (1417 A.D.) states that he made arrangements for daily food offerings and lights to the God and that he completed the construction of the Tirumani Mantapam in front of the central shrine from the stone basement to the roof. The next governor was Srigiri-Bhupala, the son of Vijia Bhupathi. He appears to have reigned at Chandragiri till 1444 A.D. It has been stated elsewhere that the conversion of Sri Venkateswara shrine to Vaishnavism must have taken place during his reign. He was relieved by Mallana in 1444 A.D. and died shortly afterwards (1446 A.D.). No. 172 of 1915 (Appendix) of the epigraphical collections is an order by the king to Srigiri-natha of Chandragiri to remit the jodi to 131 Pon (Varahan)

and $6\frac{1}{2}$ Panam or $1316\frac{1}{6}$ Panam from Tirupakuli, in order that the amount might be utilized for the Periaiperumal temple of that place. The order further directed the viceroy to send his own "Tirvahichchittu" to the Stanikas of the village to make copies of the king's order (Rayasam) in the four registers and to place the original document in the hands of the Stanikas as a 'Sasana'. The document is signed by Sri-girinatha in Kannada. From an inscription dated 1442 A.D. we find that a separate commander, Tippa Nagayanaicker, was appointed for the forces stationed at Chandragiri. This is interesting as it shows that some trouble was apprehended in this province about this period, probably some disturbances between Saivas and Vaishnavas as a consequence of the conversion of the shrine to Vaishnavism.

The next governor was Saluva Peria Mallayadeva Maharaja, the son of Errakampayyadeva, a descendant of one of the brothers of Saluva Mangideva and therefore a cousin of Saluva Narasimha. His inscriptions appear from 1446 A.D. Peria Mallayadeva was succeeded by Saluva Narasimha about 1456 A.D. Prior to taking charge at Chandragiri he appears to have reigned at Kalyani for about eight years.

The period when Narasimha came to office also marks the decline of the Vijianagar empire under the first dynasty of its emperors. Several attempts were made on the life of Devaraja II and the disputes regarding succession after his death considerably lowered the credit of the empire in the estimation of the adjoining Hindu and Muhammadan powers who took the opportunity to invade the northern dominions. Devaraja's successor Mallikarjuna had to be constantly at war, to preserve his dominions intact. The first offensive that drew Saluva Narasimha from Chandragiri was the attack of Kapileswara Gajapathi of Orissa who invaded the southern provinces of the empire carrying his arms to Kanchi and to Tirukkoilur. The tradition in Chandragiri about 'Odderaju-gutta' or 'the hill of the Raja of Orissa', shows that Kapileswara attempted an attack on the fort on the Chandragiri durgam by raising a mud hill between this hill and the adjoining hillock

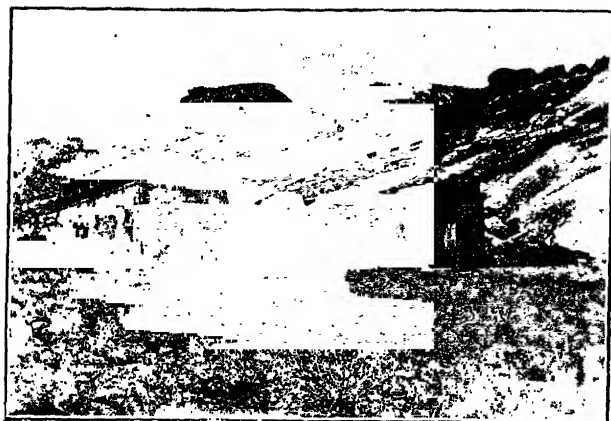
to effect an entry into the fort. The camp of this king on the adjoining hillock is pointed out to this day. Saluva Narasimha pursued the Orissa army right up to the banks of the Krishna and started on an expedition of consolidation and conquest. Two Telugu works 'Jaiminibharatam' and 'Parijatapaharanam' describe the conquest of Narasimha and his able generals Iswara Naick, father of Narasa Naika, and Araveti Bukka, the progenitor of the Aravidu dynasty. It will be a long story to narrate all his achievements. "The places described are distributed all over the southern portion of Mysore and the districts of Nellore and even Krishna where fighting had to be done to beat off Muhammadans. These series of wars took him close on the frontiers of the Bahmini Kingdom." Mr. H. Krishna Sastry observes, "The conquests of Narasinga and his generals which are narrated in these poems were critically examined by Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu in his article on the Devulapalli plates. They confirm the statement of Nuniz and the Muhammadan historians that Narasimha was constantly at war with the Muhammadans and saved the Vijianagar Kingdom from becoming an easy prey to them at a time when the weakness of its last emperors Mallikarjuna, Virupaksha and his successors afforded a favourable opportunity for its enemies to crush its power and annex it to their dominions." By 1481 (according to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar) "Malnad Districts of Mysore and west coast comprising the Mala Rajya and the Tulu Rajya with the country round Vijianagar were the only provinces under the effective rule of the Central Government, the southern Mahratta country fast slipping out of the hands of rulers of Vijianagar since the fall of Goa and Belgaum. In other words, it was only the territories under the control of Narasimha that were able to hold their own against the enemies of Vijianagar, the other portions fast passing into the hands of Muhammadans or on the high road to disintegration." When it became inevitable that 'the empire built at such great cost of blood and brains' should perish at the hands of the Muhammadans, Saluva Narasimha stepped into the imperial capital. Nuniz states



Chandragiri Palace
in whose Central Hall Madras was gifted to Francis Day.



Rani Mahal.



Supposed Residence of Tenali Rama.



Siva Temple, South of the Palace

that, at the approach of his captain Narasa Naik, the emperor fled from his palace and there was not a single man defending the place and that Narasimha was much beloved by the people and raised to be king. Narasimha was an amiable and accomplished prince, a liberal patron of letters, as revealed by the several works dedicated to him, a zealous Hindu and the ablest general of his day. The people could not have chosen a better man. It does not appear that he assumed the full titles of the Vijianagar emperors. His inscriptions at Tirumalai range from 1456 A.D. to 1489 A.D. and those of his son Immadi Narasimha date from 1492 A.D. It would, therefore, appear that he was simply at the head of the empire. Hence it is not correct to call him an usurper. His work in Chandragiri is memorable for the several buildings he constructed including the present fort. The story of the kite carrying off the rajah's turban from the Tirumalai hills, mistaking it for a piece of raw flesh and depositing it in the present site which led the rajah to build the fort, apparently refers to him. The building on the Tirumalai hill now occupied by the Mahant's Mutt was built by him. Under the guidance of his religious preceptor, he reorganized the worship in the temples at Tirumalai and Tirupati and established, for the first time, Ramanujakutams or free feeding houses at the shrines at Tirumalai and Tirupati. He gave the first great impetus to the spread of Vaishnavism. He was one of the greatest of Vijianagar sovereigns, so much so, that even the empire came to be known to foreigners as 'Narasyinga' or the empire of Narasimha. He was succeeded in administration by his able general Narasa Naik who completed the conquest of his master and consolidated the empire. After Narasa Naik, his son Vira Narasimha had a brief reign and he was succeeded by his brother, the great Krishnaraya. From a manuscript in the Mackenzie collection (Taylor's Vol. III, p. 650) we learn that Krishnaraya was a viceroy with his capital at Vellore and that Chandragiri was subject to him. He appointed one Venkatapathi Naidu as the governor of Chandragiri under him. After the death of Venkatapathi,

one of his two sons, Kasturi Naidu, was appointed by him as the governor of Chandragiri and the other son he appointed as a 'Dalavoy' under him. He took him to Penukonda and, when he ascended the Vijianagar throne, he made him governor of Penukonda in succession to himself. Chandragiri appears to have been a favourite resort of this king and it is said that most books written during his time were written at Chandragiri which would indicate that it was the University of the empire. The inscriptions at Tirumalai show that he visited Tirumalai whenever he could steal some leisure from his busy campaigns. Krishnadevaraya was the greatest of the Vijianagar emperors and perhaps the greatest of the South Indian monarchs and the success of his reign was in no small measure due to his famous ministers Saluva Timmarasu or Timmaraju, a Neogi Brahmin of Chandragiri, who took service under Krishnaraja's father Narasa Naik and rose to the position of the prime minister during Narasa Naik's time which position he retained till 1536 A.D. (Achuta's reign). The statement of Nuniz that Krishnaraya put out the eyes of Timmarasu before his death on account of his suspicion that the minister poisoned Krishnaraya's son and heir appears unfounded as we find him as a minister under Achuta also. In some inscriptions Krishnaraya calls Timmarasu his own body. He testifies to the greatness of his minister thus, "He was faithfulness itself, the abode of all good qualities, whose glory outshone the sun and surpassed the gods in wisdom" (H. Krishna Sastri). Krishnaraya addressed his minister as 'Appaji' or 'Respected Father'.

Achuta, the brother and successor of Krishnaraya, was at Chandragiri throughout the reign of Krishnaraya, it is said, as a prisoner but, more probably, as a governor. He was first crowned at Tirupati, then at Kalahasti and finally at Vijianagar. The construction of the ladies' mahal in the fort at Chandragiri is attributed to him. The names of two local governors at Chandragiri occur in the inscriptions of this reign: Ramabhattayya from 1536 A.D. to 1541 and Chinna Thimmayya Deva (1545 A.D.). This Chinna Thimmayya was probably

Salaka Thimmaraya, the brother-in-law of Achuta. The ruined temple near Thondavada on the road from Chandragiri to Tirupati, locally known as Timmapuram temple, was perhaps built during this reign. The architecture is distinctly of the Vijianagar type. The commander of the forces stationed at Chandragiri was Dalavayi Thimmanarasayya, a Brahmin general, who is described as the son of minister Somanadayya. Virappa, one of Achuta's officers, constructed the Kalyan Venkateswara temple at Narayanavanam. Achuta's reign is important for the internal reforms he introduced to put down corruption among his officers and the beneficent measures he evolved to repopulate villages deserted on account of the exhausting wars of the previous reigns. The institution of village officers and the system of service and personal inams date from his reign.

The next king was Sadasiva. His minister Ramaraya was the *de facto* king. The empire reached its zenith in this reign and also received its crushing blow at the battle of Talikota where, owing to the treachery of one of his Muhammadan generals, Ramaraya was betrayed into the hands of the enemy and was foully murdered when the Hindus had almost won the battle. In the confusion caused by the death of the king, the army retreated and the Muhammadans pursued the retreating army, sacked and destroyed the great city of Vijianagar. Those interested in the story may peruse the account of this battle in *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijianagara* by Father Heras. After the battle, Tirumalai, the surviving brother of Ramaraya, changed the capital to Penukonda which continued to be the capital till 1586 A.D. Tirumalai deputed one son Rama to the viceroyalty of Srirangapattanam, another son Venkatapathi Raya to the viceroyalty of Chandragiri, Ginji and Madura with headquarters at Chandragiri while he retained the eldest son Sri Rangaraya at Penukonda. Sri Ranga succeeded to the throne in 1573-74 A.D. By 1580 he had lost the important fortress of Udayagiri, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Tangedu and Kondavidu and the country included in them. When Sri Ranga died in 1586 A.D.

Venkatapathiraya or Venkata I, the viceroy at Chandragiri, succeeded to the throne and ruled from Chandragiri.

The Chandragiri Empire (1586 to 1646 A.D.)

A local chronicle states that Venkatapathiraya extended the fort and put up the two mahals at Chandragiri. His coronation was performed by the Vaishnava teacher Tirumala Tatacharya. According to local tradition, the town extended during his reign on the north to Mangapuram, on the east to Adapularepalli, on the south to Dornakambala and on the west to Mungilput, over an area of nearly fifty square miles. He appears to have attempted to reproduce Vijianagar at Chandragiri. Evidences of elaborate arrangements to lead water from the Mungilput channel to the moat are still visible. Earthenware pipes connecting the moat, which apparently served as a reservoir, and the several tanks and wells in its neighbourhood show that the city was well served by a system of pipes. Between the first and the second walls opposite to the present mosque in the fort, there is a brick and mortar construction which is pointed out as the residence of Tenali Rama, the famous court-jester. From its appearance as a long hall with windows in the modern style, it would appear to be the Jesuit church which, according to Father Heras, existed here during the time of Venkatapathiraya. Venkatapathiraya appears to have attempted to win back the lost territories immediately after his accession. Whether he succeeded in this or not, he does not appear to have lost fresh territory. Mantla Ananta of Sidhout claims to have been the right-hand man of the emperor. Three others of Venkata's ministers were Tammaya Mantri, Tarigoppula Mallana and Pemmasani Peddatimmaraju. His military commander was Gobburi Oberaya, his father-in-law. Venkatapathiraya married four or five wives; of them, the names of three are known: (1) Venkatamma, (2) Obamma (daughter of Jillella Rangaraya), (3) Krishnamma (daughter of Gobburi Oberaya). He had no children by any of these wives. On this account and probably on account of the reverses at the

battle of Talikota, in which he appears to have taken part, he seems to have lost interest in the administration; and the presence of great religious reformers, like Tatacharya and Appayya Dikshita and Jesuit Missionaries, who even hoped to convert him to Christianity, helped to divert him from the concerns of his empire and devote his time to religious speculation and literary pastime. He was a great devotee of Venkateswara. Copper-plate inscriptions of his time bear the signature of 'Sri Venkateswara'. A copper statue of Venkatapathiraya still adorns the right side of the entrance into the Venkateswara temple on Tirumalai. He was equally indifferent to the palace intrigues regarding his successor and brought about one of the most horrible tragedies ever heard of in history, and for ever destroyed any semblance of fear of the imperial power. According to Barradas (*A Forgotten Empire*, by Mr. Sewell) he encouraged one of his wives, the daughter of the Gobburi chief, to bring up a bastard as her own son and even allowed him to be styled 'Chikkaraya' or the crown prince. Three days before his death, however, he sent for his nephew Sri Ranga and crowned him with his own hands. Immediately after Venkata's death, a claim was set up on behalf of the putative prince and Jaggaraya, son of Oberaya, the commander-in-chief of the imperial forces, imprisoned the new king and his family in the Chandra-giri fort and crowned the impostor. This led to a civil war, Echama Naik of the Venkatagiri family and the Naik of Tanjore siding with the rightful king, while the Naik of Madura sided with the rebels. Echama Naik managed to rescue the second son of the emperor, who was brought away from the prison by a washerman, hidden in a bundle of dirty clothes. The emperor was then compelled to take his own life and the lives of the other members of his family consisting of his wife, three boys and two girls.

Rama IV

The prince who was rescued by Echama Naik succeeded in putting down the rebels and ascended the throne under the

name of Rama IV. He reigned from 1616 A.D. to 1630 A.D. The Muhammadans who were always on the look-out for opportunities to extend their dominions did not fail to take advantage of these dissensions and almost all the country from the south of the Krishna to near the borders of Echama Naik's frontier, except the coast, appears to have passed into their hands. During his reign, the Rajahs of Kalahasti (the Damarla family) allied by ties of marriage with the family of Echama Naik rose to prominence and they continued to be the most powerful generals under Rama and his successors. Though Rama IV married two wives he had no children. He selected Pedda Venkata or Venkata II, grandson of Alia Ramaraya, of Talikota fame, as his successor.

Pedda Venkata or Venkata II appears to have been a luckier king than his predecessor. His talented brother Chinna Venkata and the sons of Chenna (after whom Madras is known as Chennapatnam) of Kalahasti ably assisted him in restoring the prestige and authority of the empire. Several inscriptions confirm that Venkata II was a powerful prince. The great Tirumala Naik of Madura and the Bidanur chief as also the chiefs of Karvetinagar appear to have assisted him in the battle-field. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri states that an interesting document of his time now preserved in the 'Darga of Babayya' at Penukonda, records the renewal of certain old grants together with bestowal of fresh grants to that popular Muhammadan institution. This illustrates the liberal spirit which characterized this last great Hindu sovereign. From the Telugu poem 'Ushaparinayam' (*Sources of Vijayanagar Empire*) we learn that the town of Madras was built by Ayyappa, son of Chenna of Kalahasti, who interposed it between the Portuguese at Mylapore (St. Thome) and the Dutch at Pulicat to prevent their quarrels on this boundary. This account receives corroboration from the book 'The Founding of the Fort St. George' by Foster (quoted by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri) which states that the chief Venkatapathi (of Kalahasti) gave, with the permission of Venkata II, a cowle to the English factors to build a fort at Madras which the Naik

called Chennapatnam after the name of his father. It also states that the 'Chief was the lord general of Carnatica and grand Vazier to the king.' The emperor who gave audience to Francis Day in 1640 A.D. was Venkata II. The coast line was then under the Kalahasti chiefs.

Venkata II died at Narayanavanam in 1642 A.D. and with him passed away the last of the great emperors of the Vijianagar empire.

The accession of the new king, Sri Ranga VI, gave the local chiefs opportunity to develop their schemes to throw off the yoke of the emperor and enlarge their petty states. The mutual jealousy between Tirumala Naik of Madura and Kantirava Narasa of Mysore led to the former inviting the Bijapu to invade the imperial capital which was now changed to Vellore. The opportunity was not missed by the Bahmini kings. The Bijapur and Golkonda kings united their forces to crush the Hindu empire. The Bijapur army under Mostapha Khan attacked Vellore and the Golkonda forces under Mirzumla attacked Chandragiri. The emperor was compelled to sue for terms. Professor Sircar observes, "Between these two streams of invasions, Sri Ranga, the last representative of the Vijianagar royalty, was completely crushed out. He offered a long and desperate resistance. But his worst enemies were his own people. The insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions of his Hindu feudatories rendered all his efforts futile and the Muslims conquered Hindu Deccan piecemeal with the greatest rapidity." As the Jesuit Missionary Antoine de Proenza wrote from Trichinopoly (1659 A.D.), "The old kings of this country appear, by their jealousies and imprudent action, to invite the conquest of entire India by the Muslims." The same authority states that Sri Ranga recovered a part of his dominions (about 1650 A.D.) with the help of Mysore and repulsed a Golkonda army that had advanced to fight him. Tirumala Naik, instead of helping him, appealed to the Muslims and opened the mountain passes to them, enabling them to carry the war into Mysore. Thus losing his last ally, Sri Ranga finally fell.

Very little remains to be told after this period. Aurangazib overthrew Bijapur and Golconda in 1687 A.D. and placed these dominions under the Nawab of the Carnatic. In 1758 Chandragiri was held by Abdul Wahab Khan, the brother of the Nawab of the Carnatic. In 1782 Haider Ali made the place surrender and it remained subject to Mysore until the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792 A.D. when it passed into the hands of the British.

Conclusion

We have seen that Chandragiri was actively associated with the first dynasty of Vijianagar in establishing it firmly on the throne. The second and third dynasties were a contribution from Chandragiri, while it was the capital of the empire for over a century under the fourth dynasty. No history of Vijianagar can be considered complete without an acknowledgment of the contribution of Chandragiri to that great empire. Sri Ranga's last act as the representative of the illustrious line of kings was to confirm, in his memorable grant dated 1645-46, the cowle already granted to the English factors by Damarla Venkatapathi in 1640 A.D. The cowle was signed 'Sri Rama'.

THE HUNDRED-PILLARED MANDAPAM AT CHIDAMBARAM

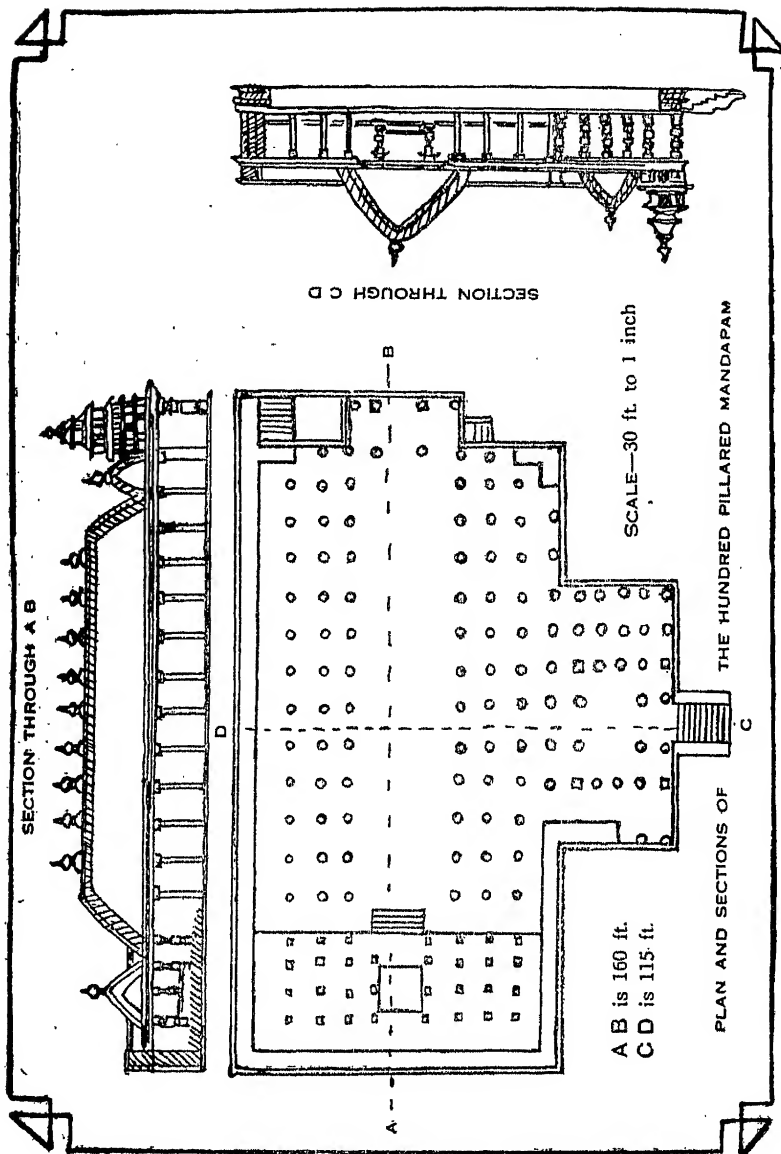
(Concluded from Vol. XXIII, No. 3, p. 337.)

BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, B.A., L.T.

PART IV

Later History

IN later times, the mandapam seems to have been used for the celebration of festivals of deities. During the days of Achyuta Deva the worship of 'Govinda Rāja' seems to have been re-established; and with it came the revival of hostility between the followers of Saivite and Vaishṇavite sects. The Hundred-Pillared Mandapam formed the bone of contention between the trustees of the two temples. With the patronage of Vijayanagar rulers, this mandapam seems to have passed under the control of the Vaishṇavites. This might have happened either in the days of Achyuta Rāya (c. 1529 A.D.) or in the reign of Srī Ranga. From an inscription of the latter dated Śaka 1565 (1643 A.D.), we learn that Srī Ranga repaired the big mandapa in front of the Tillai-Govinda Rājaswāmin in Tiru-çṭitrakūṭam (the Vaishṇavite name for Chidambaram), the gōpura of the shrine, the vimāna of the Goddess Pundarikavalli nācciyār, and the mandapa in front of Tiruvāli Alwān. He also made a gift of some villages. This was the period of the ascendancy of Vaishṇavite influence at Chidambaram. So it is possible the Hundred-Pillared-Mandapam fell into the possession of the Vaishṇavites. This right was again contested towards the end of the eighteenth century. For, according to an agreement entered into by the two parties on the 17th of October 1796, just a few years prior to the passing of the Carnatic into the hands of the East India Company (1801), during the administration of the Arcot-region by *Huzarath Muhammad Moīnuddin Khan Saheb*, evidently the local chief of the Nawab



of the Carnatic, the Saivite party were made to concede, " we shall deliver into *their* (Vaishṇavite) possession the Hundred-Pillared-Maṇḍapam which belongs to the Viṣṇu temple according to *mamool* (custom) for the *uthsavams* (festivals), usually performed in the Perumāl temple." But in spite of this agreement, their differences do not seem to have been settled amicably. The maṇḍapam had been kept closed in recent times, perhaps to prevent the possibility of the Vaishṇavites getting into possession of it. In spite of some modern repairs, this maṇḍapam of such historic associations, threatens to collapse at no distant date.¹

PART V

A Brief Description of the Maṇḍapam

The maṇḍapam is about 160 feet long east to west, and 100 feet broad north to south. The basement is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high with a frieze of 'Yali'—(in the portion called 'Akrappattiyal' according to Dravidian architectural terms)—running in the topmost layer all round which may be said to be a distinct feature of Dravidian architecture.²

In the western end of the maṇḍapam, there is a raised platform, on which perhaps the coronation ceremony of kings took place and in later times the 'pooja' of the deities. In front of it to the east is a large hall surmounted by a vaulted roof³ which, together with the flat ceiling all round,

¹ For further particulars about this period, see my paper, 'Chidambaram in Vijayanagar Days'—in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 40-53.

² See J. Dubreuil's *Dravidian Architecture* edited by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, p. 17 and *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 174, para 1.

³ Fergusson in describing the thousand-pillared hall of this place opines, " Leaving out the pillars in the centre is the one redeeming feature, and that could easily have been effected without the brick-vaults formed of radiating arches, which are employed here—a certain proof of the modern age of the building. These vaults are certainly integral, and as certainly could not have been employed till after the Muhammadans had settled in the south, and taught the Hindus how to use them.... " I do not think that Fergusson is right in holding that the vaulted roof could not be traced in South India earlier than the end of the sixteenth century or the seventeenth.

must have been once covered over with fresco-painting, of which only a few traces—a lotus design, a few human figures, etc.—are now found. They seem to be the oldest paintings in the temple.

There are two entrances to the maṇḍapam. Each has a small tower above. One is in the east and the other in the south. The latter seems to have been the main entrance, and it is provided with a flight of steps and Dvārapālakas in the niches down below on either side of the steps.

There are four main types of pillars. Most of them are cylindrical in shape (A) with corbels of 'later Cōla style'. At the portico of the southern entrance, we have rows of fluted octagonal⁴ pillars mounted with 'bulbous capital' (B). Where the portico and the central dome meet, there are two big-sized cubical pillars combining the features of 'pattam' and 'śaduram' in their formation. That these pillars form part of the old structure is evident from the fact that one of them bears an inscription of Vīra Pāndya discussed above. There are also two similar pillars where the main dome rests on the eastern side (C). At the extreme corners of the maṇḍapam there is again another set of cubical pillars but smaller in size than those (C) described above. They are decorated with unopened lotuses upwards and downwards between each 'śaduram'. It is worthy of note that these four different styles of pillars are assembled together in the construction of this maṇḍapam.⁵

The Mauryan Hall

We learn that, in the Mauryan capital of Pātaliputra, there was a 'Hundred-columned Hall' in which each column was separated from the other by equal distances of ten cubits. It was further stated by the late Dr. Spooner that the Mauryan Hall had close resemblances to a similar

⁴ The beginnings of this style are to be found in Pallava structures, and it is further developed in Coja times.

See also J. Dubreuil's *Dravidian Architecture*, p. 11.

⁵ Mr. V. Subbaroya Ayyar kindly helped me with a ground plan of the maṇḍapam, appended to this article.

hall at Persepolis—the throne room of Darius Hystaspes. Whether the construction of the Hundred-Pillared Maṇḍapam of Cōḷa times was an independent development or a descendant of the Pāṭalīputra hall of Mauryan times and whether the Mauryan hall was an indigenous growth or of foreign (*i.e.*, Persian) origin are questions involving a wider issue that should be left for the future.

TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 2, p. 261.)

Now, an exact parallelism in structure and function is furnished by a similar participle in Kannaḍa, described in Sūtra 235 of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa and discussed elaborately by Kittel in his *Grammar* on pages 109 and 110.

This Kannaḍa participle shows the following endings:

-tum, -ttum, -ttam, -te, -tte (older dialect);

-ta, -tā, -ttā (modern dialect).

The following structural peculiarities of the Kannaḍa forms are noteworthy for our purpose:

(i) In the older dialects of Kannaḍa, forms with a final nasal existed beside forms without the nasal; as Kittel has pointed out, -e of -te and -tte (the forms without the nasal) is an emphatic particle.

(ii) The final nasal of -tum, etc. is, as rightly pointed out by Kittel, a part of the *samuccaya* -um annexed optionally to these Kannaḍa participles to reinforce the idea of 'progression'.

(iii) The forms of the modern speech are based upon -tam, -ttam of the older dialect, and the optional lengthening of the final vowel is compensatory for the loss of final -m.

So far as the functions of this Kannaḍa participle are concerned, they denote contemporaneous action or continuation:

nagu-tum bandam (he came laughing);

jaḍiyu-tum poḍedam (he beat chiding);

uṇutum irdam (he was eating);

modern *ōḍutta hōguvanu eḍavi biddānu* (he who runs may fall down);

avanu tanna kudureyanu huḍukuttā naḍedanu (he walked seeking his horse).

Now, if we take up the Telugu participle, we note a very striking correspondence in structure and function.

The ending of the literary participle is *-cun*, the final *-n* of which may optionally disappear before vowels in *druta sandhi*. The representatives of this in the popular dialect are *-tû*, *-tu*. The functions performed by the Telugu participle are in the main the same as those of the Kannaḍa form [see Telugu illustrations given above].

(i) Structurally, Telugu literary *-cun*, undoubtedly allied to popular Telugu *-tu*, *-tû*, could be regarded as being cognate with Kannaḍa *-tum*.

(ii) The old Kannaḍa dialect shows endings with and without the final nasal; the Telugu ending may drop its final *-n* in *druta sandhi*.

(iii) Both in popular Telugu and in modern Kannaḍa, the endings show alternatively compensatory lengthening of the final vowel after the nasal has been dropped.

(iv) Both the Kannaḍa and the Telugu participles perform identical functions.

If Telugu literary *-cun* and Kannaḍa *-tum* are seen to be so closely allied in structure, function and later evolution, it is easy to see that the final portions of these endings may have had the same origin.

Kittel has explained that *-tum* of Kannaḍa contains the *samuccaya* particle *-um*, the use of which in connection with the present adverbial participle is in keeping with its meaning of 'progression' or 'continuation'.

The Telugu representative of the Tamil-Kannaḍa *samuccaya*, is *-un*; and this *-un* is probably contained in the ending *-cun*.

In the light of this inference, the existence of alternative forms with and without the *samuccaya* in Kannaḍa and the optional dropping of the nasal in Telugu before vowels, stand explained. The *samuccaya* was only a reinforcer at first and it must have been regarded as such in the earlier stages in Kannaḍa and Telugu, in the former as shown by the existence of alternative endings without the nasal, and in Telugu as shown by the optional dropping of *-n* before vowels in *druta sandhi*.

	TELUGU	KANNADA	TAMIL	MALAYĀLAM	GŌŇDI
(a) Infinitival noun governed by a verb.	<i>bālūḍū tsaduwa</i> [n] <i>dulācēnu</i> (the boy) ← <i>tsaduwa</i> [n]	<i>nīram taral v(ṣ)ēl</i> <i>dam</i> (he ordered the bringing of water); <i>taral</i> may appear as <i>tara</i> also ← <i>taral</i> , <i>tara</i> <i>ōda</i> (or <i>ōdal</i>) <i>paḍ-</i> <i>beku</i> (reading is necessary) ← <i>ōda</i> , <i>ōdal</i>	<i>nīr tara-c-cōmān</i> (he ordered the bringing of water) ← <i>tara</i>	old Mal. <i>colla-t-toḍayṇinān</i> (be-gan to say) of Ramacaritam ← <i>colla</i>	This dialect shows a participle with <i>-le</i> and without it, alternatively used for denoting 'purpose' and 'Infinitival idea' (Trench's Gōṇḍi Gr., p. 17) :— 'Purpose' : <i>tamāḍā hurī-le-sk handāḍōnā</i> (I am going to see the fun), where <i>hurīle</i> is the participle reinforced with <i>-sk</i> , the Dative ending. <i>tindā hal puṭṭo</i> or <i>tindāle hal puṭṭo</i> (for eating nothing is found) where <i>tindā</i> or <i>tindāle</i> (eating) may be used. 'Infinitival use' : <i>aggā handāle varitāṭōnu</i> (I fear to go there) where <i>handāle</i> (going) shows <i>-le</i> .
(b) Infinitival noun as subject of verb.	<i>tsaduwa</i> [n] <i>vala-yinu</i> (is necessary to read); <i>tsaduwa-</i> [n] <i>dagunu</i> (is fit to read) <i>tsaduwa</i> [n] <i>baḍ-</i> (to be read) ← <i>tsaduwa</i> [n]	<i>ōda</i> (or <i>ōdal</i>) <i>paḍ-</i> <i>beku</i> (reading is necessary) ← <i>ōda</i> , <i>ōdal</i>	<i>solla-t-tagum</i> (will be fit to say), <i>sola-p-paḍum</i> ('will suit to say', i.e. 'will be said'), <i>ōdal vēṇḍum</i> (will be necessary to read) or <i>ōda vēṇḍum</i> with the same meaning.	<i>paṭaya-t-takka</i> (fit to say) < where say-ing fits). <i>paṭaya-p-paḍum</i> will be said < saying will happen). <i>paṭaya-nam</i> (must say) < <i>paṭaya-veṇam</i> < <i>paṭaya vēṇḍum</i> . Not common in modern Malayālam, but cf. the old Mal. usage <i>rāman irikkē</i> (or <i>irikkarē</i>), <i>avan adu ceyyumo?</i> (Rama remaining, would he do it?) 	
(c) In Nominative Absolute Phrases.	<i>kōḍi kūya</i> [n] <i>gā</i> [n] <i>rāmūḍ-illu vēḍa-</i> <i>tenu</i> (the cock crowing, Rama left the house) ← <i>kūya</i> [n] <i>gān</i>	<i>gāyakam pāḍal</i> (or <i>pāḍē</i>), <i>arasam mettadam</i> (the songster singing, the king was glad)	<i>nāyiru-paḍa, rāman pōṇān</i> (the sun setting, Rama went)		
(d) Purpose.	<i>bālūḍu tsaduwa</i> [n], <i>bōyenu</i> (the boy went for reading)	<i>tinal kōṇḍam</i> or <i>tinal-ge kōṇḍam</i> (he killed for eating)	old <i>uṇaḷ-gu-p-pōṇān</i> or new <i>uṇṇa-p-pōṇān</i> (he went for taking food)		The alternative use of forms with and without <i>-le</i> , the use of <i>-(s)ē</i> , the Dative affix for reinforcing 'purpose' and the different uses to which these participles are put in Gōṇḍi suggest a connexion with South Dr. <i>-al</i> , <i>-a</i> .

	TELUGU	KANNADA	TAMIL	MALAYĀLAM	GŌṆḌĪ
<p>(८) Effect.</p> <p>Note how the significations of 'purpose' and 'effect' are closely related and how the relationship of the Infinitive to the main verb in the former case is 'futuristic' and may easily give rise to the idea of 'result' being associated with the Infinitive.</p> <p>The use of the Infinitive to denote 'result' is, however, not so common in the dialects as the use of the form for denoting 'purpose'.</p>	<p><i>paḍa[n]</i> <i>gaṭṭēnu</i> (he beat in such a way as to cause to fall) ← <i>paḍan</i> <i>sapaṣṭamu-gā[n]</i> <i>ceppināḍu</i> (he spoke clearly) ← <i>gāṇu</i></p>	<p>Cf. footnote to p. 260 of Kittel's <i>Gr.</i></p>	<p><i>nel viṭaya, maḷai peydaḍu</i> (the rains fell with the result that paddy grew) ← <i>viṭaya</i> <i>cf. -āga in nand' r-āga oḍinān</i> (he ran well)</p>	<p>Cf. the old proverb <i>ellu muṟiye-p-paiḍāḷ, paḷlu muṟiye-t-timāḍu</i> (if one works hard enough to break one's bones, one can eat plentifully enough) ← <i>muṟiye</i></p> <p>[Note the final -e and cf. -e appearing in Mal. words like <i>aḍukke</i> (near) <i>nēre</i> (straightly) which are old Infinitives now used as <i>arayaṟus</i>.]</p>	

(ii) The Infinitive of Telugu (*tumannarthaka*) has the druta *n* in its ending *-an*. The uses of the Telugu form and of the corresponding Infinitives of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Malayālam and Gōṇḍi are illustrated in the table given above.

I may also point out here certain uses to which the Infinitives are put in Kûi and in Kurukh; these also remind us of the employment of the Infinitive in the south.

Kûi: The Infinitives in Kûi end in *-a*, the semi-formatives of the verb-bases being incorporated wherever they have to be.

(1) The Infinitive is used as the subject or as the object of a verb:

mī bahta tinba mane (you with to-eat exists, *i.e.*, you have food).

earu tinba uṇba giteru (they to-eat to-drink made, *i.e.*, they had a meal).

(2) As an Infinitive of purpose, with *tangi* (for the purpose of):

krâḍi dega-tangi dunjite (tiger to-run for-the-purpose-of commenced, *i.e.*, the tiger started to run away).

sêru rûva tangi (yoke of oxen to-plough for-the-purpose-of, *i.e.*, in order to plough).

(3) In Nominative Absolute phrases:

vêla sroḥpa-ne, sūkanga gule lûmbinu (sun to-rise-indeed, stars all disappear, *i.e.*, the sun rising, the stars disappear).

-ne is an emphatic particle in Kûi; *cf.* the use of *-ê* in the Mal. Nominative Absolute phrase with the Infinitive as in *avan irikka-v-ê, râman vañḥu* (he to-remain-indeed, Rama came, *i.e.*, he remaining, Rama came).

[Winfield, *Gr.*, pages 134, 136.]

Kurukh: The Infinitive in Kurukh ends in *-â*; the Dative *-ge* is combined with it as *-â-ge* when the idea of purpose has to be conveyed, *cf.* the similar use of the Dative in the illustrations given above from the southern dialects.

(1) Used with the force of a noun :

âs-ge kâlâ tukkî (to-him to-walk arises-in-the-mind, *i.e.*, he thinks of walking).

ônâ xaccyas (to-eat he-finished, *i.e.*, he finished eating).

(2) To denote purpose :

êrâ keras (to-see he-went, *i.e.*, he went for the purpose of seeing).

With *-ge*: *môxâ-ge ukkyar* (to-eat they-sat-down, *i.e.*, they sat down for eating).

(3) In Nominative Absolute phrases :

ârgahi onar kirrâ-ge, âd urkhâ (they for-eating to-return, she went out).

[The use of *-ge* here is peculiar.]

The illustrations are taken from Grignard's *Gr.* ; Grignard (*Gr.*, p. 236) recognizes also the Dative character of *-ge* in the illustrations here.

On the whole, therefore, one may say that the different uses of the Dr. Infinitives are also reflected in the central Indian dialects of Dr. and in Kurukh.

So far as the structure of the Infinitives is concerned, the following table would be illustrative :

Tam.	Kann.	Tel.	Gô.	Kûi	Kur.
<i>-al</i>	<i>-al</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-âlê</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-â</i>
<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>		<i>-â</i>		
			<i>-al</i>		

It may also be noted that the Dative post-position is used for denoting 'purpose' in Tam., Kann., Gôṇḍi and Kurukh.

An examination of the different types listed in the above table would reveal that

(i) *-al* is employed in (a), (b), (c) and (d) of Kannaḍa¹ and in (c) and (d) of Tamil;

(ii) *-a* is used in Kannaḍa in (b), (c) and (d) [in (d) with the incorporation of what *Śabdamanidarpaṇa* has described as the *satisaptami -e*], and in Tamil in (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e).

¹ Five Sûtras of Śs. (585, 586, 587, 588 and 591) deal with the Kannaḍa endings of the present adverbial participle. *Śabdamanidarpaṇa* treats about these participles in Sûtras 233 and 234,

(iii) *-an* is employed in Telugu in (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e). The following points² may also be noted :—

(i) Wherever Kannaḍa uses *-a*, the ending *-al* may be alternatively used ;

(ii) Tamil has only *-a* for (a), (c) and (e), while for (c) and (d) *-al* also occurs alternatively ;

(iii) Malayāḷam preserves *-a* in (c) and *-e* in (e) ;

(iv) Gōṇḍi, the central Indian Dravidic dialect, shows similar forms (with slight modifications) with alternative endings one of which has *-l* and the other is without *-l*. Kūi and Kurukh show *-a*.

In Sūtra 234 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* where *alke* and *-a* of Kannaḍa are referred to, the commentator observes : *ā alge vikalpadim lōpam*, which statement would probably imply that *-al* was the original ending, and that *-a* was of secondary origin through the loss of *-l*.

Kittel disapproves this suggestion (p. 122, *Gr.*) and feels inclined to concede a separate individuality for the ending *-a* as distinct from *-al*. Caldwell ignores the (*druta*) *n* of the Telugu ending, attaches little importance to the *-al* forms and argues (p. 539, *Comp. Gr.*) that the Infinitive with *-a* is primary and original. Caldwell, in my opinion, has his attention almost exclusively fixed upon the Tamil forms. The ulterior relationship of *-a* and *-al* of these Infinitives does not, I think, admit of a dogmatic explanation such as is made by Caldwell. All that we can say is that the two endings may or may not have been related ; the functions which they perform are so very much alike on the one hand, and, on the other, *-al* as an affix which converts verbs into verbal nouns by “locating” the action is so common in south Dravidian, that we cannot exclude altogether the possibility of a relationship such as is implied in the remark of the commentator to *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*. If we regard the primary signification of these Infinitives to be that of the verb-idea (specifically ‘located’ as an action or as a process by the

² Cf. also in this connection the Tulu Infinitive of Purpose with the ending *-ere*, as in *ā hēle malpēre batte* (he came for doing that work) ;

affix *-a* or *-al*, whatever the mutual relationship of these latter may have been), it is easy to see how in the syntactical contexts in which they are used, the different functions of Purpose, Effect and Simultaneous Action may have been derived.

Now, Telugu uses *-an* throughout; and the use of the Infinitive with *-an* corresponds to that of the Kannaḍa form with *-al*. It appears to me that in view of the functional parallelism a structural relationship could also be postulated, particularly as we know that the change of *l* to *n* is not uncommon in Telugu as well as in the other Dravidian speeches.

In this view, then, the ending *-an* of the Telugu Infinitive of literary Telugu will have to be considered as a part of the heritage of Telugu, slightly modified in phonetic value.

(iii) The old conditional participle of literary Telugu has the termination *-inan* annexed to the verb-base:

satyamu ceppina[n] dapp-ela? (what can be wrong, if truth is spoken?)

bānalu kurisina[n] baṇṭalu paṇḍunu (rains falling, crops will ripen).

We may compare with this form, the Tamil conditional with *-āl*, as in *pāḍiyāl* or *pāḍināl* (in the event of singing), *ōḍiyāl* or *ōḍināl* (in the event of running), etc.

In both Telugu and Tamil, the use of the forms is not limited to any one particular tense, as finite verbs of all tenses may be governed by this conditional form. The Telugu and the Tamil forms may be structurally cognate, if we can postulate that Tamil *-āl* and Telugu *-an* are related. Phonetically, the change of *l* to *n* is not impossible, and the length of *-ā* of *-āl* need not be an absolute difficulty; but before this postulate could be confirmed, we shall have to analyse the forms and see if we can establish a fundamental relationship between the two.

Caldwell argues (p. 529, *Comparative Grammar*) that the Tamil form is constituted of the past relative participle and *-āl* which latter he considers as 'a noun' and as identical

with the Tamil instrumental particle *-âl*. His suggestion³ is absolutely unconvincing, as there exists not a particle of evidence to show that *-âl* is 'a noun' or 'is identical with the instrumental ending *-âl*'.

There are a number of ways in which the conditional is formed in Tamil, but we are concerned here only with the following :

-âl with the impersonal stem of the verb, *e.g.*,

unḍâl paṣi tîrum (if food is taken, hunger will disappear).

-êl with the fully conjugated verb, *e.g.*,

unṇum-êl paṣi tîrum (if food is taken, hunger will disappear), where *unṇum* is the aoristic future.

avâ nîngâdêl (if the desire does not pass), where *nîngâdu* (does not pass) is the negative third person of *nîng-* (to pass).

Forms like *seydanai-êl* (if thou doest), *seygindrên-êl* (if I do), *kêttîr-êl* (if you heard) are other illustrations of the use of *-êl* after fully conjugated verbs to bring out the conditional idea.

âg-il, *âg-in*, *ây-in* (conditional forms with *-il* or *-in* of *âg-*) are also employed like *-êl* after fully conjugated verbs to express the conditional idea of the main verb: *seydom-âgil* (if we did), *etc.* This similarity of usage, strengthened by the fact that *âyin* in *âyin-um* (even if so) has changed to *-ên-* as in *êd-ênum* (whatever even), would show that *-êl* may be directly related to *ây-il*, *âg-il*. Cf. Mal. *âgil-um*, *âl-um*,

³ Caldwell's acquaintance with these Telugu forms was extremely superficial. We have already pointed out how he regards the druta *u* to be a hiatus-filler. Similarly, he considers the Telugu conditional particle to be *-ina* and observes that "this *-ina* appears to be identical with the *-in* of Tamil (as in *sey-in*) which is used for the same purpose and in the same manner as in Tamil; and as Tamil *-in* is a sign of the locative signifying 'in' or 'in the event of', so is the Telugu *ina* or *ni* apparently identical in origin with the *na* or *ni* which Telugu uses as a locative." There are many mistakes of fact in Caldwell's argument: (i) he omits to take notice of the final *-u* of the Telugu conditional; (ii) Telugu *ina* is never a locative; (iii) the structure of the Tamil conditional of the type of *sey-in* is capable of being analysed as the 'base' combined with *-in*, while Telugu *cês-i-n-an* is more complex, containing as it does the past affix and *-n-an*,

ânum, *ên-um*, *êl-um* denoting "though" (Gundert's *Gr.* pages 290, 291). [Cf. also Telugu *-ên* 'if' which is cognate with Tamil *âyin* in structure, meaning and usage.]

If *êl* is connected with *ây-il*, *âg-il*, may we not suggest that *-âl*, the conditional particle also is an old contraction of *ây-il*? If so, we shall have to consider the Tamil conditional *seyd-âl* to be constituted of *seyd-*, the conjunctive participle and *-âl* (< *ây-il* < *âg-il*). *ôḍi-y-âl* and *ôḍi-n-âl* (in the event of running) would have to be explained similarly as the conjunctive participle *ôḍi* and *-âl*, the *-y-* and *-n-* in the alternative forms being hiatus-fillers.

If now we take up the Telugu type *cêsi-n-an*, an exactly similar explanation could be offered, *cêsi* being the conjunctive participle of Telugu (like *ôḍi* of Tamil in point of structure), *-n-* being the hiatus-filler (as in Tamil *ôḍinâl* or as in the relative participles of both Tamil and Telugu: *pâḍi-n-a* where the final *a* is the genitivo-adjectival affix and *-n-*, a hiatus-filler), and *-an* of the Telugu form being cognate with *âyin*, *ân*, *ây-il* and *-âl* of Tamil.

This is the only explanation of the forms, which appears to us to be at once in consonance with the usage and the meanings of these Telugu and Tamil forms. However this be, the parallelism of function (and, to a certain extent, the similarity of structure also) between the Telugu and the Tamil conditionals would indicate that the final *-an* of Telugu (with its druta *n*) probably performed (like Tamil *-âl*) the essential function of inducing the conditional meaning.

(iv) The old optatives are formed with *-tan* and *-eḍun* annexed to the base. *-tan*, it would appear, was originally *-tam* in early texts and inscriptions (footnote to p. 113 of *Sûryanârâyanîyam*). *-eḍun* appears to resemble the third person form of one of the indefinite tense-types. I have been unable to trace any cognates in the other dialects for these Telugu endings.

(v) The old sequential (*anantaryâdarthaka*) ending *-ḍun* (as in *cêyu-ḍun*) is equally obscure. There are forms in Tamil like *pôvadum*, *seyvadum*, *pôgavum*, *seyyavum* which are

employed with a continuative meaning to indicate (as in the usage of the Telugu form) that one action has been finished and another is about to be introduced. These Tamil forms⁴ contain the *samuccaya -um* which appropriately induces the 'continuative' signification. There is no knowing whether Telugu *-ḍun* originally contained a *samuccaya* of this kind; for, we are unable to find out the character or function of *-ḍ-* in *-ḍun*.

(f) The Samuccaya

The *samuccaya -un* of literary Telugu has direct cognates in the other Dravidian speeches :

Tamil *-um*.

Malayâlam *-um*.

Kannāḍa *-um*, also *-am-* [where *-a-* stands probably for a neutral vowel].

Modern Kannāḍa *-û* [cf. popular Telugu *-û*].

The correspondence of Telugu *-n* to Tamil *-m*⁵ is observable in a few words like the following :—

Telugu	Tamil
<i>kolanu</i> ⁶	<i>kuḷam, koḷam</i> (tank)
<i>mrānu</i>	<i>maram</i> (tree)
<i>lōnu</i>	<i>uḷḷam</i> (inside, mind)

The alternation of *-m* and *-n* in final positions of Dravidian words, in many instances of which it is possible to postulate the influence of peculiar combinative conditions, has been discussed by me elsewhere.

Further, it may be of interest to note in this connection that, according to Śrīmān V. Prabhākara Śāstri, a Telugu inscription of the pre-Nannaya period shows *-um(u)* as a *samuccaya* particle. In a valuable article on Lakṣmipuram

⁴ Cf. a similar Kannāḍa usage with a form containing the *samuccaya*, as in *parevudum* (after dispersing), etc. [p. 272, Kittel's *Gr.*].

⁵ Even in Tamil, Sūtra 122 of *Nannūḷ* has recognized the alternation of *-m* and *-n* in words like *niḷam, niḷan*, etc.

⁶ The probable circumstances in which the correspondence of Telugu *-n* and non-Telugu *-m* in these and other words may have arisen, have been dealt with by me in my paper on "Dravidic *-m* and *-n*".

inscription, contributed to the journal *Bhârati* of June 1928 (p. 946), Śrīmân Śâstri has reconstructed the form *guḍlumu* which he explains as being constituted of the plural of *guḍi* (here meaning 'temple'), and the *samuccaya -um*.

(g) **Avyayas**

The final *druta -n* of a number of *avyayas* of the Telugu literary dialect has to be traced to three different sources.

(i) The following are old *tumunnarthaka* forms of verbs :

<i>câlan</i> (abundantly)	—	<i>câl-</i> (to suffice)
<i>migulan</i> (much)	—	<i>migul-</i> (to be excessive)
<i>tappan</i> (except)	—	<i>tapp-</i> (to fail)
<i>kûḍan</i> (in addition)	—	<i>kûḍ-</i> (to be joined)
<i>ninḍan</i> (plentifully)	—	<i>ninḍ-</i> (to be filled)

(ii) The following evidence themselves as old locatives of nouns :

<i>mîdan</i> (above)	—	<i>mîdu</i> (upper surface or portion)
<i>eḍan</i> (concerning)	—	<i>eḍa</i> (place)
<i>tsôppunan</i> (according to)	—	<i>tsôppu</i> (appearance)
<i>eduran, eḍulan</i> (in front of)	—	<i>eduru</i> (front)

(iii) The *druta* in the following is due to the *samuccaya* : *ellan*, beside *ella* (all)—cf. Tamil *ella*, *ellâ*, *ellâm*, Kann. *ella*, *ellam*, Mal. *ellâm*.

anta-y-un, *anta*, *antâ* (all).

The meanings of these forms are such as would immediately allow of a continual incorporation of the *samuccaya* particle. Śrīmân Malladi S. Śâstri has pointed out (p. 111 of *Sûryanârâyanîyam*) that the final *-n* of *ellan* (wherever this *-n* is *not* the Accusative ending) is due only to the incorporation of the *samuccaya*. We may compare with this the Kannaḍa forms *ella*, *ellam* (with the *samuccaya* !), *ellâ* (with compensatory lengthening of *-a* for the loss of *-m*). [See Sûtra 175 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* and Sûtra 371 of Śs., for Kannaḍa *ella* and *ellâ*.]

(To be continued.)

ŚRĪ VIDYĀ

Part III—Upasana-Krama

Section (2)—Sandhya, Gayatri and Upasthana

By K. NARAYANASWAMI IYAR

1. Sandhya

THE Śrutis enjoin the upāsana of sandhyā daily (अहरहः सन्ध्यामुपासीत) and Manusmṛti ordains its performance twice a day:—

आचम्य प्रयतो नित्यमुभे सन्ध्ये समाहितः ।

शुचेर्देशे जपं जप्यं उपासीत यथाविधि ॥

Sandhyā is brahmatejobhivardhini and is to be meditated upon thrice a day (trikāladhyeya). Prātas-sandhyā should be performed when the stars are yet shining, mādhyānhika at noon and sāyam-sandhyā before sunset.

Sandhyā is Parabrahmasvarūpiṇī; she is Trimūrti-rūpa symbolising Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī and Raudrī; she is Trivedarūpa comprising Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma Vedas; she is Trigūṇamayī, prātas-sandhyā representing her sātvikī aspect, mādhyānhika her rājasī bhāva and sāyam-sandhyā her tāmaśī phase; she is Trisāktimayī, i.e., jñānaparā in the morning, kriyāparā at noon and icchāparā in the evening; and she is the embodiment of Praṇava (ॐ), its three component letters standing for her three aspects. It is, therefore, said: ओमित्यन्तर्गता सन्ध्या त्रिविधा पर्युपासिता. Sandhyā is thus Tripurasundarī or Kāma-kalā. Varāha Purāṇa gives a mythological account of how Devī was born from the joint glances of the Trimūrtis as a virgin distinguished by the three colours (black, white and red) and how she divided herself into three (Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī) at the request of Brahma.

Sandhyā-vandanam is of three types: Vaidika, Tāntrika and Paurāṇika. The system propounded here is a combination of the Vaidika and Tāntrika practices,

(a) *Ācamanam*.—At dawn, an upāsaka should leave his bed, answer calls of nature, cleanse his teeth, bathe, put on clean clothes and going to a quiet place and squatting on a square mat of kuśa or a tiger skin, he should sit in an easy posture, facing the east. Taking in the palm of his right hand about a teaspoonful of water, the upāsaka should take it, in three little doses, reciting either the praṇava (ॐ) or the following :

- (i) आत्मतत्त्वं परिशोदयामि स्वाहा ।
- (ii) विद्यातत्त्वं परिशोदयामि स्वाहा ।
- (iii) शिवतत्त्वं परिशोदयामि स्वाहा ।

The three sips of water denote the Ātma, Vidyā and Śiva tattvās; knower, knowledge and known; or अ, उ and म of ॐ.

(b) *Prāṇāyāma*.—Then, the upāsaka should restrain his breath to attune his individual life with the life-currents of Nature so that the latter may flow through his body. This consists of three processes recaka (exhaling), to throw out of the body destructive life waves; pūraka (inhaling), to fill the body with universal life; and kumbhaka (retaining), to conserve life within the body. He should draw air through the left nostril; fill his body with it by closing both the nostrils and then exhale it through the right nostril. It is accompanied by recitation of Gāyatrī with sapta-vyāhṛtis and śīras as below :—

ॐ भूः । ॐ भुवः । ॐ सुवः । ॐ महः । ॐ जनः । ॐ तपः । ॐ सत्यं ।
ॐ तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गोदेवस्य धीमहि धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् । ओमापोज्योतीरसोऽ-
मृतं ब्रह्म भूर्भुवस्वरो ॥

Pūraka is done with sapta-vyāhṛtis, kumbhaka with Gāyatrī and recaka with śīras. Prāṇāyāma is nirodha of sarva vṛttis.

(c) *Sankalpa*.—An initial resolve is now made.

(i) In the morning, it is as below :—

ममोपात्तसमस्तदुदितक्षयद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं प्रातस्सन्ध्यां उपासिष्ये.

(ii) At noon, the last two words are replaced by माध्याह्निकं करिष्ये.

(iii) In the evening, they are altered into सायं सन्ध्यामुपासिष्ये.

(d) *Agha Marṣana*.—The upāsaka then annihilates the pāpa-puruṣa in his body.

Meditation of the puruṣa :—

ब्रह्महत्या शिरस्कंच स्वर्णस्तेय भुजद्वयं ।
सुरापान हृदायुक्तं गुरुतल्प कटिद्वयं ॥
तत्संसर्गिपदद्वन्द्वं अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातकं ।
उपपातक रोमाणं रक्तश्मश्रु विलोचनं ॥
अयोमुखं कृष्णवर्णं अङ्गुष्ठपरिमाणकं ।
खड्गचर्मधरं पापं वामकुक्षौ विचिन्तयेत् ॥

He thus thinks of the pāpa-puruṣa as situate in the left cavity of the belly, of black colour, having a crimson-coloured beard and eyes, carrying a buckle of the skin of the khaḍga mṛga, possessing a downcast face, being of the size of a thumb and the very incarnation of all sins.

This puruṣa is killed thus. The upāsaka should mentally recite the śōṣaṇa mantra यं (Vāyu-bīja) sixteen times, inhaling through the left nostril (idā) and imagining the puruṣa as being dried; then utter the dāhana mantra रं (Agni-bīja) sixty-four times, filling the body with air and imagining the puruṣa as being burnt; next, pronounce the plāvana mantra वं (Varuṇa-bīja) thirty-two times and imagine his body as being filled with amṛta and thus purified.

Pāpa-puruṣa is the evil propensity in man (the libido) which has to be suppressed that it may be transmuted and sublimated into higher feelings.

(e) *Mārjana or Mantrasnāna*.—It is done by sprinkling the whole body with water reciting the Āpas mantra. It may be here pointed out that sun, moon, ether, air, fire, water, earth and yajamān are honoured as aspects of one śakti and not for their own sake. Kālidāsa in Sakalajanani Stava says :—

भुवि पयसि कृशानौ मारुते खे शशांके सवितरि यजमानेऽप्यष्टधा शक्तिरेका ।
वहति कुचभराभ्यां यास्वनम्रापि विश्वं सकलजननि सा त्वं पाहि मामित्यवश्यम् ॥

(i) *Rṣi etc. Nyāsa.*—आपोहिष्ठेति मन्त्रस्य सिन्धुद्वीप ऋषिः । देवीगायत्री छन्दः । आपोदेवता. Its Rṣi is Sindhudvīpa, metre Gāyatrī and devatā Āpah. प्रोक्षणे विनियोगः । It is used for sprinkling. The head is touched while mentioning the Rṣi, the mouth when uttering the metre and the heart when naming the devatā.

(ii) *The Mantra.*—आपोहिष्ठा मयोभुवः । तानऊर्जे दधातन । महेरणाय चक्षसे । योवशिवतमोरसः । तस्यभाजयते हनः । उशतीरिव मातरः । तस्माऽरंग मामवः । यस्यक्षयाय जिन्वथ । आपो जनयथाचनः । You are Brahma (आपोहि) or Sat (स्था), Ānanda (मयोभुवः) and Cit or knowledge (ऊर्जे). I meditate upon you (तानदधातन) for obtaining great and excellent knowledge (महेरणाय चक्षसे). You are our best life essence (वः शिवतमोरसः). Therefore, we worship you (तस्यभाजयतेह नः) loving you like our mothers (उशतीरिव मातरः). Hence (तस्मा) favour us (जिन्वथ) to rid us of whatever is destructive (अरंगमाम वः यस्यक्षयाय). O All-pervading Brahma (आपः), also enlighten us (जनयथाच नः).

(f) *Mantrācamanam.*—After the foregoing, the upāsaka should take water addressed to Sūrya or Agni. Sūrya is Kāmakalā; it is mīśra bindu, made up of Agni or Śakti and Soma or Śiva bindus.

(i) In the morning, water is taken with the anuvāka beginning with सूर्यश्च.

Rṣi etc. Nyāsa.—

सूर्यश्चेत्यनुवाकस्य अग्निऋषिः । देवीगायत्रीछन्दः । सूर्योदेवता । Its Rṣi is Agni, metre Gāyatrī and devatā Sūrya. अपांप्राशने विनियोगः । It is used for taking water.

The Anuvāka.—

सूर्यश्च मामन्युश्च मन्युपतयश्च मन्युकृतेभ्यः पापेभ्यो रक्षन्तां । यद्वाच्या पापमकार्षं मनसावाचा हस्ताभ्यां । पद्भ्यामुदरेणशिश्ना । रात्रिस्तदवलंपतु । यत्किंच दुरितं मयि । इदमहं माममृतयोनौ । सूर्येज्योतिषि जुहोमि । स्वाहा ।

Jñāna śakti (सूर्यः) is vairāgya (anti-desire=मामन्युः) controlling all desire (मन्युपतयः). Let them protect us from sins committed through desire (मन्युकृतेभ्यः पापेभ्यो रक्षन्तां) as, for instance, the sins I committed last night (यद्वाच्या पापमकार्षं)

through mind, speech, hands, feet, belly or organ (मनसावाचां हस्ताभ्यां पद्भ्यामुदरेण शिश्ना). Let Devī in her vimarśa aspect (विमर्शी= रात्रिः) destroy all that (तदवलंपतु), as also any other sin in me (यत्किंच दुरितं मयि). For that, I offer this (जुहोमि इदमहं) and my ahamkāra (मां) in Jnāna (सूर्येज्योतिषि) which is deathless (अमृत योनौ). Let it become well offered (स्वाहा).

These ātmic sacrifices are known as prāṭardana sacrifice and are described in Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad. While a man speaks, he cannot breathe and he thereby sacrifices his breath in his speech. And while a man breathes, he is unable to speak and he, thus, sacrifices his speech in his breath. Man makes these endless oblations, whether awake or asleep. But the upāsaka makes these sacrifices consciously in these rites.

(ii) In the evening, the above anuvāka is altered by substituting अग्निश्च for सूर्यश्च, यदह्ना for यद्रात्र्या, अहः for रात्रिः and सत्येज्योतिषि for सूर्येज्योतिषि. Agni is Kriyā śakti ; Aha is Devī in her prakāśa aspect ; and Satyejyotiṣi is cosmic work.

R̥ṣi etc. Nyāsa.

अग्निश्चेत्यनुवाकस्य सूर्यऋषिः । देवीगायत्रीछन्दः । अग्निर्देवता । Its R̥ṣi is Sūrya, metre Gāyatrī and devatā Agni. अपांप्राशने विनियोगः । It is used for taking water.

(iii) At noon, water is taken with an anuvāka beginning with आपःपुनन्तु.

R̥ṣi etc. Nyāsa.—

आपःपुनन्तीत्यनुवाकस्य आपऋषिः । अनुष्टुप्छन्दः । ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्देवता । Its R̥ṣi is Āpa, metre Anuṣṭup and devatā Brahmanaspati. अपांप्राशने विनियोगः । It is used for taking water.

The Anuvāka.—

आपःपुनन्तुपृथिवीं । पृथिवीपूतापुनातुमाम् । पुनन्तु ब्रह्मणस्पतिः ब्रह्मपूतापुनातु माम् । यदुच्छिष्टमभोज्यं यद्वातुश्चरितं मम । सर्वं पुनन्तु मामापोऽसतांच प्रतिग्रहं । स्वाहा ।

May Soma (आपः) purify my body (पुनन्तुपृथिवीं) and purified body (पृथिवीपूता) purify (पुनातु) me (माम्=जीवं). Let the Lord (पतिः) purify the hymns (ब्रह्मणः) and let the purified hymn (ब्रह्मपूता) purify me, from the sin of eating food remnants

(यदुच्छिष्टं) or prohibited food (अभोज्यं) and any other bad act of mine (यद्वा दुश्चरितं मम). Let Soma (आपः) purify all (सर्वं पुनन्तु), as also gifts from bad people (असतां च प्रतिग्रहं). I therefore offer my ahamkāra (माम्). Let it be well offered (स्वाहा). Soma is Śiva bindu or icchā śakti.

(g) *Punarmārjanam*.—Mantra-snāna is done again with the mantra beginning with दधिका.

(i) *Ṛṣi etc. Nyāsa*.—

दधिकाविणेति मन्त्रस्य वामदेवऋषिः । अनुष्टुप्छन्दः । दधिकावादेवता । Its Ṛṣi is Vāmadeva, metre Anuṣṭup and devatā Dadhikrāva. अपांप्रोक्षणे विनियोगः । It is used for sprinkling water.

(ii) *The Mantra*.—

दधिकाविणो अकारिषं । जिष्णोरश्वस्य वाजिनः । सुरभिर्नो मुखाकरत् । प्रण आयूंषितारिषत् ।

I extol Dadhikrāva (दधिकाविणो अकारिषं), the victorious, the energetic and the food-giver (जिष्णोरश्वस्य वाजिनः). May he make our mouths sweet-scented (सुरभिः मुखाकरत्) and prolong our life (प्रण आयूंषितारिषत्).

(h) *Arghya-pradāna*.—The upāsaka should then offer three arghyas to Savitā (the creatrix) with the Gāyatrī mantra comprising of praṇava, vyāhṛtitraya and Gāyatrī.

(i) *Ṛṣi etc. Nyāsa*.—

अर्घ्यप्रदानमन्त्रस्य विश्वामित्रऋषिः । देवीगायत्रीछन्दः । सवितादेवता ।

Its Ṛṣi is Viśvāmitra, metre Gāyatrī and devatā Savitā. अर्घ्यप्रदाने विनियोगः । It is used for giving arghya.

(ii) *The Mantra*.—

ओं भूर्भुवस्सुवः । तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं । भर्गोदेवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ।

(iii) If the sandhyā time is exceeded, an additional arghya is given with the following sankalpa :—

ममोपात्तसमस्तदुरितक्षयद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं प्रातःसन्ध्या or माध्याह्निक or सायंसन्ध्या (as the case may be) कालातीत दोष प्रायश्चित्तार्थं एकार्घ्य-प्रदानं करिष्ये ।

(i) *Brahmārpaṇam*.—The sandhyā-vandana is brought to a close by its dedication to Brahma. The upāsaka, taking water in his hands, does pradakṣiṇa and offers the water with the following mantra :—

असावादित्यो ब्रह्म । ब्रह्मैवाहं । ब्रह्मैवसत्यं । ब्रह्मापणम् ।

This Āditya is Brahma. I am Brahma. Brahma alone is Reality. I offer this to Brahma.

2. Gayatri

Gāyatrī is Brahmarūpa. It is said:—ओं तत्सदिति निर्देशो ब्रह्मणः त्रिविधः स्मृतः. Gāyatrī is Veda Mātā and is ādi or mūla mantra. Nārāyaṇopaniṣad says:—गायत्री छन्दसां मातेदं ब्रह्मजुषस्वमे. Śrī Kṛṣṇa says:—गायत्री छन्दसामहम्. The Vedas are summed up in Gāyatrī and the Gāyatrī in the Praṇava (ओं), the expression of the Absolute. Gāyatrī is resident in the heart of men and in Sūrya-maṇḍala (गायत्रीं संस्मरेद्दीमान् हृदिवा सूर्यमण्डले). As Gāyatrī is Kāmakaḷā or Tribindu-rūpa, i.e., composite of the three śaktis, she is considered to dwell in Sūrya, the composite of the Trimūrtis.

According to Kūrma Purāṇa, Sūrya is the manifest form of the three Vedas and the seven rays are the seven metres. Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanī Upaniṣad says:—ऋग्यजुस्सामाथर्वरूपः सूर्यः ॥ According to Śāradā Tilaka, Sūrya as Mārtaṇḍa is the composite of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva:—

हेमांभोज प्रबाल प्रतिमानिजरुचिं चारुखट्वाङ्गपद्मौ ।

चक्रं शक्तिं च पाशं सृणिमतिरुचिरां अश्वमालां कपालं ।

हस्ताम्भोजैर्दधानं त्रिनयनविलसद्वेदवक्त्राभिरामं ।

मार्तण्डं वल्लभार्द्धं मणिमयमुकुटं हारदीप्तं भजामः ॥

(a) *Sankalpam*.—The upāsaka first does ācamanam, and then takes an initial resolve as below:—

ममोपात्तसमस्तदुरितक्षयद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं यथाशक्ति गायत्री महामन्त्रं जपकरिष्ये । तदङ्गं विहितं शरीरशुद्धिपूर्वकं गायत्रीमन्त्रं जपाधिकारसिद्धयर्थं पवनपावनभूतशुद्धिं गायत्रीन्यासं च करिष्ये ॥

(b) *Prāṇāyāma*.—Restraint of breath is next done reciting Gāyatrī with sapta-vyāhrtis and śīras.

(i) *Ṛṣi etc. Nyāsa of Praṇava*.—प्रणवस्य ऋषिः ब्रह्मा । देवीगायत्री छन्दः । परमात्मादेवता । Its Ṛṣi is Brahma, metre Gāyatrī, and devatā Paramātmā.

(ii) *Ṛṣi etc. Nyāsa of Sapta-vyāhrtis*.—भूरिदि सप्तव्याहृतीनां अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगौतमकाश्यप आङ्गीरस ऋषयः । Their Ṛṣis are Atri, Bhṛgu, Kutsa, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Kāśyapa and Āṅgīrasa.

गायत्री उष्णिक् अनुष्टुप् बृहती पङ्क्ती त्रिष्टुप् जगत्यः छन्दांसि ।

Their metres are Gāyatrī, Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭup, Bṛhatī, Panktī, Triṣṭup and Jagatī.

अग्निवायुर्अर्कवागीशवरुणेन्द्र विश्वेदेवादेवताः ।

Their devatas are Agni, Vāyu, Arka, Vāgīśa, Varuṇa, Indra and Viśvedeva.

(iii) *R̥ṣi etc. Nyāsa of Gāyatrī.*—

सावित्र्या ऋषिः विश्वामित्रः देवीगायत्रीछन्दः सवितादेवता ।

Its R̥ṣi is Viśvāmitra, metre Gāyatrī and devatā Savitā.

(iv) *R̥ṣi etc. Nyāsa of the Śiras.*—

गायत्री शिरसः ब्रह्माऋषिः । अनुष्टुप्छन्दः । परमात्मा देवता ।

Its R̥ṣi is Brahma, metre Anuṣṭup and devatā Paramātmā.

(c) After the nyāsa, prāṇāyāma is done ten or more times.

(d) *Āvāhana of Gāyatrī.*—Gāyatrī is invoked with the anuvāka beginning with आयातु.

(i) *R̥ṣi etc. Nyāsa.*—

आयातु इति अनुवाकस्य वामदेवऋषिः । अनुष्टुप्छन्दः । गायत्री देवता ।

Its R̥ṣi is Vāmadeva, metre Anuṣṭup and devatā Gāyatrī.

गायत्री आवाहने विनियोगः । It is used to invoke Gāyatrī-Devī.

(ii) *The Anuvāka.*—

आयातु वरदादेवी अक्षरं ब्रह्मसंमितं । गायत्री छन्दसां माता इदं ब्रह्म जुष-
स्वनः । ओजोसि सहोसि बलमसि भ्राजोसि देवानां धाम नामासि विश्वमसि विश्वायुः
सर्वमसि सर्वायुः । अभिभूः । ओं । गायत्री आवाहयामि । सावित्री आवाहयामि ।
सरस्वती आवाहयामि ।

Boon-bestower, come ; you are immortal and praised by the Vedas ; you are the mother of the Vedas ; hear this hymn of ours. You are tejas (ओजोसि), strength (बलमसि) and brightness (भ्राजोसि) ; you are destroyer of enemies (सहोसि) and you are the locus and name of the Devas (देवानां धाम नामासि). You are the universe and its life (विश्वमसि विश्वायुः); you are everything and the life of everything (सर्वमसि सर्वायुः). Yet, you transcend everything (अभिभूः). I invite you who art Gāyatrī, Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī (गायत्री आवाहयामि, सावित्री आवाहयामि, सरस्वती आवाहयामि).

(e) *Nyāsa*.—Before the japa, the upāsaka realizes the identification of Ātma with Devī and his body with the universe through kara-nyāsa, anga-nyāsa and digbandha. Śruti says:—आत्माच ब्रह्म. Vasiṣṭha Samhita brings out the identity of Ātma and Devī thus:—

देवीदात्रीच भोक्त्रीच देवी सर्वमिदं जगत् ।

देवी जयति सर्वत्र या देवी साऽहमेवच ॥

Gāyatrī Hṛdaya (Devī Bhāgavata) describes the identity of the human body with the universe:—

पिण्ड ब्रह्माण्डयोरैक्यात् भावयेत् स्वतनौ तथा ।

विदे रूपे निजे देहे तन्मयत्वाय साधकः ॥

(i) *Kara Nyāsa*:—This is done on the two thumbs, two fore-fingers, two middle-fingers, two ring-fingers, two little-fingers and on the two palms:—

ओं तत् सवितुः ब्रह्मणे अङ्गुष्ठाभ्यां नमः ।

ओं वरेण्यं विष्णवे तर्जनीभ्यां नमः ।

ओं भर्गोदेवस्य रुद्रात्मने मध्यमाभ्यां नमः ।

ओं धीमहि ईश्वराय (or सत्यात्मने) अनामिकाभ्यां नमः ।

ओं धियोयोनः सदाशिवाय (or ज्ञानात्मने) कनिष्ठिकाभ्यां नमः ।

ओं प्रचोदयात् सर्वात्मने करतलकरपृष्ठाभ्यां नमः ।

(ii) *Ṣaḍanga Nyāsa*.—Nyāsa is then done to the six limbs of the body:—

ओं तत् सवितुः ब्रह्मणे हृदयाय नमः ।

ओं वरेण्यं विष्णवे शिरसे स्वाहा ।

ओं भर्गोदेवस्य रुद्राय शिखायै वषट् ।

ओं धीमहि ईश्वराय (or सत्यात्मने) कवचाय हुं ।

ओं धियोयोनः सदाशिवाय (or ज्ञानात्मने) नेत्रत्रयाय वौषट् ।

ओं प्रचोदयात् सर्वात्मने अस्त्राय फट् ।

(iii) *Digbandha*.—The cardinal points (dik) are protected by snapping the thumb and the fore-finger and reciting ओं भूर्भुवः स्वरोमिति दिग्बन्धः ।

(f) *Dhyāna*.

(i) *General*.—Gāyatrī Devī is then meditated upon:—

मुक्ताविद्गुह्यमनीलधवलच्छायैर्मुखैस्त्रीक्षणैः ।

युक्तामिदुकलनिबद्धमुकुटां तत्त्वार्थवर्णात्मिकां ।

गायत्रीं वरदाभयाङ्कुशकशाः शुभ्रं कपालं गुणं ।

शंखचक्रमथारविंदयुगलं हस्तैर्वहन्ती भजे ॥

I bow to Gāyatrī possessing five faces with three eyes in each; the colour of whose faces is that of pearl, coral, gold, blue and white; who has the moon in her kirīṭa; who is the embodiment of the word (tattva), its meaning (artha) and its expression (varṇa) and who carries in the ten hands varadā (mudra), abhaya (mudra), ankuśa (goad), kaśa (whip), white cup (kapālam), rope, conch, discus and two lotuses.

(ii) *Morning Dhyāna*.—In the morning, the upāsaka has to think of Gāyatrī as Brahma Śakti, of crimson hue, a maiden carrying the R̥gveda, armed with a goad, seated on the swan and stationed in the solar disc.

कुमारीं ऋग्वेदयुतां ब्रह्मरूपां विचिन्तयेत् ।

हंसस्थितां अङ्कुशकरां सूर्यमण्डलसंस्थिताम् ॥

(iii) *Noon Dhyāna*.—At noon, she is to be meditated upon as Viṣṇu Śakti, clad in yellow garment, seated on Garuda, carrying the Yajur-veda, youthful and stationed within the solar orb.

मध्याह्ने विष्णुरूपाञ्च ताक्ष्यस्थां पीतवासिनीम् ।

युवतीं सयजुर्वेदां सूर्यमण्डलसंस्थिताम् ॥

(iv) *Evening Dhyāna*.—In the evening, she is meditated upon as Śiva Śakti seated on a bull, carrying the Sāmaveda, aged and stationed within the solar disc.

सायाह्ने शिवरूपाञ्च वृद्धां वृषभवाहिनीं ।

सूर्यमण्डलमध्यस्थां सामवेदसमायुताम् ॥

(g) *Gāyatrī Mantra*.—The mantra is recited, usually, sixteen times in the morning, thirty-two times at noon, and sixty-four times in the evening.

ओं भूर्भुवस्सुवः । ओं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गोदेवस्यधीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ।

ओमापोज्योतीरसोऽमृतं ब्रह्म । भूर्भुवस्स्वरोम् ॥

Brahma (तत्=ब्रह्म) is existence (भूः=सत्), consciousness (भुवः=चित्) and bliss (सुवः=आनन्दं). We meditate upon that (धीमहि), the creatrix of sentient beings (सवितुः), worthy of worship (वरेण्यं=प्रार्थनीयं); extinguisher of sins (भर्गः=पापभर्जनहेतुः) and

shining (देवस्य) (as being identified with the sun : असावादित्यो ब्रह्म). May it direct (प्रचोदयात्) our intelligence (नः धियः). It is all-pervading (आपो वा इति Śruti), jyotirmaya (ज्योतिः); sārātmakam (रसः); kaivalyam (अमृतं) and ānandarūpam (ब्रह्म). It is Sacchidānanda and Praṇava (भूर्भुवस्वरोम्).

Gāyatrī has a fourth caranā which is esoteric (aspaṣṭa), viz., ओंपरो रजसे सावदोम् which means: It is above all darkness; it is both saguṇa and nirguṇa; and it is praṇava.

Bhāradvāja Dharma Śāstra interprets Gāyatrī thus :— यत्तेजस्सूर्यमण्डलाभिधेयं श्रेष्ठं पापभञ्जनहेतुभूतं तत् अस्माकं बुद्धीः श्रेयस्करेषु कर्मसु प्रचोदयात् । Atharvāṅgīrasa Sūtra says भूर्भुवस्वरोम् with a praṇava affixed is the Pancākṣarī Mantra. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says that Prajāpati created by uttering Bhūh, Bhuvaḥ and Suvaḥ, the three worlds; the three varnas (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya); as also the gods, mankind and animals. Devī Bhāgavata interprets the twenty-four letters of Gāyatrī as twenty-four tattvas.

(h) *Gāyatrī Visarjana*.—After āchamanam and prāṇāyāma, Gāyatrī Devī is requested to depart with the anuvāka commencing with उत्तमे.

(i) *R̥ṣi etc. Nyāsa*.—

उत्तमेत्यनुवाकस्य वामदेवऋषिः । अनुष्टुप्छन्दः । गायत्रीदेवता ।

Its R̥ṣi is Vāmadeva, metre Anuṣṭup and devatā Gāyatrī. गायत्री उद्वासने विनियोगः । It is used in the visarjana of Gāyatrī.

(ii) *The Anuvāka*.—

ओं उत्तमेशिखरेजाते भूम्यां पर्वतमूर्धनि ।

ब्राह्मणैरभ्यनुज्ञाता गच्छ देवि यथासुखम् ॥

O Devi (देवि), born on the splendid summit (उत्तमेशिखरेजाते) of the greatest mountain on earth (भूम्यांपर्वतमूर्धनि), depart as you please (गच्छ यथासुखं) being permitted by Brāhmins (ब्राह्मणैरभ्यनुज्ञाता).

(i) *Brahmārpanam*.—The upāsaka then offers the fruit of Gāyatrī japa to Brahma :—

मयाकृत गायत्रीजपकर्म सर्वं ब्रह्मार्पणमस्तु । ओतत्सत् ॥

3. Upasthanam

After Sandhyā and Gāyatrī comes Upasthānam. In the mantrācamanam under Sandhyā, the upāsaka takes water in his hand and addresses Sūrya and Agni as devatās, as they bring objects into consciousness. The Upaniṣads call indriyas also devatās in the same sense indicating what may be termed a great psychological truth, namely that physical agents cannot bring about a psychic change, that physical objects have their psychic counterparts as well as sense-organs and the psychic counterparts illumine the mind by producing consciousness, and are, therefore, called abhimāni-devatās by the ṛṣis of old.

The Sandhyā rites represent, as we have seen, the Vedic savanas and the Sandhyā Śaktis are the three bindus—the Śaktis of Mitra, Āditya and Varuṇa. As the gods and the Śaktis should not be worshipped, one without the other, after worshipping the Śaktis first, the gods are here invoked for prayer.

Upasthāna is a symbolic identification of the Ātman in the human body with the Savitā in the Sun, Mitra and Varuṇa: सोऽहमर्कं अहं ज्योतिः अर्कज्योतिरहं शिवः । आत्मज्योतिरहं शुक्लः सर्वज्योतिरसोऽस्म्यहम् ॥

Besides, the Vedic ṛṣis believed in the thaumaturgy of thought. According to Chāndogya and other Upaniṣads, he who meditates upon the Brahman as lustre becomes himself lustrous and reaches the illustrious and bright worlds:—
स यस्तेजोब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते तेजस्वी वै स तेजस्वतो लोकान् भास्वतो अभिसिद्धयति.

(a) *Sankalpa*.—The following initial resolve is made:—

(i) In the morning it is:—ममोपात्तसमस्तदुरितक्षयद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वर-
प्रीत्यर्थं प्रातःकाले मित्रोपस्थानं करिष्ये ।

(ii) At noon, the last four words are altered into:—मध्याह्ने
आदित्योपस्थानं करिष्ये ।

(iii) In the evening, they are changed into:—सायंकाले वरुणोप-
स्थानं करिष्ये ।

(b) *Mitropasthāna*.—In the morning, Mitra is prayed to with three Riks beginning with मित्रस्य,

(i) *Ṛṣi etc. Nyāsa.*—

मित्रस्येति त्रिचस्य विश्वामित्रऋषिः । आद्यस्य विरूढछन्दः प्रायो गायत्री त्रिष्टुभौ छन्दांसि । मित्रो देवता ।

Of these three Riks, the ṛṣi is Viśvāmitra, the metres are virūt, gāyatrī and triṣṭup; and the devatā is Mitra.

प्रातःसन्ध्योपस्थाने विनियोगः । They are used for morning sandhyā upasthāna.

(ii) *The Riks.*—

मित्रस्यचर्षणी धृतः । श्रवो देवस्य सानसिं । सखं चित्रश्रवस्तमं । मित्रो जनान् यातयति प्रजानन् । मित्रो दाधार पृथिवीमुतथां । मित्रः कृष्णीरनिमिषाऽभिचष्टे । सत्याय हव्यं घृतवद्विधेम । प्रसमित्रमर्तोऽस्तु प्रयखान् । यस्त आदित्यशिक्षति व्रतेन । न हन्यते न जीयतेत्वोतो नैनं । अंहो अश्रोत्यान्तितो न दूरात् ॥

Divine Mitra (मित्रोदेवस्य) is the supporter of mankind (चर्षणी धृतः); giver of food (श्रवः सानसिं); of renowned wealth (चित्रश्रवस्तमं). He makes all men work (मित्रो जनान् यातयति) knowing their capacity (प्रजानन्). He is the sustainer of the earth and heaven (मित्रो दाधार पृथिवीमुतथां); and unceasing worker (मित्रः कृष्णीरनिमिषा अभिचष्टे). To that Eternal Being (सत्याय), offer havya mixed with ghee (हव्यं घृतवद्विधेम). O Mitra! let the offerer become rich in food (प्रसमित्रमर्तोऽस्तु प्रयखान्). O Āditya! whoever observes your vrata (यस्त आदित्यशिक्षित्वोतोव्रतेन) is not killed (न हन्यते) or conquered (न जीयते); he does not experience sin (अंहः नाश्रोति), either near or far (अन्तितः दूरात्).

(c) *Ādityopasthāna.*—At noon, Āditya is prayed to with six Riks commencing with आसत्येन.

(i) *Ṛṣi etc. Nyāsa.*—

आसत्येनेति षड्रचस्य हिरण्यस्तूपऋषिः । आद्ययोः त्रिष्टुप्चतसृणां गायत्री जगत्युष्णिक् त्रिष्टुभः छन्दांसि । सविता देवता ।

Of these six Riks, the ṛṣi is Hiraṇyastūpa; the metres are triṣṭup, triṣṭup, gāyatrī, jagatī, uṣṇik and triṣṭup; and the devatā is Savitā.

माध्याह्निकसन्ध्योपस्थाने विनियोगः । They are used for midday upasthāna,

(ii) *The Riks.*—

आसत्येन रजसा । वर्तमानो निवेशयन् । अमृतं मर्त्यं च । हिरण्ययेन सविता रथेन । आदेवो याति भुवनानि पश्यन् । उद्वयं तमसस्पतिं पश्यन्तः ज्योतिरुत्तरं । देवं देवत्रा सूर्यं अगन्मज्योतिरुत्तमं । उदुल्यं जातवेदसं । देवं वहन्ति केतवः । दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यं । चित्रं देवानामुदगादनीकं । चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आप्राद्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं । सूर्यं आत्मा जगतः तस्थुषश्च । तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं पुरस्तात् । शुक्रमुच्छरत् । पश्येम शरदश्शतं । जीवेम शरदश्शतं । नन्दाम शरदश्शतं । मोदाम शरदश्शतं । भवाम शरदश्शतं । शृण्वाम शरदश्शतं । प्रब्रवाम शरदश्शतं । अजीतास्याम शरदश्शतं । ज्योक्त सूर्यं दृशे । य उदगान्महतेर्णवात् । विभ्राजमानः सरिरस्य मध्यात् । समावृषभो लोहिताक्षः सूर्यो विपश्चिन् मनसा पुनातु ॥

Enveloping (आवर्तमानं) the dark antarikṣa (रजसा) by his light (सत्येन) and arousing both the immortal and the mortal (निवेशयन् अमृतं मर्त्यं च) Savitā comes in his golden chariot (सविता आयाति हिरण्ययेन रथेन), illumining the worlds (भुवनानि पश्यन्). High up in his sthūla form (उत्) we see (पश्यन्तः) him carried (वयं) above darkness (तमसस्पतिं); in his higher (sūkṣma) aspect (उत्तरं) he is seen as jyoti and in his highest (परा) phase (उत्तमं) we realize him (अगन्म) as Sūrya, the god of gods (देवं देवत्रा सूर्यं). In his first stride, the rays bear him on high (केतवः उद्वहन्ति), as omniscient (जातवेदसं), effulgent (देवं), Sun (सूर्यं) that he may be seen by the worlds (दृशे विश्वाय). In his second step, he is seen as risen (उदगात्) like a wonderful army of gods (चित्रं देवानां अनीकं); and as the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni (चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः). In his third stride, he pervades the earth, heaven and antarikṣa (आप्राद्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं) and is the soul of all objects, moveable and immoveable (सूर्यं आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च). He is in the east (तत् पुरस्तात्) as the eye (चक्षुः) of the devas (देव हितं) and at rise (उच्छरत्), he is white (शुक्रं). May we be enabled to see (पश्येम शरदः शतं), to live (जीवेम शरदः शतं), to flourish with children and grand-children (नन्दाम शरदः शतं), to be happy (मोदाम शरदः शतं), to prosper (भवाम शरदः शतं), to hear (शृण्वाम शरदः शतं), to speak (प्रब्रवाम शरदः शतं) and not to be overcome (अजीताः स्याम शरदः शतं) for hundred years. At noon, we see the Illumining Sun (ज्योक्त सूर्यं दृशे) as arisen

(य उदगात्) from the cosmic waters (महतोऽर्णवात्) and as shining in the midst of celestial waters (विभ्राजमानः सरिरस्य मध्यात्). In the evening Sūrya is in the west (विपश्चित्) like the fire (समा वृषभो), and red-eyed (लोहिताक्षः). Let him purify me mentally (मनसा पुनातु).

(d) *Varuṇopasthāna*.—In the evening, upasthāna is done to Varuṇa with five riks beginning with इमं मे वरुण.

(i) *R̥ṣi, etc. Nyāsa*.—

इमं मे वरेणीत पञ्चऋचस्य देवराता ऋषिः । गायत्री त्रिष्टुप् गायत्री जगतीत्रिष्टुभः
छन्दांसि । सविता देवता ।

Of these five riks, the R̥ṣi is Devarāta, the metres are gāyatrī, triṣṭup, gāyatrī, jagatī and triṣṭup, and the devatā is Savitā.

सायंसन्ध्योपस्थाने विनियोगः । They are used for evening upasthāna.

(ii) *The Riks*.—

इमं मे वरुणश्रुधीहवं । अद्या च मृळयत्वामवस्युराचके । तत्वायामिब्रह्मणावन्दमानः । तदाशास्ते यजमानो हविर्भिः । अहेळमानो वरुणेहबोधिः उरुशंसमानः आयुः प्रमोषीः । यच्चिद्धिते विशो यथा प्रदेववरुणव्रतं । मिनीमसि यवियवि यत्किञ्चेदं वरुणदैव्येजनेऽभिद्रोहं । मनुष्याचरामसि । अचितीयतवधर्मायुयोपम । मानस्तस्मादेनसो देवरीरिषः । कितवासो यद्विरिपुः । यद्वाधासत्यं उतयन्नविद्वसर्वाथविष्यशित्थिरेवदेव । अथतेस्याम वरुणप्रियासः ॥

O Varuṇa ! hear this my invocation (इमं मे वरुणश्रुधीहवं). Gladden me now (अद्या च मृळय). Desiring your protection, I pray to you (त्वामवस्युः आचके). I approach you praising with these hymns (तत् त्वायामि ब्रह्मणा वन्दमानः) and sacrificing (यजमानः) with offerings (हविर्भिः). Not disdaining (अहेळमानः), hearken, O Varuṇa ! to my invocation (वरुणेह बोधि). O greatly praised ! (उरुशंस) do not decrease our age (माप्रमोषीः नः आयुः). Whatever commandment of thine (यच्चिद्धिते व्रतं) we, as subjects, (विशो यथा) O Varuṇa Deva ! (देव वरुण) violate (प्रमिनीमसि) every day (यवियवि); whatever offence (यत्किञ्चिदभिद्रोहं) we commit as men (मनुष्याः चरामसि) against heavenly folk (दैव्ये) through want of thought (अचिती); whatever laws of yours (यत्तव धर्मा) we break (युयोपम)

O God (देव), for these (एनसः) do not chastise us (मारीषः नः). Like a snapped chain (शिथिरेव), O God ! remove all these (सर्वाथविध्य) which we may have done through want of knowledge (नदिवि) or consciously (उतयन्नाविद्म) or cheated (रिरिपुः) through selfishness (कितवासः) be it even sin or untruth (यद्वाघासत्यं). O Varuṇa ! (वरुण) may we become dear to thee hereafter (अथातेस्याम प्रियासः).

(e) *Abhivādanam*.—The whole function is brought to a close with an abhivādana as below :—

अभिवादये अमुकत्रयाऋषेः प्रवरान्वित अमुकगोत्रः अमुकसूत्रः अमुकशर्माऽहं
अस्मि भोः ॥

I, having a pravara of such and such three ṛṣis ; of such and such a gotra ; of such and such a sūtra and bearing such and such a name, make my obeisance.

(f) *Ācamanam*.—In the end, the upāsaka takes the ācamanam.

4. Conclusion

By the upāsana of Sandhyā and Gāyatrī, one gets liberated from all sins and attains moksha (त्रिसन्ध्यामुपासमानो ब्रह्मत्वमाधिगच्छति). Vṛddha Parāśara Smṛiti says :—गायत्रीजपकृद्भक्त्या सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa opines :—सर्वपापानि नश्यन्ति गायत्रीजपतो नृप. Agni Purāṇa asserts :—ऐहिकामुष्मिकं सर्वं गायत्रीजपतो भवेत्. And Padma Purāṇa declares :—ब्रह्महत्यादिपापानि गुरुणि च लघूनि च । नाशयत्यचिरेणैव गायत्रीजपको द्विजः ॥

The following hymns to Gāyatrī from the Gāyatrī Stavarāja of sage Viśvāmitra may be recited here :—

(a) गायत्रीं त्रिपदां त्रिबीजसहितां त्रिव्याहतीं त्रैपदाम् ।

त्रिब्रह्म त्रिगुणां त्रिकालनियमां वेदत्रयीं तां पराम् ॥

(b) सांख्यादित्रयरूपिणीं त्रिनयनां मातृत्रयीं तत्परां ।

त्रैलोक्यत्रिदशत्रिकोटिसहितां सन्ध्यां त्रयीं तां नमः ॥

PRATIJÑĀ-YAUGANDHARĀYAṆA:

A CRITIQUE

By H. L. HARIYAPPA, M.A.

(Concluded from Vol. XXIII, No. 2, p. 247.)

III. Dramatis Personæ

BHĀSA'S characters are life-like. Far more distinct from the 'type', even the Vidūṣaka appears with an individuality of his own. His references, for example, to delicious dishes, an antic which relates him to the 'type', are also not devoid of some originality. Judging between Vāsavadatta and Padmāvati, he votes for the latter, because "she has this other great virtue. Delicacies in hand, she comes forward saying, 'Where can the noble Vasantaka have gone?'"

अयं चापरो महान् गुणः—स्निग्धेन भोजनेन मां प्रत्युद्गच्छति कुत्र नु खलु गत आर्य वसन्तक इति ।

(*Svapna*, Act IV, p. 83, Tri. Edn. 1924.)

(a) Yaugandharayana.

The Hero.—The hero of the play is, certainly, the able minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, though, towards the end of the plot, our attention is dominated by Vatsarāja and his love-episode. Yaugandharāyaṇa appears to be a typical minister of ancient times—a minister in whose hands the king entrusted the destiny of the whole kingdom with practically no restriction of time or power. But, it must be remembered that the minister well deserved such a confidence from the king. It was sheer accident that his master fell a prey to the machinations of the enemy. For, Yaugandharāyaṇa, with his effective system of espionage, had already received news of the intended hap and was sure to counteract it by timely warning but, as luck would have it, the king left on his hunting excursion a couple of days prior to the date originally fixed. With a keen sense of disappointment, the helpless minister declares :

"This is the taunt that Pradyota intended to fling upon us, this the great ambition he cherished." I, 10.

He resolves to avenge this temporary set-back. For he is eminently capable of doing so, backed as he is not only by his own genius for statecraft but also by a group of trusted friends and devoted servants. Here is Sālaka, lovingly eager to serve his master—

Y.—Great is the distance²³ to be covered, I say.

S.—(But) greater is the devotion with which I serve my master.

Yaugandharāyaṇa's virtues had endeared him to the royal household as well as to the servants and the people. The queen-mother pays him a high compliment in her message²⁴ just after hearing the news of the capture of Vatsarāja. Yaugandharāyaṇa is a man of admitted merit and the queen loves him no less than her own son. Significant is the caricature of the Vidūṣaka when he says :—

उच्चतया प्राकारस्य, अगतिः कुकुराणाम् ।

(Act III, p. 69.)

“Dogs have no way as the walls are high”—suggesting that the ministers of Pradyota cannot overcome the high diplomacy of Yaugandharāyaṇa. Nay, his very rival Bharatarohaka betrays an inferiority complex, when he feels embarrassed to frame any charges against the enemy when he is produced before him in chains. For, how can he charge with ignominy, a man who has brilliantly concluded his plans and who, above all, is suffering calamity for the sake of his master? (IV, 14). Note the admiration of Bharatarohaka's servant at Yaugandharāyaṇa's first utterance—

भरतरोहकः—भोः ! यौगन्धरायण !

यौ.—भोः !

भटः—अहो ! खरस्य गम्भीरतां ! आर्यस्यैकाक्षरेण पूरितोऽयं देशः ।

²³ To reach the royal camp to convey the minister's message of warning.

²⁴ यः खल्विदानीं सङ्कटेषु वा न विषीदति, विषमगतो वा न पर्यवतिष्ठते, वञ्चितो वा न निर्वेदं गच्छति, प्रतिघातेषु वा प्राणान् न समुज्झति, स खलुबुद्धिमान् पृच्छ्यते प्रथममेव मे पुत्रस्य वयस्यः पश्चादमात्यः आनयतु मे पुत्रकं पुत्रक इति.

(Act I, p. 39.)

“ Oh ! the dignity of his speech ! It is as though the whole place is filled with the one syllable uttered by his honour !

(Act IV, p. 119.)

Yaugandharāyaṇa, on the other hand, has great contempt for him and his statesmanship. Though himself in chains, he expects to see him hang down his head in shame, like the wrestler outwitted by a skilful countercharge of his opponent (IV, 13*d*). Again, the indiscreet statesmanship of the enemy appears to him very ridiculous—a statesmanship which drove them to sleep at a time when they had to be all careful, having imprisoned the very fire in the form of Vatsarāja ; a statesmanship which taught them to catch hold of the case when the jewel within was taken away (IV, 12). Worthy, on the contrary, is his own idea of the duties of a statesman. A minister's position is by no means a bed of roses. He is never allowed the prospect of a happy future. Happiness, if at all, he would have to derive from a reminiscence of the glorious past rather than from the uncertain future whose dangers he or anybody cannot know.

अहस्समुत्तीर्य निशा प्रतीक्ष्यते शुभे प्रभाते दिवसोऽनुचिन्त्यते ।

अनागतार्थान्यशुभानि पश्यतां गतं गतं कालमवेक्ष्य निर्वृतिः ॥

“ The day over, night is expected ; and (the night ending in) a good morning, the day is thought of. For those who foresee calamities, happiness lies in musing over the (dangers overcome in the) past.”

(III, 2.)

Finally, nothing can be more complimentary to Yaugandharāyaṇa than the impression King Pradyota himself entertained about him. Were he alive, the capture of Vatsarāja would be impossible. Therefore, he challenges with confidence the truth of the capture of the enemy.

राजा—अथ किमुपरतो यौगन्धरायणः ?

काञ्चुकीयः—न खलु, कौशाम्ब्यां किल ।

रा.—यद्येवं, न गृहीतो वत्सराजः ।

का.—श्रद्धतां महासेनः ।

राजा—न श्रद्धामुदयनग्रहणं त्वयोक्तं व्यावर्तनं करतलैरिव मन्दरस्य ।

यस्याहवेषु रिपवः कथयन्ति शौर्यं यौगन्धरायणमतानि च नः खनन्ति॥

(Act II, pp. 56-57.)

King—Then, is Yaugandharāyaṇa dead ?

Chamberlain—Not, indeed ! (He is) at Kauśāmbī (they say).

King—If so, Vatsarāja is not captured.

Ch.—May Mahāsena believe (me).

King—I do not believe the capture of Udayana reported by you, even as I do not the turning of the Mandara mountain by the palm of the hand, when his valour on the battle-field his enemies so describe and when the diplomacy of Yaugandharāyaṇa is ringing in our ears.

As a man, Yaugandharāyaṇa is loved and respected by all he comes into contact with, from the highest to the lowest. Characteristic are some of his expressions of personal sympathy. To Hamsaka who had undertaken long journey from Ujjayinī, he offers a seat.

“You are fatigued by the journey ; be seated ” (Act I, p. 15). Similarly, affectionate is his treatment of the Vidūṣaka and Rumaṇvān when they meet for secret counsel in the Fire House, suspending for a while their disguises.

Y.—Vasantaka, is this Fire House empty ?

V.—O yes ! empty indeed.

Y.—Then embrace me both of you.

Both—Willingly. (*They embrace.*)

Y.—Well, well. Both of you have taken much trouble.

Sit down, please. You also sit down.

Both—Willingly. (*All sit down.*)

(Act III, p. 86.)

Yaugandharāyaṇa, tactful as he is, never fails to express his appreciation of merit in his friends and servants. These personal qualities are sure to encourage his servants to undertake any mission entrusted to them, however difficult. Mark his timely commendation of Sālaka just when he has to undertake a post-haste journey to the king.

यौ.—अथ दृष्टपूर्वस्त्वयैष पन्थाः ?

सा.—न हि । श्रुतपूर्वः ।

यौ.—एतदपि मेधावि लक्षणम् ।

(Act I, pp. 8-9.)

Y.—Then, have you seen the path before ?

S.—No (Sir). I have heard before.

Y.—Ay, that is also a sign of intelligence.

Sālaka is not of that type of servants who evade their master's behests by the mean pretext of being ignorant of all things. Mark, again, how Yaugandharāyaṇa willingly corrects his hasty remark against his colleague Rumaṇvān, presuming that the latter failed in his duty at the camp—

इदानीमनुत्पन्नकार्यपण्डितो रुमण्वान् क्व गतः ?

It being clear subsequently that Rumaṇvān did his duty in warning the king in so many words of the danger of hunting in the frontier regions and in imploring him to allow him and all except the infantry to follow, Yaugandharāyaṇa admires his loyal devotion to the master. Says he with genuine surprise and satisfaction—

अपि महाजनसमक्षमेवमुक्तः स्वामी रुमण्वता ?

एवमप्यवक्तव्यां स्वामिभक्तिमिच्छामि ।

(Act I, p. 19.)

“Was His Highness so addressed by Rumaṇvān in the presence of all nobles ? Ay, I like such faultless devotion to the master.”

Further, his feeling is one of genuine sympathy towards the king, who was helpless, overpowered and taken away by the enemies. His erstwhile denunciation of the king thoughtlessly changing the day of the hunt has already disappeared from his mind. He bursts out—

कथमगणितपूर्वं द्रक्ष्यते तं नरेन्द्रः

कथमपुरुषवाक्यं श्रोष्यते सिद्धवाक्यः ।

कथमविषयवन्ध्यं धारयिष्यत्यमर्षम्

प्रणिपतति निरुद्धः सत्कृतो धर्षितो वा ॥

(Act I, pp. 29-30.)

“Alas ! How will the lord of men look at him (Pradyota) who was of no consideration before ; how will he, of

truthful words, hear the unmanly utterances (of the enemy); and how will he hold within himself the anger which is (but) barren of its aim! Treated well or ill, a prisoner, however, has to bend himself down (before the conqueror)."

It would be impossible for any one to live in such humiliation, but being made of sterner stuff, he (Vatsarāja) lives. मनस्वित्वात् स्वामी दुःखेषु वर्तते । (I, 10).

Furthermore, our hero has a great capacity for fun. His rôle of a mad man, so perfect and successful,—his appearance in particular, vividly compared to the foaming dirty street torrent during the rainy season फेनायमानमलिनवर्षारथ्योदकमिव । (III, p. 74)—is sure to evoke much laughter. Noteworthy are his frequent witty remarks. The ladies of the harem lament the misfortune that befell their beloved lord and thereby try, *in their own fashion*, to counteract it. But here are the ministers beaten by those ladies in that they have yet to think of doing so—

एष शोकप्रतीकारो यथाशक्ति निवेद्यते ।

एतत् स्त्रीभिरसामर्थ्यं मन्त्रिणामनुवर्ण्यते ॥

(Act I, p. 38.)

"The ladies (already) express their remedy for sorrow—so far as it lies in their power—only to exhibit the incapacity of the ministers. (I, 15.)

This is indeed a clever joke at the harem's empty lament and the minister's slow action. So also it is on the late production of the talisman which is delivered to the minister when the danger it has to guard against has already befallen. It came a day after the fair—even as the nīrājana to the horse and such other auspicious ceremonies after the battle is over.²⁵ तुरङ्गमस्येव रणे निवृत्ते नीराजनाकौतुकमङ्गलानि । (Act. I, p. 31). But, sometimes, his wit is attended with bitter sarcasm. See how he mocks at the king who has given himself up for

²⁵ Nīrājana to the horse is an auspicious ceremony performed before proceeding for war. The flames of the fire shooting towards the right is believed to be a sign of success in battle. Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 25.

romance without regard to his humiliating position. He remarks—

अदेशकाले ललितं कामयते स्वामी !
 शक्ता दर्पयितुं स्वहस्तरचिता भूमिः कटप्रच्छदा
 पर्याप्तो निगलस्वनश्चरणयोः कन्दर्पमालम्बितुम् ।
 कः श्रुत्वा न भवेद्धि मन्मथपटुः प्रत्यक्षतो बन्धने
 रक्षार्थं परिगण्यमानपुरुषै राजेति शब्दापनम् ॥

(Act III, p. 6.)

“Alas ! The king desires sport out of place and out of time. Ah, yes ! There is his self-made bed of fodder on the ground to invigorate him ; the soft sound of the leg-chain to augment his love ; and who will not become infatuated to hear such (endearing) addresses as ‘ O King ’ by the men who are there to guard him (in prison) ? ”

The same kind of invective runs throughout the heated conversation between our hero and Pradyota’s minister Bharata-rohaka. Each one of the latter’s charges is answered with ready wit mixed with stinging ridicule.

Finally, Yaugandharāyaṇa is a man of many activities and heavy responsibilities. It is certainly extraordinary that in such a position he should not get embarrassed. We never see him down in spirits. His optimism regarding the future and life in general is wonderful. This is his philosophy of action—

काष्ठादग्निर्जायते मथ्यमानात्
 भूमिस्तोयं खन्यमाना ददाति ।
 सौत्साहानां नास्त्यसाध्यं नराणाम्
 मार्गारब्धाः सर्वयत्नाः फलन्ति ॥

(Act I, p. 18.)

“Fire is produced out of fuel rubbed together ; the earth being dug gives water ; there is nothing impossible for men of enthusiasm and all efforts directed in the proper way do bear fruit.”

And behold his contentment after having achieved his object—

भोः ! सुखं खलु निष्कलत्राणां कान्तारप्रवेशः ।

रमणीयतरः खलु प्राप्तमनोरथानां विनिपातः ।

अपश्चात्तापकरः खलु सञ्चितधर्माणां मृत्युः ॥

(Act IV, p. 114.)

“Ay, happy it is to retire to the forest when men have no family (to care for); happier to suffer (calamity) when men have attained their objects; and unlamentable is death for those who have accumulated Dharma.”

(b) Mahasena

Mahāsena is a noble king. But for the inimical references made regarding him by Vatsarāja's party, we do not see anything in the play that makes him wicked. There is much to his credit in the treatment afforded to the royal prisoner—

अस्य सर्वदर्शनमविमुक्तसत्कारमवगन्तव्यम् । आकारसूचिता अस्य प्रीतयो
विज्ञेयाः । अतिक्रान्तविग्रहाश्रिताः कथाः न कथयितव्याः । क्षुतादि-
प्रयोगेष्वशिषोऽभिधेयाः । कालसंवादिना स्तवेन अर्च्यः ॥

(Act II, p. 64.)

“Each gesture of his (wounded and bed-ridden Vatsarāja) should be known with due respect; his likes (and dislikes) should be inferred by his demeanour; no stories relating to the past encounter should be recounted; good wishes must be expressed on his sneezing (yawning) and so on; he must be honoured with flattery proper to the occasion.”

The very fact that he had desired to give his daughter in marriage to Vatsarāja is sufficient testimony to the high regard he had for him. While all kings on earth do carry like servants the dust raised from the feet of his horse, this Vatsarāja, who is a man of parts but who is proud of his knowledge of the elephant, does not care to respect him (II, 3). Therefore, he is not pleased. It was a matter of great joy that such a foe was captured. The string of epithets added to Ūdayana Vatsarāja suggests how much he cherished the object. In short, it is only then that he felt like himself. Says he—एष समाप्तः । अद्यास्मि महासेनः । But, in the interest of

his ultimate object—marriage of his daughter with Vatsarāja—he does not allow himself to be elated at this. On the contrary, he shows great concern at the adverse situation of the ‘enemy’ when he was brought captive and sincerely wishes for his speedy recovery.

King Mahāsenā is by nature a very lively person. His servants, especially the chamberlain, Bādarāyaṇa, enjoy considerable freedom with him. Bādarāyaṇa is audacious enough to charge him with being indifferent regarding the marriage of his daughter—

एषा मे विवक्षा । एवं नामाहन्यहनि गोत्रानुकूलेभ्यो राजकुलेभ्यः कन्या-
प्रदानं प्रति दूतसम्प्रेषणा वर्तते । न खलु महासेनः कञ्चिदपि प्रत्याचष्टे,
न चाप्यनुगृहीते । किन्तु खल्विदम् ?

(Act II, p. 49.)

“This is what I want to say. Many have been the messages in this manner every day from royal families of favourable lineage (gotras) asking for the hand of the bride. But Mahāsenā does not refuse, nor does he favour, anybody. What is this, I wonder.”

But the king has very valid reasons for his silence and expresses himself on the choice of a bridegroom. The bridegroom, in the first place, must belong to a worthy family, must be of a benevolent disposition, of good personality, and strong enough to be chivalrous. Further, he is unwilling to act independently with regard to such an important affair as the choice of a bridegroom and, therefore, summons the queen who, as the mother of the girl, is most concerned. For, mothers are given to sorrow at the time of giving away the daughter in marriage, particularly when the choice of the son-in-law is not theirs. Indeed, there were many suitors already for the hand of Vāsavadattā, but the queen cannot bring herself to favour any of them as her mind is fixed on a different person. She would rather see the postponement of the marriage itself. Meanwhile, Vāsavadattā’s fancy for learning the vīṇa affords her a nice plea. She gets further encouraged by the news of the capture of Vatsarāja.

Overjoyed, perhaps, at the prospect of a good selection, she betrays herself in favour of the captive.

देवी—किममात्येनानीतः ?

राजा—अथ किम् ।

देवी—एतन्निमित्तं कस्मा अपि न दित्सामो वासवदत्ताम् ।

(Act II, p. 58.)

Queen—What! was he (Vatsarāja) brought by the minister ?

King—Yes.

Queen—On account of him (Vatsarāja), it is that we do not wish to give Vāsavadattā to anybody.

What is more, towards the end of the discussion about the choice of the bridegroom, the queen feels almost sure of her mark and characteristically remarks as if with indifference.

अलमिदानीं त्वरित्वा, बाला मे दारिका ।

(Act II, p. 65.)

“ Why, where's the hurry ? my darling is yet a child.”

There is, on the other hand, greater confidence and decision exhibited by Mahāsena in this vital matter. He is quite sure of what is to happen. He also wanted to vote for Vatsarāja and, in fact, took all the trouble to secure him. But, what a suppression of feeling and anxiety we see in him throughout the scene. Quite realistic is his rôle, particularly in the domestic politics. The attempt on the part of both husband and wife, to make each other responsible for the selection of a candidate, is very funny.

देवी—किमिदानीं विस्तरेण ? यत्र दत्त्वा न सन्तप्यामहे तत्र दीयताम् ।

राजा—अहो ! महान् खलु लीलाभिहितो दुःखविस्तर इदानीं, पश्चादुपालम्भनं श्रोतुम् । तस्माद्देवी तावन्निश्चयं गच्छतु ।

(Act II, p. 54.)

Queen—Now then, why elaborate ? Where, after giving, we do not have to regret the choice, there may she be given.

King—Oh, how easily did you solve (such) a serious problem, perhaps, that I should hear reproaches afterwards. Therefore, let my queen herself arrive at a decision.

There is a happy echo of the mischief common to the husband towards the wife, when the queen proposes the appointment of a music instructor. Mahāsenā dismisses the proposal saying—

उपस्थितविवाहकालायाः किमिदानीमाचार्येण ? पतिरेवैनां शिक्षयिष्यति ।

(Act II, p. 52.)

“Why a teacher just now when the time of her marriage is near? The husband himself will instruct her.”

And again, when perhaps as etiquette would require, the queen rises to withdraw as the chamberlain came to deliver an important message (*viz.*, the fall of Vatsarāja), the king ridicules her for doing so just when he had to receive and she also to hear such pleasing news—प्रियवचनपरिहार्या हि देवी । (II, p. 55) “Oh, the queen is to be excluded from (hearing) all happy news.” The humour is heightened all the more by his summary command—आस्यताम् : that she may resume her seat.

The object of the royal couple, at last, came to fruition. Vāsavadatta was united with Vatsarāja : their love was truly romantic. But the king and queen did not expect such a culmination of affairs. The non-celebration of the marriage at their capital city made them very unhappy and the queen even contemplated to end her life by that grief. The king, however, consoled her by proposing the celebration of the marriage in a picture. The matrimonial alliance could well have been formally announced and the wedding celebrated by Mahāsenā himself and thereby their enmity could have been made up. There was, unfortunately, no opportunity for the misunderstandings to be cleared. Mahāsenā, it seemed to them, threw down the gauntlet by capturing Vatsarāja by deceit and they had to accept it and humiliate Mahāsenā in turn. Mahāsenā, however, with his sage experience and innate gentleness, submitted to the inevitable and preferred to reconcile himself to the situation as the princess got the right husband. It is not impossible to believe, however,

that Time, the great healer sent by God, did bring the two parties together to entertain mutual friendship.²⁶

(c) Vatsarāja

Even though Vatsarāja is one of the four principal characters introduced in the benedictory stanza, he never appears on the stage. From what was said of him in the play, one could easily imagine what he was like. Vatsarāja was blessed with all the qualifications of a king of a high order. He belonged to the dynasty of the Bharatas renowned from Vedic times. He was strong, of good personality and of high attainments. He was famous for his mysterious vīna which easily subdued elephants and in which he indulged rather heavily—

कामं या तस्य सा लीला तत्रैवानुगतं मनः ।

(Act II, p. 50.)

says Mahāsenā. If this were a weakness, there was greater recompense in his being strong in form and brave in fighting. How enthusiastic is Hamsaka while describing the valour of Vatsarāja, who killed more than he anticipated !

आत्माभिप्रायादप्यधिकं प्रहरन् ।

(Act I, p. 23.)

Hamsaka again shows that even the wretched enemies, in their anger only described the havoc wrought by the mighty king among their ranks.²⁷ Mahāsenā also refers to his valour in battle being described to him by his enemies.²⁸

There was on the part of the young king some obstinacy bordering on rashness of youth as evidenced by his change of programme regarding the elephant hunt, for which he paid dearly. Again, while Rumaṇvān remonstrated with him against his going alone he stopped him too hastily ' by an oath on his own life '—आत्मजीवितनिर्दिष्टेन शपथेन निवार्यमाख्यं । His message to Yaugandharāyaṇa through the Vidūṣaka—

²⁶ *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act VI.

²⁷ ततः प्रत्यागतप्राणमिदानीं भर्तारं प्रेक्ष्यानेन मम भ्राता हतोऽनेन मम पितानेन मम सुतो मम वयस्य इत्यन्यथा भर्तुः पराक्रमं वर्णयन्तः सर्वतोऽभिदुतास्ते पापाः ॥
(Act I, p. 25.)

²⁸ यस्याहवेषु रिपवः कथयन्ति शौर्यम् ।

(Act II, p. 9.)

“भण यौगन्धरायणाय.—यथा समर्थिता समर्थना न रोचते मे । समाने गमने प्रद्योतस्यावमानविशेषश्चिन्त्यते । मा कामप्रधान इति मामवमन्यस्व । अवमानस्यापचितिमन्वेषे इति ।”

(Act III, p. 95.)

“Tell Yaugandharāyaṇa—The way to success as proposed does not suit me. Escape being common (to both of our proposals), greater insult to Pradyota is meant (by me). Do not put me down for one with love uppermost. I only seek to remove dishonour”

shows want of discretion on his part.

But he is extremely fortunate in being served by a devoted band of ministers headed by Yaugandharāyaṇa. Mahāsena is impressed by their carefulness and agility. For, in spite of King Udayana indulging in his own pleasures, his ministers guarded him on all sides.²⁹ In the end, the whole of Ujjayinī, except the rampart and the gates became Kauśāmbī.³⁰ Yaugandharāyaṇa, in particular, realizes his duty by his master when the latter's incorrigibility drives him and his friends to despair and the Vidūṣaka, who is something more than a buffoon, here proposes their return to Kauśāmbī deserting the king to his fate. The minister knew the weaknesses of the king and, therefore, did not want to desert him. Hence his second resolve. The heated discussion³¹ between Yaugandharāyaṇa and the Vidūṣaka lends a charm natural to conferences of the kind. It is surprising, however, that the Vidūṣaka, the notorious love accomplice of the king in our dramas, should so try to belie himself on this occasion. His proposal for the desertion of the king startles his friends and all.³² It may be that the Vidūṣaka, *pretending* to be otherwise, calls forth the better sense of his colleagues and then indirectly encourages them to exert themselves still more for their master's sake.

²⁹ ये त्वस्य सचिवास्सर्वे यत्नमास्थाय ते स्थिताः ।

(Act II, p. 6.)

³⁰ प्राकारतोरणवर्जं सर्वं कौशांबी खल्विदम् ।

(Act IV, p. 113.)

³¹ Act III, pp. 87-100.

³² दर्शितः स्नेहः । निर्विष्टः पुरुषकारः । साधूज्ज्ञत्वैनं गच्छामः ।

(Act III, p. 96.)

Conclusion

There are only two female characters in the drama, the queen and the attendant Vijayā. They are of little importance. The play on the whole is manly, depicting in the main the heroic sentiment (वीर). It is noteworthy that Bhāsa's characters are to be understood and appreciated more and more by imagination than by mere statements contained in the plays themselves. The æsthetic pleasure derived, as a result of *suggestion* (ध्वनि) which pervades his works, will be in proportion to the intellectual potentialities of the audience or of the reader. No wonder, the author of the Trivandrum plays bids for a place among the world-dramatists.

HEAVENLY MANSIONS OF THE HINDUS

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

(Concluded from Vol. XXIII, No. 3, p. 407.)

ASTRONOMY is one of the six angas of the Veda (*Āpastambha Dharmasūtras*, II, iv. 8. 11) though Burgess regards Hindu astronomy as having been originally based on that of the Alexandrian Greeks (*J.R.A.S.*, XXV, p. 718) and Colebrooke notes the correspondence of the Hindu signs of the zodiac with those of the Greeks (cf. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, 1807, pp. 323-326; Vol. XII, pp. 209-30). Apart from the question of authorship or the origin of these studies, it seems pretty certain that the Nakṣatras were first mapped out on the heavens as groups of stars, not far from the ecliptic; they were readily recognizable; and they helped to indicate with ease and facility the positions of the moon and the planets. No doubt, the number of stars in the different asterisms varies in the different works.

As regards the antiquity of our knowledge of the science of astronomy, it may be stated that it is as old as the most ancient of our sacred works. The attention which a study of this science commanded in India may be gauged, amongst other things, from the existence of an astronomical temple in Gauhati (*J.R.A.S.*, 1929, Giuseppe Tucci). In several shrines, the sun's rays passed through different openings in the twelve different months of the year. J. R. Kaye says that crude notions must have been common in connection with the sacrificial ritual in India. The Ṛg Vedic hymns devoted to the celestial phenomena mention the planets and refer to the Maghā, Phalgunī, Tīṣya and the Saptarṣis. The Yajur Veda refers to the twenty-seven asterisms beginning from the Kṛttika and lists of these are given in the Atharva Veda. Kaṭhapaniṣad, Taittirīya Samhita, Maitrāyaṇī Samhita, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and other works refer to twenty-seven and sometimes twenty-eight asterisms, including Abhijit.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ii. 1. 24), the Kṛttikas are described as the wives of the seven sages (Saptaṛṣis) and are said to rise in the east and not to move from that quarter. The stars in the Kṛttikas group are called Ambā meaning mother, Dalā, Nitatnī, Abhrayantī (forming clouds), Meghayantī (making clouds) and Varṣayantī (causing rain) though the rain-producing function of the asterism has been given up in later works. Similar myths are associated with the other asterisms. Prajāpati (Orion) is said to have pursued his daughter Rohiṇī and to have been shot by the Mṛga Vyādhā (Sirius) with the arrow (ishu) Trikāṇḍa or Orion's belt and the Rohiṇī myth is given differently in the *Mahā-bhārata* (IX. 35). Mṛga is identified by some with β , χ , ζ , ϵ , δ Orionis, while the Divya Śvāna (Śaramā) may be the Sirius (A.V., VI. 80). Tiṣya is Præsepe according to Fleet and Sirius according to others. Arundhatī referred to in the Sūtra literature is unidentified, while Triśanku is said to shine head downward, though equally unidentified. In the *Asiatic Researches* (Vol. IX), H. T. Colebrooke calls Aldebaran the bull's eye and designates Sirius as Lubd'haca, Brahmahṛdaya as Capella, Agni as β Tauri, Prajāpati as δ Aurigo.

The origin of the zodiac is said to be Chaldean or Egyptian but there is scarcely a nation in whose ancient traditions or annals is not to be found some reference to the signs of the zodiac. In the Ṛg Veda, it goes by the name of Ṛta or Satya. In the Chinese annals (2357 B.C.), it is said that the celestial emperor divided the twelve signs of the zodiac into the 28 mansions of the Moon corresponding to the 28 days of the lunar month. The Pole Star was then Draco and perhaps gave the Dragon as the national emblem of the celestial empire.

In ancient Greece, Bull was worshipped as Apis or Mnevis, Goat as Mendes, Earth as Vesta, Sea as Neptunus and Air as Zeus or Jupiter. Venus was the goddess of natural beauty or pleasure at whose approach winds and clouds disappeared and to whom earth offered flowers and on whom the waves from the sea smiled. Ammon with the head of a Ram was the Sun entering Aries at the vernal equinox, which

marked the beginning of an equinoctial year. It may be observed that the solstitial year opened by the heliacal rising of Sirius, with which the star Thoth was identified. In Appendix A are given details regarding the days of the week. The calendar is said to have been invented by the great mathematicians of the Stone Age, beginning with the rising of Sirius at the height of the Nile inundation, five extra days being added for religious festivals associated with agricultural rites, and ultimately imported and adjusted by the Romans.

In Hindu myth and legend, the Nakṣatras are the houses of the gods. Beginning from the Kṛttikas to Viśākha are the Deva Nakṣatras; from Anurādhā to Apa Bharanī are those of Yama, the king of the Pitṛs (*Tait. Br.*, i. 5. 27). The ṛsis interchange places with Pitṛs and with gods. These seers are glorified as forms of fire and as stars and are yet recognized as ancestors of mortal men, accepting the laws of Brahma. Amongst the most important are the following:—

North, (1) Vasiṣṭha with his consort Arundhatī, a spotless adherent of Śiva and a model of faithfulness, (2) Kaśyapa, (3) Atri, (4) Viśvāmitra, (5) Gautama, (6) Jamadagni and (7) Bhāradvāja.

These seven stars with Arundhatī, wife of Vasiṣṭha (later of Dharma), are a famous cluster in the sky and well known in the northern heavens as guardians. They are all very much larger and brighter than the Sun. In the theft of the Lotus, the virtuous Arundhatī is accompanied by a maid-of-all-work Gaṇoḷa. Vṛṣādarbhi (Śaībya) angered at the rejection of his offering, produced a Yātudhāni and bade her kill the seers which she could only do by knowing the meaning of their names. Indra, disguised as a hunter, tested their virtue and the seven thereafter went to heaven with him. According to another account, the seven sages represented in the Great Bear group are: (1) Kratu, (2) Pulaha, (3) Pulastya, (4) Atri, (5) Āngiras, (6) Vasiṣṭha and (7) Marīci. This group is known by various names: The Dipper, Ursa Major, Charles' Wain and the Plough. α is Dubhe, from a bear, of red colour, slightly varying, yellow. δ is Merak, the loins of the bear;

α and β are the pointers of the great group. γ is Pheeda, δ Megrez (root of the bear's tail). These four join in making the quadrilateral of the Great Bear. ϵ is Alioth, ζ is Mizar or Vasiṣṭha, a double star with its companion Arundhatī or Alcor or Cavalier or Saidak, the Arabic word for parikṣe or test and η is Alkaid or Beut-nasch, the governor amongst the mourners. The last three form the tail of the Great Bear.

On the Eastern Sky are—(1) Kauśika, (2) Yavakṛtu, (3) Gārgya, (4) Gālava, (5) Kaṇva.

On the South are—(1) Svastyātreya, (2) Namūci, (3) Pramūci, (4) Agastya, (5) Sumukha, (6) Vimukha.

Agastya is the eighth sage after the seven ṛsis and lord of the south. He is said to be a half-brother of Vasiṣṭha. In the Western Sky are—(1) Nṛṣadgu (- ḍgu), (2) Kavaṣa (- ṣin), (3) Dhaumya, (4) Raudrya and others.

Amongst the stars distinctly named by the Sanskritists as lying particularly outside the zodiacal signs, are in the northern hemisphere—(1) Saptarṣis—Great Bear Group, (2) Dhruva—Pole Star, (3) Arundhatī—Alcor, (4) Viṣṇupāda, (5) Mātṛmaṇḍala, and in the southern hemisphere, Agastya (Canopus).

Atkinson in the preface to his translation of the *Shah Namah* refers to Rustum as the Persian Hercules though his labours were only seven and says : “ According to the theory of Dupis, Hercules is considered as no other than the Sun, and his twelve labours are regarded as a representation of the annual course of that luminary through the signs of the zodiac.” While the Sun is the centre of life in the solar system, Saturn is the ruler of the mineral kingdom, Jupiter and Moon control the vegetable world and Mars presides over the destinies of animals and man. The fixed stars in the zodiac are compared and contrasted with the planets with reference to their several characteristics and influences upon a man's life. The Sun being the life-giver upon the earth is always taken as being in the ascendant and as with men, so with kingdoms and empires. We are told, for example, that the Roman Empire and the power of the Pope were greatly

affected by the passage of Regulus through the sign Leo by which Rome is ruled.

Signs of the zodiac must not be confused with the zodiacal constellations, *i.e.*, the ecliptic divided into twelve parts of 30° counting from Aries. Owing to the precession of the equinoxes, the signs of the same name as the constellations are gradually moving to the west of the constellations. We have twenty-nine northern constellations, twelve zodiacal ones and forty-three southern ones which are generally dealt with in works on astronomy.

Appendix C gives the signs of the zodiac, the presiding celestial body in each sign, the lunar months corresponding to each solar sign, the asterisms in each sign of the zodiac in the ecliptic and the successive numbers commencing from the first sign Aries.

By yoga is said to be indicated the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and the Moon. A Yogatāra is the principal or distinguishing star of a constellation. Corresponding to the lunar asterisms from Aśvini there are twenty-seven yoga stars, *viz.*—

(1) Viṣkambha, (2) Prīti, (3) Āyusmat, (4) Saubhāgya, (5) Śobhana, (6) Atiganda, (7) Suśarman, (8) Dhṛti, (9) Śūla, (10) Ganda, (11) Vṛddhi, (12) Dhruva, (13) Vyāghāta, (14) Harṣaṇa, (15) Vajra, (16) Asrij, (17) Vyatīpāta, (18) Variyas, (19) Parigha, (20) Śiva, (21) Siddha, (22) Sādhya, (23) Śubha, (24) Śukra, (25) Brahman, (26) Indra, and (27) Vaidhṛti.

Appendix B gives information on matters dealt with in the course of this work regarding the lunar mansions in tabular form. Additional matter gleaned from Chinese and Persian sources has also been given.

Soma (Moon) is conceived in the Yajur Veda as having for his wives the lunar asterisms said to be the daughters of Prajāpati. According to the conception of Prajāpati as the Nakṣatra Puruṣa in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, Citra is his head, Svāti the heart, Hasta the hand, Viśākha the thighs and Anurādhā the foot, corresponding perhaps to Spica, Arcturus, Gemma and Algora, Zubenelg and Akra respectively. According to Bāṛdhāyana the different signs

of the zodiac are related to the different parts of the body of Brahman. Ram is said to represent the head, Bull the face, Twins the breast, Crab the heart, Leo the stomach, Virgo the hip, Libra the belly, Scorpio the membrum, Sagittarius the thighs, Capricornus the knees, Aquarius the legs and Pisces the feet of Brahma corresponding to the twelve zodiacal signs of Hindu astronomers. . . Another equally interesting description connects Candra with his 27 star-wives and it is raised to the dignity of a vrata (observance) called Candravrata ascribed to Bhīṣma and undertaken in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa when Candra is joined with the asterism of Mūla or rather when he visits her in the course of his journey. His position then in the starry heaven is as below :—His feet are in Mūla, calf in Rōhiṇi, knees in Aśvini, thighs in the two Āṣāḍhas, rump in Phalguṇi, waist in Kṛttika, navel in Bhādrapada, eye-circle in Revati, back and front in Dhaniṣṭha and Anurādhā, arms in Viśākha, hands in Hasta, fingers in Punarvasu, nails in Āśleṣa, neck in Jyēṣṭha, ears in Śravaṇa, mouth in Puṣya, lips in Svāti, laughter in Śatabhiṣak, nose in Maghā, eyes in Mṛgaśīras, forehead in Citra, head in Bharāṇi and hair in Ārdra.

From the lotus springs Brahma, the origin of the world. He protects the creation as Viṣṇu and destroys it as dreadful Rudra. He exists in the form of a tortoise in Bharata, possessing the six qualities and powers. He faces the east, holding this country, divided into nine parts and on all sides of him are stationed in nine quarters, nine stars. Amongst the several countries, named, in the middle of the tortoise, the workers of good and evil are Kṛttika, Rōhiṇi, Saumya ; Raudra, Punarvasu and Puṣya stationed in the mouth govern the destinies of those that lie in the mouth of the tortoise. Those that exist in the south-east foot of the tortoise are influenced by Āśleṣa, Piṭṛ, First Phalguṇi and those in the southern portion of the tortoise by Uttara Phalguṇi, Hasta and Citra residing in its southern belly. The countries in the southern feet of the tortoise are influenced by Svāti, Viśākha, Maghā and those in the tail of the tortoise by Aindra,

Mūla and Āṣāḍha. Those on the side of the left feet of the tortoise are governed by Uttara Āṣāḍha, Śravaṇa and Dhanīṣṭa; on the left belly by Varuṇa, and the two Bhādrāpadas; on the north-east foot of the tortoise by Revati, Āśvini and Bharāṇi. The position of the stars in the particular parts of the tortoise is common to all the countries situated in those parts and good and evil effects caused have thus to be deduced. In this tortoise, the gods exist, holding on each to a star and there in the middle exist the carrier of sacrificial offerings, the god Agni, as also the earth, the moon and Aries. Taurus exists there in its middle; Gemini in the mouth; Crab and Leo in the south-eastern foot; Leo, Virgo and Libra in the belly; Libra and Scorpio in the south-western foot; Scorpio on its hip with the Archer; the Archer, Capricornus and Aquarius on the north-western foot, while the Aquarius and the Pisces lie in its northern belly, the fish and the lamb on the north-eastern foot. The star-world was our time-keeper as well as the ruler of our destiny as it were. Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have donned the body of immortality in the Milky Way and ascended the throne of the Gods in Heaven. If Rāma hymned the Sun at the instance of Agastya, purified himself and then went to fight Rāvaṇa, it is clear that we should get the blessings of our elders and should regularly perform our daily prayers. Dhruva, identified with the Pole Star, represents perfect steadfastness. The Pole Star gave rise to the notion of a god who was one-footed because of its position in the apex of the stellar sky. The wild tribes of Australia have a star-god Turunbulun who is the lord and protector of the Pleiades and one-eyed and one-footed comparable to Aja Ekapāda, the birthless, one-footed one of Hindu mythology.

Star pictures lent themselves to time measurement and to celebrate the recurrence of specific days resort was had to festivals amongst the Hindus, the Greeks and the Egyptians. The rising of Sirius in Egypt coincides with the beginning of the Nile flood and is consequently connected with

food supply. Osiris springs up in season as the rejuvenated corn spirit and Isis is also concerned with food. When the star form of the bereaved Isis lets fall the first tear for Osiris then the river Nile gets water. The Egyptian calendar of 365 days lost about six hours every twelve months and a whole day for four years; the new year's day began with the rising of Sirius (Sothos) on the 17th June and coincided with the beginning of the Nile inundation.

Turning to the Creation Myths of Babylonia, we find that Merodach, having fixed the stars of the zodiac, made three stars for each month roughly corresponding to the lunar mansions in the twelve solar divisions. The celestial regions were then divided into three or more parts and three fields were allotted to the ancient triad formed by Ea, Anu and Bel, the zodiacal path running through these fields. The three groups of constellations, central, northern and southern, made up the thirty-six constellations. The twelve zodiacal stars were flanked on either side by twelve non-zodiacal ones. The five planets became the interpreters and in subjection to them were marshalled thirty stars styled divinities in council. The chiefs of these divinities were twelve in number to each of whom was assigned a month and one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Through these twelve signs, the Sun, the Moon and the planets run their courses. Within the zodiacal circle are marked out twenty-four stars ranging equally in the north and in the south. The thirty stars constituted the original Euphratean lunar zodiac, the parent, it is said, of the seven ancient lunar zodiacs which have come down to us: Persian, Sogdian, Khorasanian, Chinese, Indian, Arabic and Coptic. The three constellations associated with each month had each a symbolical significance, reflecting the character of the months. At the height of the rainy season, for example, the month of Ramman was presided over by the zodiacal constellation of the Water-urn, the northern constellation by the Fish of the canal and the southern by the Horse. In India, the black horse was sacrificed at the rain-getting and fertility ceremonies.

It is generally taken for granted that everywhere lunar chronology preceded the solar. The signs of the zodiac appear to have been fixed about 2,084 B.C. if not earlier. The general consensus of opinion based upon available evidence is that the stars were identified before the planets. It is found that lunar worship preceded everywhere the solar and there is evidence of it in Central Africa, and amongst primitive peoples throughout the world. It looks as if the lunar spirit was the guide and protector of mankind. Thoth of Hermopolis was originally a lunar deity and of great antiquity. Moon was believed to exercise a direct influence upon nature as a generative agency and it was perhaps on this account the days of Moon's increase are auspicious for all purposes, agricultural, festive or otherwise. The herbs and leaves and even the blood of men are said to grow and diminish with the waxing and waning of the Moon. The harvest moon is synonymous with a ripening moon and festivals are held throughout the world on full-moon days. Khonsu or Khensu at Hermopolis had developed from Ah the lunar representative of the male principle and he was also a measurer and inspirer of architects, like Moon measuring time. But Thoth was more than Ah and he was like a lawyer suggesting the observance of well-defined laws like the Moon. Moon gods were also corn gods and Thoth also links with Osiris, a human incarnation of the moon-spirit. Thoth, Osiris, Khonsu and Ah are all thus a later development but the African moon-spirit unlike historic Egyptian mythology was identified by savage peoples with the Creator God. The Accadians also believed that the Moon had prior existence to the Sun. Isis was a woman. In old Arabia, the Sun-deity was a female and there are traces of a Sun-goddess amongst the earlier Hittites.

The Egyptian Great Father Ptah was self-created; no father begot him and no mother gave him birth. Sun and Moon were his eyes; air issued from his nostrils, and the Nile from his mouth. It is possible Ptah was imported into Egypt by an invading tribe in pre-Dynastic times and he was an

artisan god. Osiris, son of Isis and Nephtys, became husband of his mother and was recognized as father of Horus. Similar myths existed in Asia Minor. In Cappadocia, there is a mythological scene upon a cliff at Ibreez supposed to represent the marriage of the two Great Father and Mother deities and significantly enough, the son accompanies the self-created bride. Apparently, as in Egypt, here also the father and son were fused, being at times indistinguishable in legends.

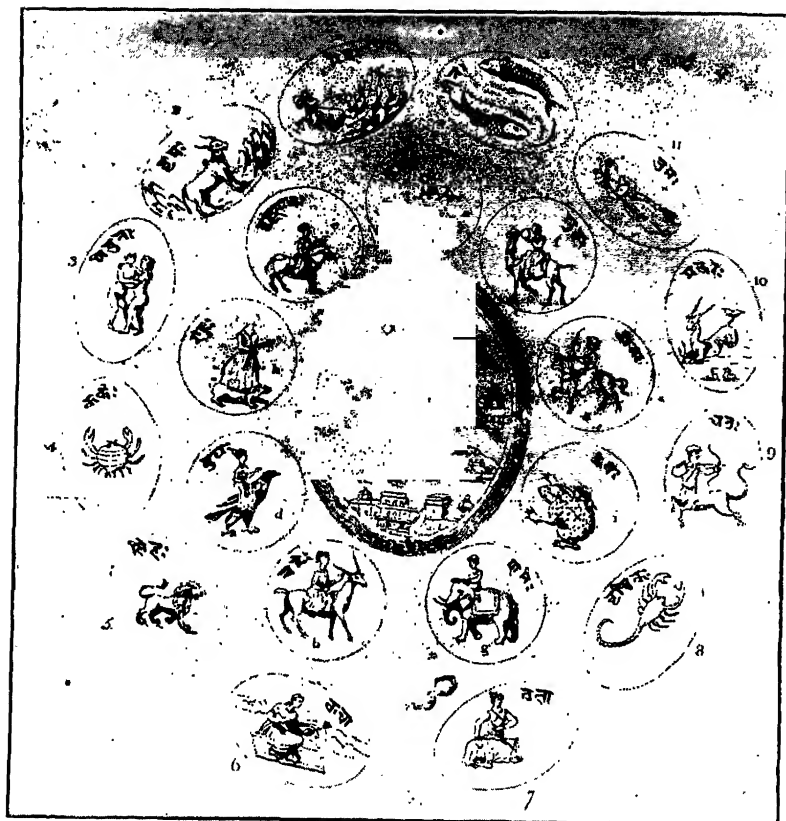
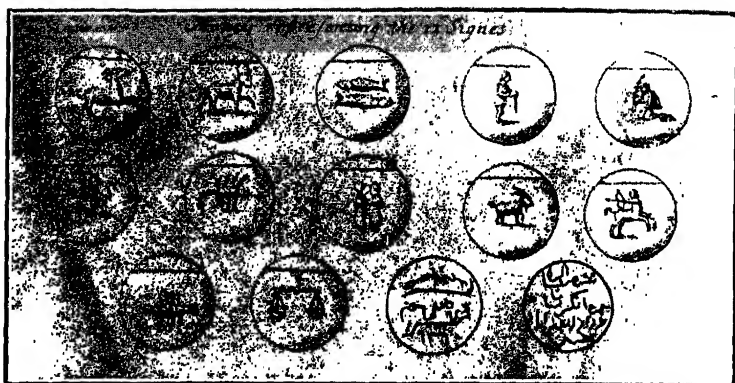
There is a suggestion that worship of a god instead of a goddess was due to the influence of nomadic tribes who believed in a Creator rather than in a Creatrix. But this religion was unknown to the early Mediterranean people who spread throughout Europe and reached the British Isles and Ireland. Nor did it arise in Egypt till after the erection of the great pyramids, where kings did not become sons of the Sun until after the Fifth Dynasty. Hence, Egyptologists agree that Sun-worship was imported from Asia, probably from Babylonia. For a full development of it, we must go to Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, where Ra, as the solar deity, was first exalted as the Great Father, all descending from him. Nevertheless, the religion of the Sun never became very popular, being chiefly embraced by the Pharaohs, the upper classes and foreign traders, while the masses stuck to the Moon-gods. The characteristic of foreign importation is perhaps also evident in the treatment of the Sun as a wild ass always chased by the night serpent. Sun was also regarded as a great cat, originally a female and identified later on with Ra as a male.

Now, like Ra, Ptah as the primeval artificer god was credited with making the sun-egg and the moon-egg. Indeed, a bas-relief at Philæ shows him as actively engaged at the work with his potter's wheel. Khnûmû was also ultimately merged with the Sun-god, his ram becoming the living soul of Ra. The paradise of the Sun-worshippers was of a more spiritual character than that believed in by the cult of Ptah—Osiris, and in ancient Egypt, the Sun-worshippers believed serpents to be incarnations of evil spirits, bringing about the eclipse

and darkness. The idea that the Sun was an incarnation of the Creator was imported into Egypt from Babylonia and the Mahomedan noonday prayer is probably a survival of the sun-worshipper's custom. Possibly, Hathor also as the Chaos Cow was originally the Great Mother, the sky, sun, moon and stars being the various forms assumed by his son Horus or her various Horus sons. The rise of the Sun-god involved far-reaching political issues and led to a series of compromises: the union of deities in Egyptian mythology signified the union of the tribes which worshipped them. For example, Osiris in his fusion with Ra is addressed as the first great Sun-god and, as Isis says, there proceedeth from him the strong Orion in heaven in the evening, at the resting of every day.

The Moon-god Khonsu (lit. the Traveller) at Thebes was regarded as the son of Amon (Great Sun God) and Mut (Great Mother), linked with Thoth at Hermopolis and Edfu. In the Unas hymn, he is sent forth by Orion to drive in and slaughter the souls of gods and men, which explains why stars vanish before the moon. Sebek-Tum-Ra ultimately became the crocodile of the Sun as Mentu became his bull, symbolising the power and heat of the orb of day. The Arabian Sun deity was also a female. Osiris, the human incarnation of primitive deities of the Nile, absorbed the attributes of the moon-spirit and the male earth-spirit.

In contrast with the foregoing which indicate a strong survival of moon-worship for a considerable period in Egypt and the adjacent lands, it will be found that Celtic State worship was solar. The chief festivals related to points in the Sun's progress, equinoxes being considered more important than the solstices. Even the Milky Way was called Lugh's chain, Lugh being a Sun-god. Shamash or Babbar in the City of the Sun was a great judge. The Sun-god illuminated the world, his rays penetrating in all directions: he saw all things; he read the thoughts of men; and nothing could be concealed from him. One of his names was Mitra, like the god who was linked with Varuṇa in the R̥gveda. Now Mitra and Varuṇa measured out the span of human life: were



Oriental Zodiac

From 1 to 12 are the 12 signs: (a) The Sun; (b) The Moon; (c) Mars; (d) Mercury; (e) Jupiter; (f) Venus; (g) Saturn; (h) Dragon's Head or Ascending Node; (i) Dragon's Tail or Descending Node. The centre is the earth surrounded by the sea, marked with the four cardinal points E. W. N. S.

the source of all heavenly gifts: regulated the Sun and Moon; the winds, the waters and seasons. In Persian mythology, Mitra, as Mithra, is the patron of truth and the mediator between heaven and earth. He was worshipped by the military aristocracy of Mitanni in Assyria; and in Roman times his worship spread to Europe.

Merodach is said to have set all the great gods in their several stations: created their images and stars of the zodiac fixing them all: measured the years and divided them into twelve months, with three stars in each. After he had given starry images of the gods separate control of each day of the year, he founded the station of Nibiru (Jupiter), his own star, to determine the limits of all stars, so that none might ever go astray. He decreed that the Moon-god should rule the night and measure the days and each month he was given a crown. The great god determined its various phases and he commanded that on the evening of its fullest brilliancy it should stand opposite the Sun. He placed his bow in heaven as a constellation and also his net. When the pictorial hieroglyphics were first being formed in Babylonia, the star was already the symbol and representation of the divine.

The theory of the discovery of the twenty-seven nakṣatras originally attributed to Babylonia whence its knowledge was alleged to have spread to India and the East, though recently given up, was again revived by Keith with reference to the origin of the Kṛttikas. Materials are insufficient to advance any definite theories but as there was no attempt made in early Indian works to adjust the 27 nakṣatras in the 12 divisions of a solar zodiac admittedly adopted by the Babylonian astronomers, and the 12 months are named after the 12 nakṣatras, it is difficult to affirm that the Brahmanical asterismal system which commences with the Pleiades was borrowed from Babylon.

Representation of the solar mansions in animal shapes may also have been due to an earlier connection of these animals with their religious life. Though the idea is totemistic there is no evidence to justify the belief. Possibly, however,

“to primitive minds, amidst terrors of darkness, the great moon seemed to be the parent of the numerical twinkling starry orbs and they saw human life reflected in the starry sky.” Elaboration of astral myths was only possible under a high civilization and animistic beliefs and practices of nomadic tribes of a primitive age might have given rise to totemic practices and led to ancestor worship. In Babylonia itself, stars were worshipped as ghosts and even the Egyptian Pharaoh Unas became the Sun-god and the constellation of Orion by devouring his predecessors, and the bull of heaven by eating his god. Hence, it is not unnatural to suppose that the stars came everywhere to be regarded as ghosts of the mighty dead giants, kings, princes, animals, etc., pious men loved of the gods. Instances may be multiplied but a few will suffice :—

(1) When the Teutonic gods slew the giant Thjasse, he appeared in the heavens as Sirius.

(2) The seven R̥sis of Vedic mythology are the Saptar̥ṣis or the Great Bear Group and their wives are the stars of the Pleiades.

(3) The Pleiades, in Greece, were the ghosts of the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione ; while in Australia they were and are a Queen and six handmaidens. In these countries, as elsewhere, stories were told to account for the ‘lost Pleiad’ suggesting that primitive men were more constant observers of heavenly bodies than is generally supposed.

(4) The Arcadians believed that they were descended from a princess who was transformed by Zeus into a bear ; in this form Artemis slew her whence she became the Great Bear in the sky.

(5) The Egyptian Isis was Sirius, whose rise coincides with the Nile inundation. Her tear for the dead Osiris fell into the river on the night of the drop, the flood which ensued bringing food. Hence, the star is greater than the Great Mother and is the sustainer of all.

(6) Even the primitive Australians have their solar myths with whom also Castor and Pollux are two young men, while the African Bushmen consider them as two young girls,

It is important for us to observe that the Babylonians in the earliest period grouped stars in companies of seven, in the wake of the seven demons rising from the deep to rage over the land. It is interesting to note that they may have been induced to do so from the Orion, the Bears and the Pleiades which have all seven main stars each. The five planets, on their identification, were associated with the sun and moon and connected with the chief gods of the Hammurabi Pantheon. Each month was also controlled by a zodiacal constellation. The Phœnicians and the Hittites borrowed the signs of the zodiac and passed them on to the Greeks.

If it be asked why so much importance has been attached to the stars, from time immemorial throughout the world, and why that continues to-day, apart from their value as measuring rods of time, it is difficult to give a rational explanation. But our forefathers have handed down a tradition that they are gods and that the divine encloses the whole of Nature. How innumerable then, the saints or those spiritual stars are? (Heb. xi: 12); and how do they differ each from the other in glory? (1. Cor. xv: 41). The star gods, whether in Indian, Greek, Chinese, or Japanese legend, are the divine spirits within the souls of humanity powerfully influencing their development. "They are symbols of the many centres of faculties on the lower mental plane which enable the mind to be exercised. They are lights of reason in the lower mind, small as compared with the greater lights, the self (Sun), and lesser light, the personality (Moon)." Plato says that reason and science should be assigned to the sphere of the fixed stars and that God divided the whole mixture into souls equal in number to the stars, assigning each soul to a star. "The fixed stars are also the essences or souls of matter. A living soul, the sublimated essence of matter, is denominated a star." These stars and essences became gods regarded as having divine attributes, looking down from their region of purity and stillness on the world of men influencing the fortunes of men invisibly, yet most powerfully.

APPENDIX A.

Planets.

Indian	Persian	Egyptian	Anglo-Saxon	Roman	Caste	Gotra	Rāsi
I. Āditya	Schid	Re	Sunne	Sol	Kṣatriya	Kāśyapa	Simha
II. Sōma	Mah	Joh	Mon	Luna	Vaiśya	Ātreya	Karkāṭaka
III. Kuja	Behrum	Typhon Onouris	Tyw	Mars	Kṣatriya	Bhāradvāja	Meṣa, Vriścika
IV. Budha	Tir	Thoth Horus	Woden	Mercurius	Vaiśya	Ātreya	Mithuna, Kanya
V. Guru	Ormuzd	Osiris Amun	Thor	Jupiter	Brāhmaṇa	Āngirasa	Dhanus, Mina
VI. Śukra	Nahid	Isis Athor	Frea	Venus	Brāhmaṇa	Bhārgava	Tula, Vṛṣabha
VII. Śani	Kevan	Anubis Savak	Soeter	Saturnus	Śūdra	Kāśyapa	Makara, Kumbha
VIII. Rāhu	..	..	..	..	Śūdra	Pañinasa	..
IX. Ketu	..	..	..	..	Śūdra	Jaimini	..

APPENDIX A.—(Contd.)

Nakṣatra	Maṇḍala	Dhānya (Corn)	Samittu	Jewel	Lordship of Directions (cardinal points)	Guṇa	Tattva
Viśākhā	Vartuḷa (Circle)	Gōdhūma (Wheat)	Arka	Māṇḍikya	East	Satvaguṇa	
Kṛttika	Caturasra (Square)	Taṇḍula (Rice)	Palāśa	Manktika	East	..	
Pūrvaphalguṇī	Trikoṇa (Triangle)	Ādhaka	Khādīra	Pravāḷa	South	Tamōguṇa	
Uttaraphalguṇī	Bāṇākāra (Arrow)	Mudga	Apāmārga	Marakata	North	..	
Dhanīṣṭha	Dīrgha Caturasra (Oblong)	Caṇaka	Aśvatta	Puṣyārāga	North-East	Satvaguṇa	
Puṣya	Pancakōṇa (Pentagon)	Māśarāja	Audumbaram	Vajra	South-East	Rajōguṇa	
Rōhini	Dhanus (Bow)	Tīla	Śamī	Nīla	West	Tamōguṇa	
—	Śūrpa (Winnow)	Māśa	Dūrvā	Gōmedhika	South-West	..	
—	Dhvaja (Flag)	Kulittam	Kuśā	Vaiḍhūrya	North-West	..	

APPENDIX B.

Lunar Constellations	Collective Duration of Nakṣatras Equal Space	Extension of degrees from the zodiacal sign Aries	Solar Mansions	Caste according to one account	Caste [Vidyā Mādhaviye]	Gotra	Maṇḍala
1. Āśvini ..	1.01	13° 20'	Aries : Meṣa	Vaiśya : Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa	Marīci	Vāyu
2. Bharāṇi ..	2.02	26° 40'	..	Lowest caste	Kṣatriya	Vasiṣṭha	Agni
3. Kṛttika ..	3.04	40°	Taurus : Ṛṣabha	Brāhmaṇa	Vaiśya	Āṅgīrasa	Agni
4. Rōhīṇi ..	4.05	53° 20'	..	Śūdra	Śūdra	Ātreya	Indra
5. Mṛgaśīras ..	5.06	66° 40'	Gemini : Mṛgaśīras	Vaiśya : serving caste	Anulōma	Pulastya	Vāyu
6. Ārdra ..	6.07	80°	..	Butcher caste	Pratiḷoma	Pulaha	Varuṇa
7. Punarvasu ..	7.08	93° 20'	Cancer : Karkāṭaka	Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	Kratu	Vāyu
8. Puṣya ..	8.09	106° 40'	..	Kṣatriya	Kṣatriya	Marīci	Agni
9. Āśleṣa ..	9.11	120°	..	Lowest caste	Vaiśya	Vasiṣṭha	Varuṇa
10. Maghā ..	10.12	133° 20'	Leo : Simha	Śūdra	Śūdra	Āṅgīrasa	Agni
11. Pūrvaphalgunī ..	11.13	146° 40'	..	Brāhmaṇa	Anulōma	Ātreya	Agni
12. Uttaraphalgunī ..	12.14	160°	Virgo : Kanya	Kṣatriya	Pratiḷoma	Pulastya	Dhruva
13. Hasta ..	13.15	173° 20'	..	Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	Pulaha	Vāyu

14. Chitra ..	14.17	186° 40'	Libra : Tula	Serving caste	Kṣatriya	Kratu	Vāyu
15. Svāti ..	15.18	200°	..	Butcher caste	Vaiśya	Marīci	Vāyu
16. Viśākha ..	16.19	213° 20'	Scorpio : Viścika	Lowest caste	Śūdra	Vasiṣṭha	Agni
17. Anurādhā ..	17.20	226° 40'	..	Śūdra	Anulōma	Āṅgīrasa	Indra
18. Jyēṣṭha ..	18.21	240°	..	Serving caste	Pratilōma	Ātreya	Indra
19. Mūla ..	19.23	253° 20'	Sagittarius : Dhanus	Butcher caste	Brāhmaṇa	Pulastya	Varuṇa
20. Pūrvāṣāḍha ..	20.24	266° 40'	..	Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya	Pulaha	Vāyu
21. Uttarāṣāḍha ..	21.25	280°	Capricornus : Makara	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya	Kratu	Indra
22. Śravana ..	22.26	293° 20'	..	Vaiśya	..	Marīci	..
23. Dhanīṣṭha ..	23.27	306° 40'	Aquarius : Kumbha	Lowest caste Monkey caste	Śūdra	Vasiṣṭha	Indra
24. Śatabhiṣak ..	24.29	320°	..	Ser. ing caste	Anulōma	Āṅgīrasa	Indra
25. Pūrvābhādra ..	25.30	333° 20'	Pisces : Mīna	Butcher caste	Pratilōma	Ātreya	Varuṇa
26. Uttarābhādra ..	26.31	346° 40'	..	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Pulastya	Indra
27. Revati ..	27.32	360°	..	Kṣatriya	Kṣatriya	Pulaha	Vāyu
				Śūdra	Vaiśya	Kratu	Varuṇa

APPENDIX B.—(Contd.)

Lunar Constellations	Regent or Presiding Deity	Ruler	Meaning	Description
1. Āśvini ..	.. Āśvini Devatas	Dragon's Tail	..	Three spots in horse face
2. Bharāṇi ..	.. Yama	Venus	..	Three stars in a triangle, east of Āśvini
3. Kṛttika ..	.. Agni	Sun	..	Six spots kṣura-like. General of the celestial armies
4. Rōhini ..	.. Prajāpati	Moon	..	Five stars like a car
5. Mṛgaśīras ..	.. Sōma	Mars	..	..
6. Ārdra ..	.. Rudra	Dragon's Head	..	Coral-like red, between 5 and 7
7. Punarvasu ..	.. Aditi (Sky Goddess)	Jupiter	..	Five stars like a house
8. Puṣya ..	.. Bṛhaspati	Saturn	A flower	Three stars like an arrow
9. Āśleṣa ..	.. Śarpa	Mercury	The embracer	Six stars like a serpent
10. Maghā ..	.. Piṭṛ	Dragon's Tail	The mighty	Five stars : rod of the palki
11. Pūrvaphalgunī ..	.. Ādiya, Aryaman	Venus	The former bad one	} Two in each joined form a square
12. Uttaraphalgunī ..	.. Bhaga	Sun	The latter bad one	
13. Hasta ..	.. Savitā	Moon	..	..
14. Chitra ..	.. Tvastṛ (Artificer)	Mars	Bright	A star like a pearl

15. Svāti ..	..	Vāyu	Dragon's Head	The good goer, or sword. Also called Niṣṭa, out- caste	Red like a coral
16. Viśākha ..	..	Indrāgni	Jupiter	Branched	Five stars like a potter's wheel
17. Anurāḍha ..	..	Mitra (one of the Ādityas)	Saturn	Propitious or the successful	Three stars resembling a lotus flower
18. Jyeṣṭha ..	..	Indra	Mercury	Oldest	Three stars, red, resembling an umbrella
19. Mūla ..	..	Nirṛti (calamity) also called Vikṛta. The two releasers as stars in this mansion were thought to bring relief from lingering diseases.	Dragon's Tail	The root	Six stars like an elephant's goad
20. Pūrvāṣāḍha ..	..	Āpa	Venus	The former unconquered	Two stars like a daṇḍa
21. Uttaraṣāḍha ..	..	Visvedeva } Combined gods	Sun	The latter unconquered	Red : red
Abhijit..	..	Brahma	..	The victorious	..
22. Śravaṇa ..	..	Viṣṇu	Moon	The ear	Thirty-three stars like ear
23. Dhaniṣṭha ..	..	Vasus : Vāsava	Mars	The most favourable	White. Drum-like
24. Śatabhiṣak ..	..	Varuṇa	Dragon's Head	The Hundred Physicians	Red. A hundred stars
25. Pūrvābhādra ..	..	Aja Ekapāda (one-footed goat)	Jupiter	The former beautiful : auspicious or happy feet	Two stars like sword
26. Uttaraḥbhādra ..	..	Ahīrbudhya-Bottom snake	Saturn	Latter beautiful feet	Of the four stars in a square, two in the east
27. Revatī ..	..	Pūṣan (Nourisher)	Mercury	Rich	Like a fish

APPENDIX B.—(Contd.)

Lunar Constellations	Ratnamāla (Jones)	Another Sanskrit Work (Jones)	Symbol	Number of Stars in each group
1. Aśvinī ..	A horse head	..	Horseman : horse head	3 in and near the head
2. Bharāṇi	A Yoni or bhaga	..	Bearer	3 in the tail
3. Kṛtika	A razor	A flame	Flame or razor	6 of the Pleiads
4. Rōhiṇī ..	A wheeled carriage	A waggon	Temple or waggon	5 in the head and neck
5. Mṛgaśīras	Head of an antelope	A cat's-paw	Stag head	3 in or near the feet ; perhaps in the Galaxy
6. Ārdra ..	A gem	One bright star	Gem	1 on knee
7. Punarvasu	A house	A bow	The too good again	4 in head, breast and shoulder
8. Puṣya ..	An arrow	A child's pencil	Crescent on the head of an arrow	3 in body and claws
9. Āśleṣa	A wheel	A dog's tail	Wheel	5 in face and mane
10. Maghā ..	Another house	Straight tail	House	5 in leg and haunch
11. Pūrvaphalgunī	A bedstead	Two stars, South to North	Bed or couch	2, one in the tail
12. Uttaraphalgunī	Another bedstead	Two stars, North to South	Bed or couch	2 on arm and zone
13. Hasta ..	A hand	..	..	5 near the hand
14. Chitra ..	A pearl	..	Lamp or pearl	1 in the spike

15. Svāti ..	..	A piece of coral	Real saffron	A coral bead, gem or pearl	1 in north scale
16. Visākha	..	A festoon of leaves	A festoon	A decorated gateway	4 beyond it
17. Anurādhā	..	Oblation to gods	A snake	Row or ridge	4 in the body
18. Jyeṣṭha	..	A rich earring	A boar's head	A pendant : ear jewel	3 in the tail
19. Mūla ..	..	Tail of a fierce lion	A couch	A lion's tail	11 to the point of the arrow
20. Pūrvāṣāḍha	..	A couch	A winnowing fan	An elephant tusk : or together with U. Āṣāḍha, bed	2 in the leg
21. Uttaraṣāḍha	..	Tooth of a wanton elephant near which is the kernel of the Śringātaka nut	Another fan	A bed	2 in the horn
•	..	..	..	A triangle or three-cornered nut : under its influence the gods van uished the asuras.	3
Alhijit..	..	..	..	A trident	3 in the tail
22. Śravaṇa	..	Three footsteps of Viṣṇu	An arrow	Drum or tabor	4 in the arm
23. Dhaniṣṭha	..	A tabor	..	..	100, many in the stream
24. Śatabhiṣak	..	A circular jewel	A circle of stars	A couch	2 in the first fish
25. Pūrvābhādra	..	A two-faced image	A staff for burdens	A couch	2 in the cord
26. Uttaraḥbhādra	..	Another couch	A beam of a balance	Drum or tabor	32 in the second fish and cord
27. Revati	..	A smallest forte of tabor	A fish		

APPENDIX B.—(Contd.)

Lunar Constellations	Chief Star	Burgess	Colebrooke	Bentley	Remarks on Identification
1. Ásvini ..	α, β, γ Arietis Hemmal, Sheratan Mesartin	β Arietis	β Arietis	γ or β Arietis	Arietis : α Hamma β Sheratan γ Mesartin
2. Bharāṇi ..	α Muscae, Southern fly	α Muscae	Musca	35 Arietis	35, 39 and 41 Arietis
3. Kṛttika ..	η Tauri, Alcyone	23 Tauri	π Tauri	Alcyone	Pleiades
4. Rōhini ..	α Tauri, Aldebaran	α Tauri : Aldebaran	α Tauri	Aldebaran	Aldebaran
5. Mṛgaśīras ..	λ Orionis	λ Orionis	λ Orionis	113, 116 and 117 Tauri	Orion
6. Ārdra ..	α Orionis, Betelgeux (arm pit)	α Orionis	α Orionis	133 Tauri	Alhena, γ Geminorum, α Geminorum, Castor
7. Punarvasu ..	β Geminorum	β Geminorum	β Geminorum	Pollux	β Geminorum Pollux
8. Puṣya ..	δ Cancri	δ cancri	δ Cancri	δ Cancri	α, γ, δ Cancri
9. Āśleṣa ..	α Cancri or Hydrae	ϵ Hydrae	α 1 and 2 Cancri	49, 50 Cancri	α Hydrae, Alphard
10. Maghā ..	α Leonis : Regulus	Regulus	α Leonis	Regulus	α Leonis, Regulus
11. Pūrvaphalgunī ..	δ Leonis	δ Leonis	δ Leonis	70, 71 Leonis	Zosma ; δ Leonis
12. Uttaraphalgunī ..	β Leonis : Denebola	β Leonis : Al-Sarfa	β Leonis	β Leonis	ϵ Virginis : Vindematrix
13. Hasta ..	γ or δ Corvi	γ or δ Corvi	γ or δ Corvi	7, 8 Corvi	α, δ Corvi Gemma, Algora

14. Chitra ..	..	α Virginis : Spica	Spica Virginis	α Virginis	Spica	α Virginis, Spica
15. Svāti ..	..	α Boötes : Arcturus	Arcturus	α Boötes	Arcturus	α Boötes, Arcturus
16. Visākha	..	α, χ or ι Libræ	ι Libræ	α or χ Libræ	24 Libræ	β Libræ, Zubenelg
17. Anurādhā	..	δ Scorpionis	δ Scorpionis	δ Scorpionis	β Scorpionis	β, δ, π Scorii. Akrah
18. Jyeṣṭha	..	α Scorpionis : Antares	Antares	α Scorpionis	Antares	α Scorii, Antares
19. Mūla ..	..	λ, γ or ν Scorpionis	λ Scorpionis	λ Scorpionis	34, 35 Scorpionis	$\zeta, \eta, \theta, \lambda$, Scorii
20. Pūrvaṣāḍha	..	δ Sagittarii	δ Sagittarii	δ Sagittarii	δ Sagittarii	ν Sagittarii
21. Uttaraṣāḍha	..	σ or τ Sagittarii	σ Sagittarii	τ Sagittarii	ϕ Sagittarii	π Sagittarii
Abhijit..	..	α Lyræ : Vega	Vega: Al Nasr, Al wagi	α Lyræ	Vega	..
22. Śravaṇa..	..	α Aquilæ : Altair	α Aquilæ : Al Nasr Al-tair	α Aquilæ	α Aquilæ	α Aquilæ
23. Dhaniṣṭha	..	α Delphini	β Delphini	α Delphini	β Delphini	$\alpha, \beta, \lambda, \delta$ Delphini Nicolaus and Venater
24. Śatabhiṣak	..	λ Aquarii	λ Aquarii	λ Aquarii	λ Aquarii	β Aquarii, Sadal Sud
25. Pūrvaḥḍādra	..	α Pegasi	α Pegasi	α Pegasi	α Pegasi	α Pegasi, Markab
26. Uttaraḥḍādra	..	α or γ Andromedæ	γ Pegasi or α Andromedæ	α Andromedæ	γ Pegasi	α Andromedæ, Alpheratz or Sirrah
27. Revati ..	..	ζ Piscium	ζ Piscium	ζ Piscium	ζ Piscium	ζ Piscium

APPENDIX B.—(Contd.)

Lunar Constellations	Persian, Arabic, etc.	Chinese*			Ruler		
1. Aśvini ..	Al Sharatân	Two stars in Aries constituting its horns. α, β with γ Arietis. α Arietis is Natth	The two signs	Leu	β with α and γ Arietis	Train of a garment	Venus
2. Bharāṇi ..	Al Batin, Şeria	δ with ϵ Arietis. Three small stars shaped like a Δ in the belly of Aries	Belly	Oei	35, with 41, 33, 39 Arietis	Berry	Saturn
3. Kṛttika ..	Al Thurayya	The Pleiades—6 stars	Many little ones. Manzil	Mao	η Tauri	The constellation	Sun
4. Rōhiṇi ..	Al Debaran	A large, bright, red star in the eastern eye of Taurus	Follower	Pi	α or ϵ Tauri	A hand net or rabbit net	Moon
5. Mṛgaśīras ..	Al Haka't	λ with ϕ Orionis. 3 stars close to each other in Orion's head. Bellatrix, Betelguex and λ	White spot	Tsee	λ with ϕ Orionis	Beak or pouting lips	Mars
6. Ārdra ..	Al Han'at	γ Geminorum. 5 stars arranged on the left shoulder of Orion	A brand or mark	Shen	δ Orionis	Three side by side	Mercury
7. Punarvasu..	Al Zetâa'	α with β Geminorum. Two bright stars in the head of Gemini	The forearm. Arabs call it forearm of the Lion, with Regulus to distinguish it from Canis Major containing Sirius	Tsing	α and β Geminorum	Well or pit	Jupiter

8. Puṣya	.. Al Naṣrat	44 M Cancri	Gap or crig : nose of the lion	Kwei	ϕ with 44 M and η Cancri	Spectre	Venus-
9. Āśleṣa	.. Al Ṭurfat	λ Leonis with outsider ξ	Glance of the lion's eye	Lien	δ Hydræ	A willow branch	Saturn
10. Maghā	.. Al Jabhat	α with γ, ξ and η Leonis	Forehead of lion	Sing	α Hydræ	Star	Sun
11. Pūrvaphalgunī	Al Zubarat	δ with θ Leonis	Mane	Chang	ν Hydræ	Drawn bow	Moon
12. Uttaraphalgunī	Al Ṣarfāt	β Leonis	The charger	Yen	α Crateris	Wings or flangs	Mars
13. Hasta	.. Al A'wwā	β with $\eta, \lambda, \delta, \epsilon$ Virginis : on the breast of Virgo	The barker	Echin	γ with β, δ, ϵ Corvi	Cross-piece of a Chariot	Mercury
14. Chitra	.. Al Semāk	Spica Virginis	The unarmed	Kio	α with ζ Virginis	Horn or spike	Jupiter
15. Svāti	.. Al Ghafr	θ, ι with κ Virginis	The covering	K ang	κ with ι, ν Virginis	A man's neck	Venus
16. Viśākha	.. Al Zubānā	α with β Libræ	The claws	Ti	α with β Libræ	Bottom	Saturn
17. Anurādhā	.. Ik lilal jabah or Ekhlil	β with δ and π Scorpii	The crown on the head	Fang	π with $\beta, \delta, \rho,$ Scorpii	Room or house	Sun
18. Jyēṣṭhā	.. Al Kalb or Ala'krab	α Scorpii ; a red, twinkling star	The heart	Sin	σ with α and τ Scorpii	Heart	Moon

* The Chinese begin their calendar with Kṛttika, and we have re-arranged here.

12—18 form the constellation of the Azure Dragon

19—25 " " Black Warrior

21—4 " " White Tiger

5—11 " " Red Bird

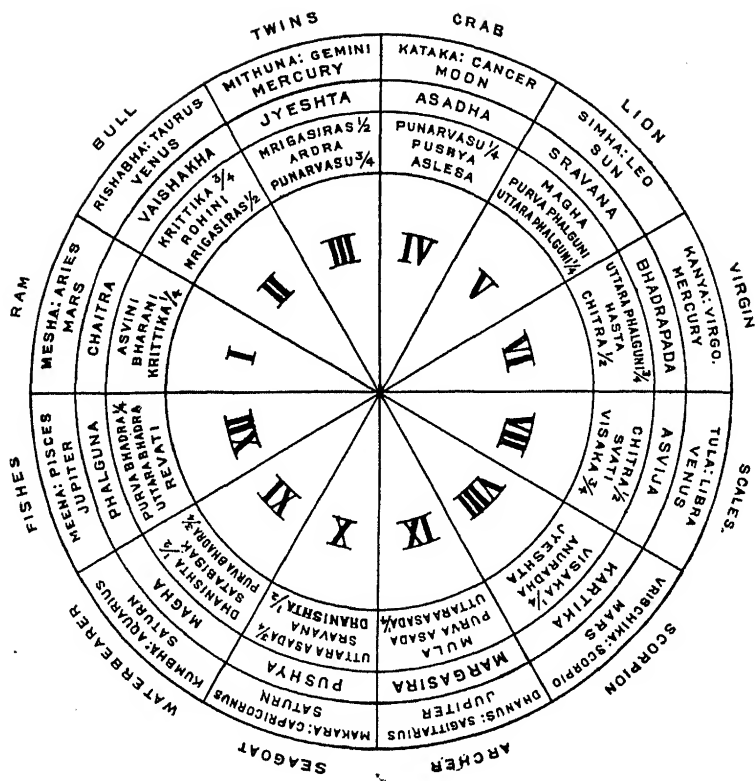
APPENDIX B.—(Conold.)

Lunar Constellations	Arabic, Persian, etc.			Chinese	Ruler
19. Mūla ..	Al Shulat	λ with ν Scorpii	The sting or the erect tail of the scorpion	Wei μ with ε, ζ, η, θ, ι, κ, ν Scorpii	Mars
20. Pūrvāṣāḍha	Al Na'aim	ζ with σ, τ and φ Sagittarii	Ostriches consisting of 4 bright stars forming a □ in Sagittarius	Ki γ with δ and ε Sagittarii and β Telescopium	Mercury
21. Uttaraṣāḍha	Al Baldat	π Sagittarii	The city or district or region	Two φ with λ and μ Sagittarii	Jupiter
22. Śravana	Al Sa'fardhabih or Su'd al-Zabiḥ	α with β Capricorni : the slayer	The lucky one of the slaughterers	Nieu β with α, ν, ο, π, ρ Capricorni	Venus
23. Dhaniṣṭa	Al Sa'talbula or Sa'd bala'	μ with ν Aquarii	The good fortune of the follower	Mo ε with μ, ν Aquarii	Saturn
24. Śatabhiṣak	Al Sa'd Abhiyah, Al Sa'd Allakhiyat	β with ξ Aquarii and C in the tail of the Capricorn	The luckiest of the lucky	Heu β Aquarii	Sun
		γ with α, ζ, η and π Aquarii	The lucky star of hidden things or hiding places	Gui α Aquarii with ε and θ Pegasi	Moon

25. Pūrvābhādra	Al fargh Al Mukdiar	β with α Pegasi (Markab)	The forefront of the water bucket	Shih	α with β Pegasi	Horse	Mars
26. Uttarābhādra	Al fargh Al thani	γ (Algenib) with δ Pegasi and α Andromedæ	The second or lower spout, etc.	Pih	γ with δ Pegasi and α Andromedæ	Wall or partition	Mercury
27. Revati	Al Bāṭn Al hūt	β Andromedæ	The belly of the fish or rope (Ershâ). A woman with a chain is said to have represented this group	Goei	β Andromedæ	The man striding or the striding legs	Jupiter

APPENDIX C.

ZODIAC



- Signs of the zodiac in Sanskrit and Latin.
- Presiding celestial body in each sign.
- Lunar month of each sign.
- The asterisms in each sign of the zodiac in the ecliptic.
- The beginning of the sign to the end numbered,

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XLII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Moroccan Myth about King Solomon and the Birds.]

THE Barn-Owl or Screech-Owl is a well-known bird and is found throughout Asia and Europe. As Morocco in North Africa is quite adjacent to Southern Europe, this bird is, in all likelihood, also found in the former country. Consequently, the inhabitants of Morocco, who have originated from the Arab stock of mankind, speak the Arabic language and profess the Mahomedan religion, are familiar with this bird.

The myth, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, must have originated in Palestine and Syria, the home of the Arabs and the Jews, who lived and still live side by side.

The Arabs are familiar with the life and career of the Jewish King Solomon and must have transmitted the myth, which is dealt with in this paper, to their kinsmen in Morocco.

Solomon, King of the Jews, was celebrated for his wisdom. He was the most learned man of his times and his studies were varied. He was well conversant with the botany of his country and familiarly knew the plant-life thereof from the stately cedar-tree which grows on Mount Lebanon down to the bushy and aromatic hyssop which grows upon the dales and of which the twigs are used for sprinkling in Jewish purificatory rites. He had also studied the zoology of his motherland and was familiar with the beasts, birds and the reptiles thereof.

From the myths which are current about King Solomon, we also get an inkling of the fact that he also knew something about magic and that, by his knowledge of this art, he obtained great influence over the beasts and the birds so much so that he could summon them to his own presence at his sweet will and pleasure. This will be evident from the following myth which is current about him:—

Suleiman's (King Solomon's) wife, whose name was Sednā, once made the following request to her husband: "If I am dear to you, please make for me a bed of the feathers of birds." King Solomon then summoned all the birds. In response to this summons, all the birds, except the barn-owl, came to the King. He thereupon commanded the eagle to fetch the barn-owl and accordingly the former brought the latter.

Sednā and Solomon then enquired of the barn-owl as to why he had not come immediately in obedience to their summons. The owl replied: "I did not come because, at that time, I was thinking of three things." Thereupon the King further enquired: "What were those three things?"

The owl answered: "I was thinking as to which was longer, the day or the night; and I found that the day was longer, because the moon-light night belongs to the day."

"And what was the next thing?" asked King Solomon.

The owl replied: "I was thinking who were more numerous, the men or the women and I found that there were more women than men."

"How?" asked the King.

The owl answered: "Because a man, who does what women say, is himself one of them."

There was yet a third question to be answered; and Sednā and Solomon approved of the barn-owl's answers so highly that they sent away all the birds without depriving them of their feathers. Thus all the birds were left with their feathers except the bat, who had been in a hurry to ask the King to take his feathers and was deprived of the same; and therefore the bat has none on his wings at the present day.*

On a careful study of the foregoing myth, we find that—

(1) King Solomon was not only sovereign over men but also wielded considerable authority over the members of the feathered creation.

* *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, by Edward Westermarck, Ph.D., Hon. LL.D. In two volumes, London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1926. Vol. II, pp. 333-336.

(2) It is for this reason that all the birds, except the barn-owl, implicitly obeyed King Solomon's summons and immediately went to his presence. These birds appear to have been easy-going members of their community and not endowed with much intelligence and shrewdness.

(3) The barn-owl was a very shrewd and cunning bird and could easily foresee the danger which was impending over all the members of the feathered creation. He, therefore, did not obey King Solomon's summons.

(4) The barn-owl very shrewdly thought out the device by which he saved his comrades from the great peril in which they had been placed.

(5) King Solomon was reputed for his great wisdom. But the cunning barn-owl, by his ready-witted and apposite exposition of the second thing he was thinking about, namely, that a man who performs all that a woman desires him to do is himself a woman, indirectly twitted the king by saying that the latter was a big fool inasmuch as he had listened to his wife's foolish request for a bed of birds' feathers and was trying to inflict great cruelty upon the birds for satisfying his wife's unreasonable hobby.

(6) Zoologically speaking, the bat is a mammal or an animal that suckles its young ones. But, in ancient times, the bat was regarded as a bird possessing feathers all over its body.

(7) The bat proved himself to be a great fool by showing his over-hastiness in the matter of furnishing King Solomon with his feathers,

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XX

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On an Ancient Indian Myth about the Metamorphosis
of the Blades of the Kusa Grass into Siva's Tridents.]

THE KUSA Grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*) which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ* is called in Bengali *Kuśa*, in Hindi *Kans* and in Telugu *Rellu-gaddi*. It very commonly grows in Bengal, the submontane tract of the Himalayas and Bundelkhand. The roots of this grass grow deep into the soil; and it cannot be easily eradicated if it once takes possession of the field. Mr. T. N. Mukharji says, "In this way, large areas of land in Bundelkhand have been rendered uncultivable."* This grass is utilized for making ropes and mats and for thatching huts with. It is extensively used in the performance of Hindu worship and rites. The worshipper and the performer of the rite use dried stalks of this grass for sprinkling holy Ganges water, curds and other liquid libations upon the solid offerings and flower offerings. They have also to put on rings made of the stalks of this grass on their fingers during the performance of the ceremonial rites. Seats made of this grass are offered, on the occasion of feasts and banquets, to the guests for sitting upon. These are called *Kuśāsanas*.

The ancient Indo-Aryans were very familiar with the Kuśa-grass, for they required it daily in the performance of their religious rites and ceremonies. The Indian sages cultivated this grass near their hermitages for the same reason. Consequently, this grass has become one of the sacred plants of the Hindus. On one occasion when a sage was waging warfare with a semi-divine personage the former metamorphosed the blades of this grass into tridents for vanquishing the latter with. The myth connected with this metamorphosis is as follows:

* *Vide "A Handbook of Indian Products,"* by T. N. Mukharji. Calcutta : Star Press, 1883, page 157.

Once upon a time, Brahmā the Creator was seized with a violent fit of sneezing. From one of the sneezes was born a powerful demi-god named *Kshupa* (lit. one born of the *kshūta* or sneezing).

Having been thus born Kshupa, with joined palms, enquired of Brahmā as to what service he could do for him. Just at this time, the gods were waging a war with the demons. Therefore Brahmā ordered him to fight with the latter. He succeeded in expelling the demons from the celestial regions. As a reward for this service, Kshupa was made king of the earth.

One day, Kshupa boasted before the mighty sage Dadhichi that he was superior to the latter. This enraged the sage so much that he boxed Kshupa's ears. But, at this corporeal punishment, the latter became so much infuriated that he attacked Dadhichi and tore him to pieces.

This outrage created great indignation among all the sages; and Śukrāchārya, another powerful sage, restored Dadhichi to life, whole and sound, by means of his magical incantations. After this, Dadhichi devoted himself to the worship of the God Mahādeva who, being pleased with his great devotion, conferred upon him the boon whereby the latter's body became as hard as adamant.

As soon as he received this boon, Dadhichi went to Kshupa and kicking the latter, knocked him down and almost stunned him. Thereupon Kshupa rose up and stabbed Dadhichi with a knife, which, on account of the hardness of the latter's body, broke into splinters. Kshupa then hurled a stone at the sage; but this missile also broke to pieces and did not hurt the sage in the least.

Having paid Kshupa in his own coin, Dadhichi returned to his own hermitage. But Kshupa began to worship Vishṇu the Preserver. Being pleased with his devotion, Vishṇu made over his discus or *Sudarśana Chakra* to Kshupa. Thus armed, Kshupa hurled the discus at Dadhichi but this *chakra* recoiled from the latter without hurting him.

Then Vishṇu provided Kshupa with other weapons wherewith to attack Dadhichi. But these weapons also failed in their purpose.

In the meantime, Dadhichi had plucked a handful of the blades of the Kuśa-grass and pronounced magical incantations upon them. Thereupon these blades of grass were metamorphosed into tridents—the weapon of Mahādeva—for the purpose of protecting himself with. At the sight of the tridents, the divine weapons became useless, and the gods fled in terror.

At this stage, Brahmā the Creator intervened and the strange battle of the weapons came to an end. Thereafter Kshupa submitted himself with all humility to Dadhichi and lived in amity with the latter.

[In a note to this myth, the editor says that it is contained in the *Linga Purāna*.]*

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that:—

(1) The ancient Indo-Aryans were keen observers of nature and carefully noted the peculiarities of plants and animals.

(2) They had carefully observed that the blades of the kuśa-grass had sharp edges and points, and realized that they were fit to be metamorphosed into tridents which also possessed sharp cutting edges and piercing points.

(3) They also practised magic and the art of *mantrams* and incantations.

(4) Some of them became so proficient in these arts that they could perform most miraculous acts by means of their incantations. By reason of their proficiency in these arts and by their hypnotic contemplation, they came to be recognized as sages.

(5) The myth symbolizes the fact that the powers of creation and preservation are weaker than the powers of destruction and readily succumb to the latter.

* Vide "*Indian Fables and Folklore*," by Sovana Devi, London; Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919, pages 36-38.

(6) The fact of the demi-god Kshupa's being born from one of Brahmā's sneezes points to a superstitious belief which has been current all over the world from the most ancient times down to the present age. It was formerly believed that demons or evil spirits used to obsess men and that, with the act of sneezing, the obsessing spirit was cast out of the body. On this subject, Miss M. R. Cox* says:—

“We talk of self-possession; we say, ‘I wonder what possessed him,’ without intending to admit that a fiend may take charge of one’s wits. We say, ‘God bless you!’ or ‘Good luck to you!’ when a person sneezes, with no intention of helping to cast out a devil, or acknowledging a spiritual presence. It is simply a very old habit, and a wide-spread one, for it has been detected in Florida, in Zululand, in West Africa, in Ancient Rome, in Homeric Greece and in many countries besides. *The exclamation so often attendant on a sneeze originated in the belief that a spirit could take possession of a man; then, as with some, the act of sneezing served to ‘cast him out with monstrous potency’; or as with others—for example, the Zulus—it was a sign that the ancestral spirit was a beneficent visitant.* So when Telemachus, in the 17th Odyssey, sneezed loudly, Penelope thought it a lucky sign.”

We may, therefore, tentatively come to the conclusion that the foregoing myth is an ancient Indian example of the belief that a sneeze served to cast out a spirit which had taken possession of a divine personage, but that, in this case, the cast-out spirit proved to be a beneficent one.

* Vide “*An Introduction to Folklore*”, by M. R. Cox, New and Enlarged Edition. London: David Nutt, 1897, pages 6-7.

REVIEWS

The Chronology of the Early Tamils

BY K. N. SIVARANGA PILLAI

(*University of Madras. Rs. 5.*)

THE essay before us is an attempt to fix the chronology of the Early Tamils by a comparative study of the Tamil classical poems—principally the four collections, *Puṛaṇānūṟu*, *Aganānūṟu*, *Narṛinai* and *Kuṟuntokai*. The author rejects the rest of the Sangham literature as of later date, and has constructed Synchronistic Tables of the Chola, Chera, and Pandya and other kings from these four collections only. He has towards the end of his essay tried to verify his results with those of others and also the evidence of foreign literature (Greek and Roman). “The fixation of chronology, I have herein tried to arrive at, is after all not quite new This truth too has been adumbrated in a number of works of previous scholars there is little doubt that the conclusions (of the late Mr. Kanakasabbai Pillai) in respect of the age of the Sangham works are approximately and broadly correct I am glad that my conclusion generally coincides with his, though I have opened and trodden a new path altogether” (p. 190).

We have carefully studied the entire essay and the appendices. The method adopted by the author is the method adopted by any one who attempts to fix the dates of kings, authors or other personages or of events from a comparative study of literature. This method has previously been used by a number of scholars. The author's claim that the classification of subject-matter by ‘motif’ is better than that of development of language and grammar for determining chronology is not established. We can detect nothing else new in Mr. Pillai's method or treatment of the subject. We commend however his industry. But what we cannot reconcile ourselves to is the ridicule poured on the idea of ‘Sanghams’ and a self-contradictory appreciation later on. *Cf.* the following extracts:—“If an evil genius had conceived the plan of playing pranks with the chronology of a nation's early literature and gone to work, it could not have done worse

than what the redactor, the Tamil Vyasa, has himself done" (p. 17). . . . "The redactor, however removed from the times of the Sangham works, was still nearer them than we are and *may be presumed to have been conversant with the testimony of some living tradition* or of some authoritative works to which he had access and which have since then disappeared" (p. 47).

The author's conclusions regarding two Karikalans and two branches of the Early Cholas deserve however special notice as further and closer study along these lines will help to clear several obscure points in Tamil classics and tradition.

A. V. R.

Somanatha and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawad

BY HENRY COUSENS

(*Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XLV, Imperial Series.*

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WE welcome this splendid addition to the valuable series of sumptuously illustrated and documented Reports on the Temples of India. The volume canvasses all places of interest in Kathiawad, and the varying fortunes of Kathiawad in mediæval times are graphically depicted in the illustrations and the letterpress. The temples at Somanath are of the greatest interest and this volume throws considerable light on the age of the existing structure, besides giving the romantic history of this unique shrine.

If Somanath is of historic interest, the hill of Satrunjaya is of abiding interest even to this day. The traditions and temples on this hill constitute an encyclopædia of Indian religion and history and an epitome of the Indian continent.

A visit to these shrines will convince anyone of the essential unity of India despite her superficial diversity. The development of the architecture in this area gives evidence of oneness in the development of culture all over India in the different centuries. "Indeed, the older Dravidian and the later decorated Chalukyan* correspond, not only in their contrast of styles, but even in their *dates*, the gap included, with these two styles of Kathiawad" (p. 7).

A. V. R.

* *Hoysalan.*

Old English Morphology

BY B. K. RAY, M.A., PH.D.

(*Dacca University Bulletin No. XVI.*)

THIS excellent monograph tracing the morphology of the Old English noun and verb from pro-ethnic Indo-Germanic is an approved thesis for a Doctor's degree in the University of Dacca where its author is a lecturer in English.

Its appeal to us lies chiefly in the great use the author has made of his knowledge of Sanskrit accentuation and grammar especially in his sections on ablaut or vowel gradation. Sanskrit is on the whole the language nearest to the parent Indo-Germanic speech in respect of inflections and stress is rightly laid by the author on a fuller use being made of Sanskrit in linguistic inquiry. This is exactly where Indian scholars can do most useful work. Dr. Ray is to be gratefully congratulated.

F. R. S.

EDITORIAL

MR. K. P. JAYASWAL writes in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, for March—June 1933, on the "History of India, c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D." Drawing his materials mostly from the Puranas, in Appendix 'B', he discusses the Mayūraśarman inscription near Chitaldrug. The author does not agree with Dr. Krishna's reading of the second and third lines.

The two readings with their translations are placed side by side below :

Dr. Krishna

Line 2 : taṭākam, dūbha Trekūṭa Abhira Pallava Pāri-

Line 3 : yātrika Sakasthā-[ṇa] Sayindaka Puṇāṭa Mokariṇā.

(Mayūraśarman) who defeated Trekūṭa, Abhira, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Sakasthāna, Sayindaka, Puṇāṭa and Mokari, built the embankment.

Mr. Jayaswal

taṭi [...] Kāñchi-Trekūṭa-Ābhira-Pallava-[Pu]rī.

[Yāti] Keṇa Sātahanīstha-Sendraka-puri-damana-Kāri [ṇa].

[Mayūraśarman, of the Kadam-bas,] who marched against Kāñchī and Trekūṭa (Tri-kūṭa)—the Ābhira and the Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at Sātahanī, built the embankment.

It would be interesting to know if

- (i) 'Mokariṇā' means 'by Mokarī',
- (ii) 'Yātrikeṇa' means 'who marched against',
- (iii) 'Puri' in K. P. J.'s 'Pallava-Puri' means 'capitals',
- (iv) 'Sātahanī' refers to the Sēndraka capital, and
- (v) 'tati' means 'an embankment'.

Further, how many capitals had the Pallavas and was Kāñchī one of them? If so, the repetition has to be explained. Mr. Govinda Pai's interpretation in the *Prabuddha Karnataka* is equally unilluminating. His reading is as under :

ಕಡಂ ಬಾಣಂ ಮಯೂರ ಶಮ್ಭು ಣಿ ವಿಜಿಮ್ಮಿ ಅಂ ।

ತಡಾಕಂ ದುಟ್ಟ (ಟು) ತ್ರ ಕೂಡ ಅಭಿರ ಪಲ್ಲವ ಪುರಿ

ಯೋ(೯) ರೇಕ ಸಕಸ್ಥಾ ಣಿ ಸಯಿನ್ನಕ ಪುಣಡ ಮೋ(೯) [ಕರಿಣ(೦)]

The scroll of Kibi's adventures in China, a Japanese painting of the late twelfth century and attributed to Mitsunaga, is perhaps one of the outstanding acquisitions in recent times, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The Yamato or Japanese native paintings to which class belongs this scroll have been scarce; and even those that have been found here and there have become National treasures in Japan. The various scenes represented in the paintings throw valuable light on the social customs of the period.

* *

We echo the feelings of K. P. Jayaswal on the neglect of monuments in India, in the *Modern Review* for April 1933. His suggestion that local officers could take some effective measures for their protection is good and we are happy to say that in Mysore, Revenue Officers have also been entrusted with this work.

* *

Margaret Smith discusses "The Doctrine of Reincarnation in Islamic Religion" in the January number of the *Aryan Path*. She says that this doctrine was accepted at an early period in the history of Islam by one of the oldest theological sects in Islam known as Mutazilites who concerned themselves with the problem of pre-destination and freewill, sought to purge the Quran of anthropomorphism. It nevertheless found little acceptance amongst the Sufis generally. "The individual soul," says Dr. Smith, "is the epitome of the whole world and the latter exists only for the progressive education of the soul. Man cannot attain to the truth unaided by reason, but needs the teaching of universal reason to be obtained from the Imam of the time."

* *

"The Oath in Hindu Epic Literature" was a paper offered by Prof. Washburn Hopkins, an elder statesman of Indian studies whose recent demise was an occasion for universal mourning. The Oath in Hindu Epic Literature was a form of either confirming the truth of a statement, or, of undertaking a task proclaiming it and calling gods for instance to witness its fulfilment. Numerous instances have been given from the Hindu Epics in this paper which shows that oaths were sworn by what one would not lose.

* *

B. A. Saltore writes on the Dynastic Continuity in Vijayanagara History in *Indian Antiquary* of January 1933. He regards that Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka referred to as the *aliya* of Harihara is not a nephew of Ballāḷa on his mother's side as suggested by Father Heras and cites other instances from which he comes to the conclusion that Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka was also of Hoysala descent being the son of Daṇḍi Somiah. His genealogical table given on page 11 is interesting.

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